THE HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

VOL. V.

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M.DCC.LXI.

With this Volume is delivered *A Summary View of the Controversy between the Papists and the Author*, containing a Full Confutation of all the Calumnies, which They and their *Protestant Tool* have invented to blacken his Character, and discredit this Work, with Remarks upon the Certificates from the Inquisition.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, OR BISHOPS of *ROME*.

BASILIUS *Emperor of the* East. LEWIS II. *Emperor of the* West.

HADRIAN II.

The Hundred and fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

NICHOLAS being dead, *Hadrian* the ſecond of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of *Talarus*, of the Family of *Stephen* III. and *Sergius* II. and Presbyter of the Church of St. *Mark*, was choſen to ſucceed him, with the greateſt Unanimity that had ever yet been ſeen in the Election of a Pope, all, who did not themſelves aſpire at that Dignity, wiſhing it might be conferred upon *Hadrian*. He had been choſen no leſs unanimouſly upon the Death of *Leo* IV. and *Benedict* III. the two immediate Predeceſſors of *Nicholas*. But though he then prevailed upon the People to acquieſce in the Reaſons he alledged againſt his Promotion, he could not perſuade them to hearken to them now, though in the ſeventy-fifth Year of his Age; and the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People being all of one Mind, they carried him by

Hadrian II. *choſen*; Year of Chriſt 867.

Year of Christ 867.

Force from the Church of St. *Mary the Greater*, where they found him at his Prayers, to the *Lateran* Palace, and there placed him on the pontifical Throne amidst the loud Acclamations of all Ranks of Men. The Envoys of the Emperor *Lewis*, who were then in *Rome*, hearing of the Election of *Hadrian*, were no less pleased with it than the *Romans* themselves, but complained of their not being invited to it though they were on the Spot. But the *Romans* pleading the Eagerness of the People, which they could not restrain, and at the same Time ingenuously owning, that, as it was not customary for the Emperor's Envoys to assist at the Election of the new Pontiff, they had not invited them to it, lest it should be alledged as a Precedent to introduce such a Custom, the Envoys acquiesced and went with the rest to pay their Obeisance to the Elect [a]. The Decree of the Election being sent to the Emperor, and confirmed by him (for though the Pope might be chosen he was not to be ordained without his Consent) *Hadrian* was solemnly consecrated in the Church of St. *Peter* on the 13th of *December* 867. That Ceremony was usually performed by the Bishops of *Ostia*, of *Porto*, and *Albano*; but the Bishop of *Albano* being dead, and *Formosus* of *Porto* having been sent by Pope *Nicholas* to preach to the *Bulgarians*, *Hadrian* was consecrated by *Donatus* of *Ostia*, by *Peter* of *Cava*, then an episcopal See under the Archbishop of *Salerno*, and by *Leo* of the the *White Forest*, called formerly the *Black Forest*, a City of *Tuscany*, on the *Aurelian* Way [b].

and consecrated.

Rome *plundered by the Duke of* Spoleti.

The Joy of the *Roman* People was not a little damped by the sudden and unexpected Arrival at *Rome* of *Lambert* Duke of *Spoleti*, who, entering the City in a hostile Manner, while the Ceremony of the Pope's Consecration was performing in the *Vatican*, gave it up to be plundered by his Followers; and no Houses, no Churches, no Monasteries were spared; Men were forced to ransom themselves and their Families with large Sums, and Women of the first Rank and Distinction were either most barbarously used, or carried away. Of this Insult *Hadrian* complained to the Emperor, who thereupon deprived *Lambert* of his Dukedom, while the Pope, on his Side, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against all concerned in it, till they restored what they had taken away. Being returned to the *Lateran*, he ordered all the Presents, that, according

[a] Guil. Bibliothecarius in Hadrian II. [b] Idem ibid.

to Cuſtom, were ſent to the new Pope, to be ſold, ſuch only excepted as were deſtined for Divine Service, and the Price to be diſtributed among the Poor, ſaying, *let us give freely what we have received freely, according to the Precept of our Lord; they are given to us for the Sake of the Poor, and let the Poor ſhare them with us* [c]. Year of Chriſt 867.

The Death of Pope *Nicholas* was no unwelcome News to the King of *Lorraine*. He flattered himſelf, that the new Pope would be more complaiſant, or at leaſt not quite ſo inflexible as his Predeceſſor, with reſpect to the Affair of his Divorce; and he therefore no ſooner heard of the Election of *Hadrian* than he wrote to him the following Letter. *The King of* Lorraine *writes to the new Pope.* Year of Chriſt 868.

" I have received the diſagreeable News of " the Death of Pope *Nicholas* of happy Memory, who, I doubt " not, is crowned in Heaven with the Saints. The whole Chriſtian " World, the Clergy in particular, and above all the holy apoſ- " tolic Church, Mother of all Churches, have Reaſon to mourn " for ſo great a Loſs. I am myſelf ſenſibly affected with it, I ap- " pealed to his Juſtice and Equity againſt the Calumnies of my Ene- " mies, ſubmitted to him or rather to St. *Peter*, far beyond what " any of my Predeceſſors ever had done, complied with his pater- " nal Admonitions, and hearkened to the Exhortations of his Le- " gates, even to the Diſparagement of my royal Dignity, and the " Power that I hold of God alone. But he, ſuffering himſelf to " be prejudiced againſt me by the Sowers of Strife and Sedition, " would never allow me to appear before him with my Accuſers, " agreeably to the Laws both human and divine, nor to viſit that " Church, of which my Anceſtors were the Protectors. It gives " me great Joy to hear, that the *Bulgarians* and other Barbarians " are invited to the Tombs of the Apoſtles, and no leſs Concern " to find that I am not allowed to approach them. But waving " that, ſince it has pleaſed the Almighty to raiſe you to the Ponti- " fical Dignity, you will not, I hope, oppoſe my earneſt Deſire of " paying my Obedience to your Holineſs in Perſon, and informing " you, on that Occaſion, by Word of Mouth, of all that paſſed be- " tween your Predeceſſor and me. This I ſhall look upon as a par- " ticular Mark of your paternal Goodneſs to one, who profeſſes " himſelf a moſt obedient Son and moſt faithful Protector of your " Holy See [d]."

[c] Guil. Bibliothecarius in Hadrian II. [d] Regin. ad an. 868.

Year of Christ 868.

Hadrian *grants him Leave to come to* Rome.

In Answer to this Letter the Pope assured the King, that he should always find in the Successors of St. *Peter* all the Justice, that was enjoined or required by the human Laws or by the divine; that if he was innocent of what was laid to his Charge, he might come to *Rome* without Fear; and even if he was guilty, provided he was ready to acknowledge his Fault, and atone for it by an edifying and salutary Penance [e]. This Condescension in the Pope is supposed to have been owing to the Interposition of the Emperor *Lewis* in Favour of his Brother *Lotharius*, a perfect Harmony subsisting between the Two Brothers, as they were both alike jealous of their Two Uncles, *Lewis* of *Germany* and *Charles* of *France*, ready to seize on the Dominions of *Lotharius* the Moment the Pope pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him. On the other hand the Pope could refuse nothing to the Emperor, who was then employed in driving the *Saracens* out of *Italy*, who had made themselves Masters of several Cities and strong Holds in the southern Parts of that Country. At his Request he even absolved *Waldrada* from the Excommunication that his Predecessor had thundered out against her, wrote to her himself to acquaint her therewith, and at the same Time to the Bishops of *Germany* to let them know, that being assured by his Son the Emperor that *Waldrada* sincerely repented of her past Wickedness, and renouncing all Commerce with *Lotharius*, was determined to lead thenceforth the Life of a sincere Penitent, he had thereupon absolved her; and they might therefore permit her to enter the Church, might speak to her, and treat her in every Respect as one restored to the Communion of the Faithful [f]. *Lotharius* had, it seems, informed the Pope, that the Kings of *France* and *Germany* had formed a Design of attacking his Dominions, should he undertake a Journey to *Rome*. For upon the Receipt of his Letter *Hadrian* wrote to both those Princes, exhorting them to live in Peace with their Nephew, and not to raise Disturbances in his Dominions or invade them, while he was absent on his Journey to *Rome*, since the Emperor looked upon his Cause as his own, and would revenge it accordingly. He added, that he was determined, if Occasion required, to employ the powerful Arms, that God had put into his Hands, with those of the Emperor [g].

Absolves Waldrada, *excommunicated by his Predecessor.*

[e] Regin. ad an. 868. [f] Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 868. [g] Hadr. ep. 10. tom. 3. Concil. Gall.

This

This Complaiſance in the new Pope encouraged *Lotharius* to hope, that if Queen *Theutberga* herſelf owned her Marriage to be null, and applied to the Pope for a Divorce, his Holineſs might be prevailed upon by the Emperor to grant it without further Examination; for he dreaded, even under *Hadrian*, the Iſſue of a formal Trial. At his Requeſt therefore, and with the Pope's Permiſſion, *Theutberga* ſet out for *Rome*, and being there received by his Holineſs with extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs, ſhe pretended her Marriage to have been unlawfully contracted, and to be null on that Conſideration as well as on account of ſome bodily Infirmities; earneſtly entreated him to diſſolve it; and begged he would allow her to conſecrate herſelf to a religious Life, and to ſpend the Remainder of her Days in Peace and Retirement. The Pope heard her with Attention; but inſtead of complying with her Requeſt, he told her, that the Affair was too momentous to be decided at once; that he would examine it more maturely with his Brethren in a Council, and in the mean time adviſed her to return to *France*, promiſing to write to the King in her Favour. He did ſo, exhorting the King to receive and treat her as Part of himſelf till the Affair was finally determined by the Council, which he intended to ſummon for that Purpoſe, and to let her enjoy undiſturbed, till the Meeting of the Council, the Revenues of the Abbies, which he had allotted her for her Support and the Support of her Dignity. The Pope cloſes his Letter to *Lotharius* with the following Words, "Whoever op-" poſes this ſhall be anathematized, and you yourſelf ſhall be ex-" communicated, if it is done by your Command, or with your " Approbation or Conſent[h]." *Hadrian* wrote at the ſame Time to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, beſtowing upon him the higheſt Commendations, and empowering him, as his Vicar, to ſee the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See, relating to the Affair of *Lotharius*, put in Execution, and to keep his Sovereign, *Charles* of *France*, ſteady in the Reſolution of protecting the perſecuted Queen[i].

Year of Chriſt 868.

Theutberga goes to Rome *and applies in vain to the Pope for a Divorce.*

The Pope writes in her Favour to the King;

and to Hincmar *of* Reims.

Lotharius, having ſettled the Affairs of his Kingdom in the beſt Manner he could, ſet out for *Rome* ſoon after the Return of the Queen, whom he ordered to undertake that Journey again and follow him thither. He propoſed in the firſt Place to have an Interview with his Brother the Emperor *Lewis*, flattering himſelf, that

Lotharius *goes to* Italy.

[h] Hadr. ep. 12. tom. 8. Concil. Gall.

[i] Hadr. ep. 4. tom. 3. Concil. Gall.

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if he could get him to undertake his Cauſe, the Pope might, by that Means, be prevailed upon to annul his Marriage with *Theutberga*, and conſent to his marrying *Waldrada*. Being therefore advanced as far as *Ravenna*, he diſpatched ſome of his chief Lords to acquaint the Emperor with his Arrival in his Dominions, and to beg an Interview with him before he applied to the Pope. As *Lewis* was then in the Field, carrying on the War with great Succeſs againſt the *Saracens*, he ſent Deputies to the King adviſing him not to proceed, but rather to return, for the preſent, to his Kingdom, and defer their Interview to a more proper Seaſon. But *Lotharius*, impatient to have an End put at laſt to ſo tedious an Affair, inſtead of hearkening to his Advice, purſued his Journey to *Benevento*, where he met his Brother; and it was agreed, that the Emperor ſhould order the Pope to repair to the *Benedictine* Monaſtery on *Monte Caſſino*, and that *Lotharius*, attended by the Empreſs *Ingelberga*, whom he had gained with many rich Preſents, ſhould meet his Holineſs there.

Has an Interview with the Pope at Monte Caſſino.

The Pope readily complied with the Emperor's Order, and received *Lotharius*, introduced by the Empreſs, and warmly recommended to him by the Emperor, with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, but neither by Entreaties nor Preſents could he be prevailed upon to give his Conſent to the wiſhed-for Divorce, which, he ſaid, he referred to the Deciſion of a Council to be held in his Preſence, wherein the whole Affair ſhould be examined anew. All the Empreſs could obtain in Favour of *Lotharius* was, that the Pope, to ſhew that he did not look upon the King as an excommunicated Perſon, ſhould ſay ſolemn Maſs, ſhould permit him to aſſiſt at it, and even adminiſter the Sacrament to him, and to all in his Retinue. To this *Hadrian* agreed upon Condition the King publicly declared before he received the Sacrament, that he had had no Commerce whatever with *Waldrada*, not even verbal, ſince the Time of her being excommunicated by his Predeceſſor Pope *Nicholas*. The unhappy Prince had gone too far to recede, and therefore readily agreed to make the Declaration that his Holineſs required, though conſcious to himſelf of having not only converſed, but carried on the ſame criminal Commerce with *Waldrada* after ſhe was excommunicated as he had done before. However the Pope was ſatisfied, and the next Day, when Maſs was over, which he ſaid with great Pomp

Is admitted to Maſs celebrated by the Pope;

and

and Solemnity in the Preſence of the Empreſs, of the King, and their numerous Retinue, taking the Sacrament in his Hand, he addreſſed the King in the following Words: "If you know yourſelf, "O King, not to be guilty of the Sin of Adultery, which *Nicho-*"*las*, my Predeceſſor, forbad you to commit, and are fully deter-"mined to abſtain from it in Time to come, approach without Fear, "and receive the Sacrament of eternal Life for the Remiſſion of "your Sins. But if you are conſcious to yourſelf of having com-"mitted that Sin, or are not determined to avoid it ſo long as you "live, preſume not to receive it, leſt what has been by divine Pro-"vidence prepared for a Remedy ſhould prove your Condemna-"tion." Year of Chriſt 868.

The King, unawed by theſe Words, received the Sacrament; and ſo did his Followers, ſome few excepted, who withdrew upon the Pope's ſaying to them as he adminiſtered it, "If you have been no-"ways acceſſary, nor have conſented to the Sin of your Lord and "Maſter *Lotharius* with *Waldrada*; if you have not communicat-"ed with any excommunicated by the Apoſtolic See, may the Bo-"dy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt procure you Life everlaſting[k]." *And receives the Euchariſt.*

Among thoſe, who attended *Lotharius* on the preſent Occaſion, was *Gonthier*, the famous Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who had encouraged the King, above all the reſt, to diſmiſs *Theutberga* and marry *Waldrada* in her Room, and had been, on that Account, excommunicated by *Nicholas*, as has been ſaid in the Life of that Pope[l]. *Hadrian* however, at the Deſire of the Emperor, not only abſolved him from the Excommunication, but admitted him, with the other Followers of *Lotharius*, to Lay Communion; and that upon his reading aloud, before he received it, the following Paper; Gonthier *of* Cologne *abſolved by the* Pope.

"I *Gonthier* declare, before God and his Saints, to you my Lord "*Hadrian*, ſovereign Pontiff and univerſal Pope, to all the vener-"able Biſhops ſubject to you, and to the whole Aſſembly, that I "do not complain of the Sentence of Depoſition pronounced ca-"nonically againſt me by my Lord Pope *Nicholas*, but humbly "bear it; that I ſhall not preſume to perform any Functions of the "ſacred Miniſtry, unleſs you out of Pity reinſtate me in my an-"cient Dignity; and that I will never give any Cauſe of Offence "to the holy *Roman* Church, or to the Pontiff, who preſides in *The Paper read on that Occaſion.*

[k] Regin. ad an. 869. et Annal. Bertin. [l] See vol. iv. p. 295.

"it,

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" it, but ſhall ever live attached and obedient to both. I *Gonthier* " have ſigned this Declaration on the Firſt of *July*, Second Indic- " tion, in the Church of *St. Saviour* of the Monaſtery of St. *Be-* " *nedict* on *Monte Caſſino* [m]." This Declaration *Gonthier* read ſo as to be heard by all, who were preſent, and the Pope thereupon adminiſtered the Sacrament to him among the Laity, ſaying, " And " I grant you Lay Communion, upon Condition that you obſerve " the Promiſe you have made ſo long as you live (A)."

Lotharius *follows the Pope to* Rome.

Ingelberga returned after this Ceremony to the Emperor, and *Hadrian* to *Rome*, whither he was ſoon followed by *Lotharius*.

Meets with a cold Reception from the Romans.

But the King met not there with the Reception he expected. No one came out to receive him; none of the Clergy appeared upon his repairing to the Church of St. *Peter* to viſit the Tomb of the Apoſtle, and he went attended only by thoſe of his own Retinue to the Lodging, that was appointed for him near that Church, but had not been ſo much as ſwept. He ſent immediately to acquaint the Pope with his Arrival, and to beg that his Holineſs would ſay high Maſs the next Day, being *Sunday*, and allow him publicly to aſſiſt at it with all his Followers. This the Pope would not agree to, leſt he ſhould diſoblige the *Romans*, who were no Friends to *Lotharius*, and held the Memory of *Nicholas*, who would not communicate with him, in the greateſt Veneration. However the

But is well received by the Pope.

King entered *Rome* on the *Monday* following, was well received by the Pope, whom he preſented with ſeveral Gold and Silver Veſ-

The Pope's Preſents to him.

ſels, and was even entertained by his Holineſs at Dinner in the *Lateran* Palace. Among the Preſents, that the Pope made in his Turn to the King, were a Royal Mantle, the Branch of a Palm-tree, and a Ferula or paſtoral Staff, ſuch as the Biſhops uſed in thoſe Days. Theſe Preſents from the Pope were looked upon by the King and thoſe about him as myſterious or emblematical. By the Mantle they underſtood *Waldrada* (and they might as well have underſtood any Body elſe, or any Thing) who, they ſaid, would be reſtored to the King; the Branch of the Palm-tree they interpreted as denoting

[m] Regin. Annal. Meten. et Bertin.

(A) This Declaration, made by *Gonthier*, when the King and his Followers were admitted by the Pope to the Communion of the Church, plainly ſhows, that they were admitted to it in the Church of the above-mentioned Monaſtery, as we read in the *Bertinian* Annaliſt, and not at *Rome*, as is ſuppoſed by *Regino* and the Annaliſt of *Metz*.

Victory,

Victory, *viz.* that the King would carry his Point in ſpite of all Oppoſition; and by the Ferula was meant, as they underſtood it, Authority over the Biſhops, whom the King would oblige in the End to ſubmit to his Will, and agree to his marrying *Waldrada*. Year of Chriſt 868.

Lotharius left *Rome* pleaſed with theſe Thoughts; but thoſe of the Pope were very different from his. For no ſooner did the King ſet out on his Return to *Lorraine*, than the Pope diſpatched *Formoſus* and another Biſhop, with the Character of his Legates, to examine anew, jointly with the Biſhops of *Germany*, *France*, and *Lorraine*, the Affair of the Divorce on the Spot. They were to decide nothing, but only to enquire into all the Circumſtances of that Affair, and make their Report to his Holineſs, who appointed a Council to meet on the Firſt of *March* of the following Year 870; and the deciſive Sentence was to be pronounced by that Council. But the Pope and the Biſhops were delivered from that Trouble in a Manner, that was little expected either by them or the King. For *Lotharius*, arriving at *Lucca* on his Way home, was there ſeized with a malignant Fever; and he died of it at *Placentia*, whither he had cauſed himſelf to be carried. His Death happened on the Eighth of *Auguſt* 869, and very few of his numerous Retinue outlived him, being almoſt all carried off by the ſame Diſtemper, ſome at *Lucca* and the reſt at *Placentia* [n]. Thus ended an Affair, that had engaged the Attention of Pope *Nicholas* ever ſince the Year 862, and would, in all Likelihood, if it had not thus ended, have given a great deal of Trouble to *Hadrian*. *Death of* Lotharius.

I have obſerved in the foregoing Volume, p. 336, that the Emperor *Baſilius* having driven *Photius* from the Patriarchal See of *Conſtantinople*, and reſtored *Ignatius*, diſpatched *Baſilius* the Protoſpatharius to acquaint Pope *Nicholas* therewith, but that *Nicholas* dying before his Arrival at *Rome*, the Letters, which he was charged with, were delivered to his Succeſſor. The Protoſpatharius and *John* Metropolitan of *Sylæum*, ſent by *Ignatius*, arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the Election of *Hadrian*, and were received not only by him, but by the whole *Roman* People, with extraordinary Marks of Diſtinction. At their Firſt Audience they delivered to the Pope, as the ſupreme Head of the Church, the Acts of the Council held by *Photius* at *Conſtantinople* againſt Pope *Nicholas* [o], deſiring his *Envoys from* Baſilius *Emperor of the Eaſt to the Pope.*

They deliver to him the Acts of the Council held by Photius *againſt Pope* Nicholas;

[n] Annal. Bertin. Metenſ. et Regino.

[o] See vol. iv. p. 329.

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Holineſs to cauſe thoſe Acts to be examined, and to condemn what ſhould be found in them repugnant to the Dignity of the holy *Roman* Church, or what he thought inconſiſtent with the true Catholic Doctrine. We are told, that the Metropolitan of *Sylæum* threw the Book containing the Acts of that Council on the Ground when he preſented it to the Pope, ſaying, *thou haſt been curſed at* Conſtantinople, *be curſed again at* Rome: Photius, *Miniſter of the Devil, and a new* Simon *compiled thee:* Nicholas, *Miniſter of Chriſt, a new* Peter *and Lover of Truth condemned thee.* The Spatharius ſtamping upon it, and ſtriking it with his Sword is ſaid to have added; *I believe that the Devil dwells in this Work, and ſays by the Mouth of* Photius *his Accomplice what he cannot ſay himſelf.* He aſſured the Pope at the ſame Time that *Photius* had indeed got the Emperor *Michael* to ſign thoſe Acts one Night when he was drunk, but that the Signature of the Emperor *Baſil* was forged, as were the Signatures of many Biſhops, whoſe Names were ſeen there, though they had never ſo much as heard of that Council [p]. The Pope cauſed the Book to be carefully examined by Perſons well skilled in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and upon their delivering their Opinion concerning it, he aſſembled a Council in the Church of St. *Peter*, conſiſting of Twenty-nine Biſhops, Nine Presbyters of the *Roman* Church, and Five Deacons. By that Aſſembly the following Decrees were iſſued in the Preſence of the eaſtern Envoys. 1. That the Acts of the Council held at *Conſtantinople* by *Photius* and the Emperor *Michael* his Protector, againſt the Authority of the *Roman* Church, ſhould be publicly conſigned to the Flames, and likewiſe the Writings that either had publiſhed againſt Pope *Nicholas*, or the Patriarch *Ignatius*. By the Second Decree *Photius* was again condemned and anathematized; but to that Decree was added, that if he ſubmitted by Word of Mouth and in Writing to the Decrees of Pope *Nicholas*, and to that enacted by the preſent Council, he ſhould be admitted to Lay Communion. The Third Decree granted the Communion of the Church to all, who, adhering to *Photius*, had approved or ſigned his anathematized Council, provided they burnt the Copies they had of that Council, conformed to the Ordinances of the Apoſtolic See, and communicated with *Ignatius* as lawful Patriarch of the Imperial City. By the Fourth they were excom-

which are condemned in a Council at Rome *and burnt.*

[p] Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian.

municated,

Year of Chriſt 868.

municated, who did not communicate with *Ignatius*, but ſtill continued to countenance the Uſurper of his See in his unjuſt Uſurpation. Laſtly, all, who, inſtead of delivering up or burning the Acts of *Photius*'s Council, ſhould thenceforth conceal or defend them, were excommunicated if Laymen, and degraded if Clerks. By this Council, and all the Biſhops who compoſed it, the Emperor *Baſilius* was cleared from having been any-ways concerned in the Depoſition of *Ignatius*, his Signature was pronounced a Forgery, and he declared worthy of a Place among the orthodox Emperors. The Council being ended, the above-mentioned Book was laid on the Steps at the Church Door, was trodden under Foot by the Biſhops, and then, in their Preſence, thrown, with many Anathemas and Curſes, into a great Fire and conſumed. *Anaſtaſius* adds, that a violent Shower happened at the Time, but that inſtead of extinguiſhing, it ſerved to kindle the Fire, and make it burn with more Violence, as if it had not rained Water but Oil [q].

Anaſtaſius *Cardinal Preſbyter excommunicated by* Hadrian *in a Council at* Rome.

In the ſame Year 868 *Hadrian* aſſembled another Council at *Rome* againſt *Anaſtaſius* Cardinal Presbyter of St. *Mark*. *Anaſtaſius* had been excommunicated by *Leo* IV. as has been related in the foregoing Volume [r], and had upon his Death not only uſurped the pontifical Dignity, but treated *Benedict*, who was lawfully choſen, with the utmoſt Barbarity [s]. However Pope *Nicholas* reſtored him to his Dignity, and *Hadrian* even appointed him Librarian of the *Roman* Church. But he, abuſing the Confidence the Pope repoſed in him, pillaged the Patriarchal Palace, and privately conveyed away the Acts of the Council that had condemned him in the Pontificate of *Leo*. Beſides he was ſuſpected of having been acceſſory to the Murder of *Hadrian*'s Wife and his Daughter. For *Hadrian* was married to one *Stephania*, no Doubt before his Ordination, and had a Daughter by her, whom *Eleutherius*, Brother to *Anaſtaſius* carried away by Force, and married, though betrothed to another. This the Pope highly reſented, and applying to the Emperor, in whom alone the civil Power was ſtill lodged, he prevailed upon him to appoint Commiſſioners to try the Delinquent according to the *Roman* Laws (B).

[q] Anaſt. in prefat. ad Concil. viii. Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian. [r] Vol. iv. p. 242. [s] Ibid. p. 260, 262.

(B) By one of *Conſtantine*'s Laws, they, who raviſhed Virgins, or ſtole them, even with their Conſent, againſt the Will of their Parents, were burnt alive (1). The Severity of this Law was ſomewhat mitigated by *Conſtantius*, but he ſtill made it a capital Offence (2).

(1) Cod. Theodoſ. l. 9. tit. 24. leg. 1. (2) Ibid. leg. 2.

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Hereupon *Eleutherius*, to be revenged on the Pope, murdered both his own Wife, the Pope's Daughter, and her Mother. These Murders, for which he was tried by the Imperial Commissioners and sentenced to Death, he was said to have committed at the Instigation of his Brother *Anastasius*, whom the Pope therefore excluded from the Communion of the Church till he cleared himself, in a Council, from that as well as from the Crimes mentioned above. At the same time Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against all, who should in the mean while communicate with him, or so much as speak to him, and he was threatened with a perpetual Anathema if he stirred from *Rome* till his Cause was determined [t]. What was the Issue of this Affair History does not inform us (C).

Hadrian *sends Legates into the East for the assembling of a General Council.*

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Hadrian not satisfied with excommunicating *Photius* and condemning the Acts of his Council at *Rome*, as has been related above, wrote to the Emperor, as soon as he had dispatched the Affair of *Anastasius*, desiring him to assemble a General Council at *Constantinople*, as the most effectual Means of restoring to that Church the wished-for Peace and Tranquility. With this Letter, and another to the Patriarch *Ignatius*, were sent into the East *Donatus* Bishop of *Ostia*, *Stephen* of *Nepi*, and the Deacon *Marinus*; and they were to assist as the Pope's Legates at the General Council. They set out from *Rome* with the Envoys, whom the Emperor and *Ignatius* had sent thither the preceding Year, and arriving at *Thessalonica* were received there by *Eustatius* Spatharius, sent by the Emperor to meet them, and attended by him to *Sellambria*. At *Sellambria* they were met by *Sidinnius* Protospatharius, and furnished with Forty Horses out of the Emperor's own Stables, with Plate for their Table, and proper Persons to wait on them. Thus attended they arrived at the *Round-Castle*, and the next Day, being *Sunday*, they made their public Entry into *Constantinople*, being received at the

[t] Annal. Bertin. tom. viii. Concil. p. 129.

(C) I cannot help observing here, that some Writers, not aware of *Anastasius* having been by *Hadrian* appointed Bibliothecarian of the *Roman* Church, and his being stiled *Anastasius the Bibliothecarian*, have, by an unaccountable Mistake, understood of the Monk *Anastasius*, who succeeded him in that Office and wrote the Lives of the Popes, what is said of the other, as if the Monk had been deposed and excommunicated; whereas it is certain that he held that Office to the Hour of his Death.

Gate by all the great Officers of the Crown as well as the Clergy in their Copes, and conducted by them in great Pomp to the Palace of *Irene*. There they were received by *John* the Imperial Secretary and *Strategius* the Spatharius ſent by the Emperor to excuſe him from granting them Audience the next Day, it being his Birth-day. The Day following they were attended to the Imperial Palace by all the chief Lords of the Court, and admitted to the Preſence of the Emperor, who roſe up as ſoon as they appeared, received the Pope's Letter with his own Hand, kiſſed it, and having inquired after the State of the *Roman* Church and *Hadrian*'s Health, kiſſed the Legates, and ſent them to deliver the Pope's Letter to *Ignatius*. In that Letter *Hadrian* congratulated the Patriarch upon his Reſtoration, declared that he adhered in all Things to the Decrees of his Predeceſſor, to thoſe eſpecially againſt *Photius* and *Gregory* of *Syracuſe*; recommended to *Ignatius* thoſe Biſhops, who had ſuffered Perſecution on his Account; and as to thoſe, who had been ordained by his Predeceſſor or by him, but had ſided with *Photius*, he thought they might be forgiven upon their ſatisfying his Legates, in the Manner that he had preſcribed [u].

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The Legates well received by the Emperor.

The next Day they waited again on the Emperor, when he approved the Aſſembly of a General Council as was propoſed by the Pope, told the Legates, that the Patriarchs of the Eaſt, the Metropolitans and Biſhops had waited theſe Two Years for the Deciſion of the holy *Roman* Church their Mother, and exhorted them to ſpare no Pains in ſettling the diſtracted State of that Church, and re-eſtabliſhing a perfect Harmony among them. The Legates anſwered that they were ſent for that Purpoſe, but could admit no Orientals to the Council till they had ſigned a Formulary, which they had brought with them from *Rome*. The Mention of a Formulary excluding all from the Council, who ſhould refuſe to ſign it, ſurpriſed the Emperor as well as the Patriarch, who was, it ſeems, preſent at this Interview, but upon its being, at their Requeſt, produced by the Legates, and tranſlated into *Greek*, they both approved of it, and the Council was thereupon appointed to meet on the Fifth of *October* of the preſent Year 869 [w]; and on that Day they met accordingly in the Church of St. *Sophia*.

A General Council appointed to meet at Conſtantinople.

At the Firſt Seſſion none were preſent but the Pope's Three Legates, the Patriarch *Ignatius*, the Deputies of the Patriarchs of *Antioch*

Firſt Seſſion of the Council of Conſtantinople.

[u] Anaſt. in Pref. ad viii. Synod. [w] Guil. Biblioth. in Hadrian.

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tioch and *Jeruſalem*, Twelve Biſhops, who had ſteadily adhered to *Ignatius*, and ſeveral Patricians, at the Head of whom was *Bahanes*, appointed by the Emperor to aſſiſt at the Council with the Character of his Commiſſioners. In this Seſſion was read the Pope's Letter to the Emperor, wherein he thanked and highly commended him for driving out *Photius*, and reſtoring the lawful Patriarch to his See, adding that at his Requeſt he would ſhow Mercy to thoſe, who had ſided with the Uſurper, but that as they ought to be treated differently, ſome being more and ſome leſs guilty, he wiſhed a General Council might be aſſembled, and his Legates allowed to preſide at it, in order to determine who were to be treated with more Severity, and who with leſs. In the ſame Letter he deſired that the Acts of *Photius*'s Council might be condemned to the Flames, and the Decrees of the Councils held by himſelf and his Predeceſſor againſt him be ſigned by all the Biſhops, who ſhould compoſe the General Council. In the next Place was read the Formulary mentioned above, importing, that no Biſhops, Presbyters, Clerks, or Monks ſhould be admitted to the Council, till they had anathematized all Heretics, eſpecially the Iconoclaſts, and with them *Photius*, till they had condemned his Council, approved, ſigned, and received the Councils held by *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* againſt him; ſo that none but the avowed Enemies of *Photius* were to ſit in this Council.

Second Seſſion.

In the Second Seſſion, held on the Seventh of the ſame Month of *October*, Ten Biſhops, and ſeveral Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, who had countenanced *Photius* in his unjuſt Uſurpation, but had been ordained by *Ignatius* or his Predeceſſor, had their eccleſiaſtical Ornaments reſtored to them, and were allowed to ſit in the Council upon their acknowledging their Fault, asking Pardon for it, and ſigning the Formulary. Upon theſe the following Penance was impoſed by the Council, *viz.* that ſuch of them as eat Meat ſhould abſtain from it, and likewiſe from Eggs and Cheeſe; that they, who eat no Meat, ſhould abſtain from Eggs, from Cheeſe, and even from Fiſh on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, and only feed upon Legumes, that is, upon Roots and Greens. But they were allowed the Uſe of Oil, and a little Wine; and all were to kneel down Fifty times a Day, to ſay an Hundred times a Day, *I have ſinned, Lord have Mercy upon me*, to repeat daily the Sixth, the Thirty-ſeventh, and the Fiftieth Pſalms,

and

and forbear all eccleſiaſtical Functions till Chriſtmas, when they were to be reſtored to their reſpective Ranks. Year of Chriſt 869.

The Biſhops met again on the Eleventh of *October*, when *Theodolus* and *Nicephorus*, Metropolitans of *Ancyra* and *Nice*, who had been lawfully ordained, but had ſided with *Photius*, were ſummoned to ſign the Formulary ſent from *Rome*, and take their Place in the Council. But with that Summons they refuſed to comply, declaring that they would ſign nothing beſides the Confeſſion of Faith, which they had ſigned at their Ordination, and were ready to ſign anew if required. This Anſwer did not ſatisfy the Legates; and the Two Metropolitans were by them, purſuant to their Inſtructions, excluded from the Council. In the ſame Seſſion were read and approved the Letters of the Emperor *Baſilius* and the Patriarch *Ignatius* to Pope *Nicholas*, and with them *Hadrian*'s Letter to that Patriarch. *Third Seſſion.*

In the Fourth Seſſion, on the Thirteenth of *October*, Two Biſhops, *Theophilus* and *Zacharias*, who ſtill adhered to *Photius*, were, at their Deſire, introduced and heard by the Council. They pretended, that Pope *Nicholas* had acknowledged *Photius*, and communicated with him, as well as with thoſe whom he had ordained. But the contrary appearing from that Pope's Letters to the Emperor *Michael* and to *Photius* himſelf, which were publicly read, the Two Biſhops upon their refuſing to ſign the Formulary, or even to hear it, were driven out of the Council. *Fourth Seſſion.*

The Fifth Seſſion was held on the Twentieth of *October*, when *Photius* was ſummoned to appear before the Council, and upon his refuſing to obey the Summons was brought thither by Force, purſuant to an Order from the Emperor. But as he would anſwer no Queſtions, nor own himſelf guilty, the Council diſmiſſed him, after cauſing the Letters of Pope *Nicholas*, containing his Condemnation, to be read to him, and allowing him Time to return to himſelf and repent. *Fifth Seſſion.*

At the Sixth Seſſion, on the Twenty-fifth of *October*, the Emperor aſſiſted in Perſon; and the Biſhops whom *Photius* had ordained, being introduced to the Council, the Letter of the late Pope to the Emperor *Michael*, declaring their Ordination to be null, was read to them, and approved by the Council. But the Biſhops alledging ſeveral Inſtances of epiſcopal Ordinations rejected as null by the Pope, and yet admitted by other Biſhops as valid and lawful, the Emperor *Sixth Seſſion.*

anſwered,

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answered, that the Ordination of *Photius* was rejected as null by the other Patriarchal See as well as by that of *Rome*, that he was by all looked upon as an Usurper; and consequently that those, whom he had ordained, could be no Bishops, as he was no Bishop himself. This Session was closed with a pathetic Speech addressed by the Emperor to the Bishops, whom *Photius* had ordained, and read in his Name by the Secretary *Constantine*. In that Speech the Emperor expressed an earnest Desire to see Peace and Unity restored to the Church of *Constantinople*, exhorted those, who still acknowledged *Photius* for lawful Bishop, to acquiesce in the Judgment of the Council, and allowed them Seven Days to deliberate.

Seventh Session.

The Council met again on the Twenty-ninth of *October*, and the Emperor being present, *Photius*, and *Gregory* of *Syracuse* who had ordained him, were by his Order brought in. As *Photius* appeared leaning on a Staff, the Deacon *Marinus*, one of the Legates, ordered it to be taken from him, saying, *it is a Mark of Pastoral Dignity, and he is not a Pastor but a Wolf.* He was then asked whether he would sign the Formulary in order to his being received into the Church and admitted to Lay Communion. But that Proposal, as he was thereby to anathematize himself, he rejected with Scorn, and so did the Bishops, all to a Man, whom he had ordained, though earnestly pressed to it by the Emperor as well as the Council. Hereupon the Letters of *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* rejecting the Ordination of *Photius* as repugnant to the Canons, and likewise the Acts of the Council held lately against him under *Hadrian* at *Rome* being read, Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against him, with many Anathemas, and signed by all the Bishops of the Council. *Nicetas* adds, that the Bishops in signing it, dipt their Pens, not in Ink, but in the Blood of our Saviour[y]. But of this no Notice is taken in the Acts of the Council.

Photius *excommunicated.*

The Eighth Session.

The Eighth Session was held on the Eighth of *November*, when all the Writings of *Photius* against Pope *Nicholas* and the Patriarch *Ignatius*, and with them the Acts of his Council, were, by the Emperor's Order, burnt in the Presence of the Council. In the next Place some Iconoclasts were heard, and Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out anew against all of that Sect, and likewise against *Photius* and *Gregory* of *Syracuse*.

[y] Nicet. in vit. Ignat. tom. viii. Concil. p. 1231.

At

At the Ninth Seſſion, held on the Twelfth of *February* 870, ſeveral Perſons, and moſt of them Men of the Firſt Rank and Diſtinction, appearing before the Council, owned, that at the Inſtigation of the Emperor *Michael* and *Photius*, they had borne falſe Witneſs againſt the Patriarch *Ignatius*, asked Pardon of God and the Holy Council, and declared themſelves ready to undergo what Penance the Holy Synod ſhould think fit to impoſe on them. The Fathers, pleaſed with their voluntary Confeſſion, enjoined them the following Penance, *viz.* that for the Space of Four Years they ſhould only be admitted to the Service of the Catechumens, and ſtand, during the Two Firſt Years, at the Church Door, that for Four Years they ſhould abſtain from Meat and from Wine, *Sundays* and Feſtivals excepted, and during the Term of Three Years more abſtain from Meat and from Wine, on *Mondays*, *Wedneſdays*, and *Fridays*. However the Patriarch *Ignatius* was impowered by the Council to mitigate the Rigour and ſhorten the Time of that Penance. All, who were guilty of the ſame Crime, were excommunicated till they confeſſed it and received the ſame Penance. When theſe were diſmiſſed others were introduced, who owned that by the Emperor *Michael*'s Order and for his Diverſion they had, in the Attire of the Patriarch, ſaid Prayers, performed the Ceremony of Ordination, and exerciſed other ſacred Functions by Way of Deriſion; and upon them a Three Years public Penance was impoſed, and Sentence of Excommunication pronounced againſt all, who ſhould thenceforth countenance, or knowingly ſuffer the ſacred Myſteries of our holy Religion to be thus expoſed to Ridicule and Contempt. Laſtly, they were heard in this Seſſion, who had perſonated, in the Council of *Photius*, the Deputies of the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and they publicly owned that they had done ſo at his Inſtigation, and were utterly unknown to thoſe Patriarchs. At this Seſſion was preſent *Joſeph*, Archdeacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, and Deputy of that Patriarch. He arrived a few Days before, and having peruſed the Tranſactions of the preceding Seſſions, he preſented a Writing to the Council, declaring, that he entirely approved all they had done.

Year of Chriſt 870. *Ninth Seſſion.*

In the Tenth and laſt Seſſion, held on the laſt Day of *February*, at which aſſiſted the Emperor in Perſon and his Son *Conſtantine*, whom he had taken the Year before for his Partner in the Empire, was read and by all approved the Definition of the Council, containing

Laſt Seſſion.

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containing the Condemnation of *Photius*, of all who adhered to him, and of all Hereſies and Heretics, that had been condemned by the Seven preceding Councils; the Ordination of *Photius* was declared null, and ſo was the Ordination of thoſe whom he had ordained. As for the Biſhops, who had been ordained by *Ignatius* or his Predeceſſor in the Patriarchal See of *Conſtantinople*, but ſtill continued to ſupport the Uſurper, they were anathematized and excluded for ever, ſhould they even repent, from their former Ranks in the Church. On this Occaſion the Emperor made a long Speech to the Fathers of the Council, exhorting them to inſtruct, with great Care, their reſpective Flocks, to maintain Concord and Unity amongſt themſelves, and the Eccleſiaſtics under their Juriſdiction, and to conform, in all Things, to the Definition of the Council, ſince they had all approved of it. His Speech was received by the Council with loud Acclamations, and he invited by the Pope's Legates to ſign the Definition in the Firſt Place. But he declined it, and would only ſign after the Deputies of the Five Patriarchs. Thus the Legates ſigned in the Firſt Place, *Ignatius* in the next, then the Deputies of the other Patriarchs, and after them the Emperor and his two Sons *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, and the Biſhops, in all One hundred and One. At this Seſſion were admitted into the Council *Anaſtaſius* the Bibliothecarian, Count *Suppo* and *Everard*, ſent by the Emperor *Lewis* to propoſe a Match between *Lewis*'s Daughter, and *Conſtantine* the Emperor *Baſil*'s eldeſt Son, which however did not take Place [z]. The Council being ended, a circulatory Letter was drawn up in the Name of the Biſhops who compoſed it, to acquaint the whole World with the Depoſition of *Photius* and Reſtoration of *Ignatius*; and another was ſent in their Name to the Pope, to return his Holineſs Thanks for ſo ſteadily maintaining the Cauſe of the perſecuted Patriarch, and reſtoring Concord and Unity to the diſtracted Church of the Imperial City. The Emperor wrote to the Pope, and ſo did the Patriarch *Ignatius* much to the ſame Purpoſe.

The Writings which the Biſhops of the Council had ſigned taken from the Legates and reſtored.

Before the Council ended, ſeveral Biſhops of the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, apprehending that by ſigning the Formulary ſent by the Pope they had, in a manner, ſubjected the See of *Conſtantinople* to that of *Rome*, applied privately to the Emperor and *Ignatius* to have the Writings which they had ſigned taken from the Legates before they left the Imperial City. The Emperor complied

[z] Anaſt. in Pref. ad viii. Synod.

with

with their Requeſt, and by his Order the Writings were ſecretly conveyed away by thoſe, whom he had appointed to attend the Legates. But *Anaſtaſius*, and the Two other Envoys of the Emperor *Lewis* interpoſing, they were in the End all reſtored to them; and they put them into the Hands of the Envoys in order to their being conveyed to *Italy* with greater Safety [a]. Year of Chriſt 870.

The Council being ended a Conference was held, at which were preſent the Emperor, the Pope's Legates, the Patriarch *Ignatius*, the Deputies of the other Patriarchs, and the Envoys of the King of the *Bulgarians*, ſent to enquire of the Deputies of the Patriarchs, what Church they ought to be ſubject to, whether to the Church of *Conſtantinople*, or to that of *Rome*. The Pope's Legates pretended, that they ought to be ſubject to that of *Rome*, ſince the King, their Maſter, had ſubjected himſelf and his People to it, and received from Pope *Nicholas* both Prieſts and Biſhops. This the Envoys owned to be true, but added, that they wanted to know, which of the Two Sees it was moſt reaſonable they ſhould be ſubject to. The Legates anſwered, that they had no Inſtructions relative to that Affair, and therefore could determine nothing concerning it; but that, as their Country was full of Prieſts ſent from *Rome*, they thought it ought to belong to the *Roman* Church. Hereupon the Legates of the other Patriarchs asked the Envoys, whom their Country belonged to when they conquered it, and whether they found in it *Greek* or *Latin* Prieſts. The Country, anſwered the *Bulgarians*, belonged to the *Greeks* when we conquered it, and the Prieſts we found in it were *Greeks*. This the Deputies of the Patriarchs looked upon as a plain Proof of their being ordained by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and the Country being under the Juriſdiction of that See. But the Legates anſwering, that many Natives of *Greece* received their Ordination at *Rome*, and were ſent from thence into different Countries, the Deputies of the Patriarchs deſired they would let them know upon what they grounded their Claim. We ground it, replied here the Legates, 1ſt, Upon the ancient Juriſdiction, which the Apoſtolic See enjoyed, as appears from the Decretals of the Popes, over *Old* and *New Epirus*, *Theſſaly*, and *Dardania*, the Country that is now called *Bulgaria*; 2d, Upon the voluntary Submiſſion of the *Bulgarians*, who have applied to *Rome* for Prieſts and Biſhops; and laſtly, upon the Converſion of that Nation brought about chiefly *Conference concerning* Bulgaria;

[a] Anaſt. in Not. ad Libellum.

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by Prieſts and Biſhops from *Rome*. And upon which of theſe Titles, replied the Deputies, do you reſt your Claim? But to that the Legates returned no other Anſwer than that the Holy See had not choſen them, who were its Inferiors, for its Judges, and that they themſelves were not impowered to determine any thing concerning that Point. However the Deputies, paying no Kind of Regard to their Remonſtrances, pronounced the following Sentence, It is not fit that you, who have withdrawn yourſelves from the *Greek* Empire, and entered into an Alliance with the *Franks*, ſhould have a Right to ordain in the Dominions of our Prince; and we therefore declare, that the Country of the *Bulgarians*, which was formerly ſubject to the *Greeks*, and had *Greek* Biſhops and Prieſts, ought, upon its Return to Chriſtianity, to be reſtored to the Church of *Conſtantinople*, from which it was ſeparated by Paganiſm. The Legates loudly proteſted againſt that Sentence, declaring it null, as given by Judges whom the Holy See had neither choſen nor acknowledged. At the ſame time they conjured the Patriarch *Ignatius*, preſenting him a Letter from the Pope, not to concern himſelf with *Bulgaria*, leſt the *Roman* Church ſhould by his Means be deprived of her Rights after labouring long to reinſtate him in his. The Patriarch, being with much ado prevailed upon by the Legates to read the Pope's Letter, declared in general Terms, that as he was not young enough to be impoſed upon, nor old enough to dote and do what he cenſured in others, he would not interfere in the preſent Diſpute. However he ſoon began to exert, agreeably to the Judgment given by the Deputies of the Patriarchs, his Patriarchal Authority in the Country of the *Bulgarians*, drove out the *Latin* Miſſionaries, ſent *Greeks* in their Room, and ordained *Theophylactus* Biſhop of *Bulgaria*.

which is adjudged to the See of Conſtantinople.

Ignatius *drives the* Latins *out of* Bulgaria.

The Legates taken on their Return by Pirates.

The Emperor was highly provoked at the haughty Behaviour and Obſtinacy of the Legates on this Occaſion. However, diſſembling his Reſentment, he entertained them, before their Departure, at his Table, and made them rich Preſents, but was ſo careleſs of their Safety, that they were taken by the *Sclavonian* Pirates, who ſtript them of all they had, and among other Things of the original Acts of the Council, and carried them into Captivity. But having in the End recovered their Liberty at the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope and the Emperor, they arrived at *Rome* on the Twenty-ſecond of *December* of the preſent Year, and gave the Pope a minute Account of what had paſſed in the Council as well as in the Conference with the

the Deputies of the Oriental Patriarchs. As for the Acts of the Council, *Anaſtaſius* the Bibliothecarian had procured a Copy of them, which he brought with him to *Rome* and preſented to the Pope, who ordered him to tranſlate them into *Latin*, which he did accordingly [b]. It is to be obſerved, that this Council is received and acknowledged by the *Latin* Church, that is, by all the Weſtern Biſhops, for the Eighth General Council, but is rejected by all the Eaſtern Biſhops, except the few who communicate with *Rome*. The reſt receive only Seven General Councils. Year of Chriſt 870.

Charles the Bald *acknowledged King of* Lorrain.

While *Hadrian*'s Legates were exerciſing, with the Connivance of the Emperor, an uncontrouled Authority over the Biſhops in the Eaſt, he was himſelf ſtriving to exert the like Authority over Kings and Princes in the Weſt. The King of *Lorrain* dying at *Placentia*, without lawful Iſſue, as has been related above, *Charles* of *France* no ſooner heard of his Death, than leaving *Preſles* on the *Seine*, where he then was, he haſtened into *Lorrain*, where he had many Friends, to take Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. At *Verdun* he was received by ſeveral of the chief Lords of *Lorrain*, and from thence attended by them to *Metz*, where he was, in a general Aſſembly, conſiſting of the greater Part of the firſt Men of the Kingdom, and of Seven Biſhops, acknowledged for lawful Heir to his deceaſed Nephew, was anointed King of *Lorrain* by *Hincmar* of *Reims* and crowned with great Solemnity [c]. On the other Hand the Pope, eſpouſing with great Warmth the Cauſe of the Emperor *Lewis*, who was then employed in driving the *Saracens* out of *Italy*, diſpatched, upon the Firſt News of the Death of *Lotharius*, Two Biſhops *Paul* and *Leo* into *France* with Letters to *Charles*, to the Biſhops of *Lorrain*, to thoſe of *France*, to the Lords of both Kingdoms, and one to *Hincmar* of *Reims* in particular. In theſe Letters *Hadrian* declared the Kingdom of *Lorrain* to belong to the Emperor as the deceaſed King's Brother, exhorted thoſe, to whom they were directed, to maintain his juſt Rights, and threatened all with Excommunication, who ſhould countenance or aſſiſt any Pretender or Pretenders to that Crown. In his Letter to *Hincmar* he exhorted that Prelate to ſupport, with all his Authority, the juſt Claim of the Emperor, and empowered him to act in this Affair as his Vicar. With the Pope's Legates an Envoy named *Boderad* was

The Pope declares that Kingdom to belong to the Emperor;

[b] Anaſt. in Præfat. ad viii. Synod. et Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian. [c] Annal. Bertin.

Year of Christ 870.

sent by the Emperor to claim, in his Name, the Dominions of the late King his Brother, as devolved to him by his Death. These Letters were all dated the Fifth of *September* 869, and *Charles* was, on the Ninth of that Month, acknowledged by the far greater Part of the Clergy and Nobility of *Lorrain* for their lawful Sovereign, and crowned, as has been said, with great Solemnity; so that the Pope's Legates and the Emperor's Envoy found him in the quiet Possession of that Kingdom [d]. To these Letters therefore no Answer was returned either by the Clergy or the Nobility, and the King only told the Legates that when Matters were settled he would write to the Pope, and did not doubt but he should satisfy his Holiness.

but no Regard is had to his Declaration.

Letters from the Pope to Lewis *of* Germany *and to* Charles *on this Occasion.*

The Pope, being informed upon the Return of his Legates, that *Charles* had taken Possession of the Kingdom of *Lotharius* before their Arrival in *France*, immediately dispatched new Legates with Letters to the Two Kings *Lewis* and *Charles*, to the Lords and Bishops of their respective Kingdoms, and a Second to *Hincmar* in particular, all dated the Twenty-seventh of *June* 870. In his Letter to the King of *Germany*, he commends him for not offering to invade the Kingdom of his deceased Nephew, as *Charles* had done in Defiance of all the Laws of Justice and Equity; threatens to excommunicate that Prince, if he does not restore what he has so unjustly seized, and recommends his Legates, who, he tells the King, had something to communicate to him by Word of Mouth which he did not chuse to commit to Writing. They were in all Likelihood charged to propose an Alliance between the King and the Emperor against *Charles*, in order to drive him from the Kingdom of *Lorrain*. But *Charles*, dreading a War with the King of *Germany* more than all the Pope's Anathemas, had already yielded to him, and he actually possessed, a considerable Part of that Kingdom. In his Letter to *Charles* he complains of the little Regard he had shown for his former Legates, and his not answering the Letter he had writ to him; reproaches him with a Breach of the solemn Promise he had made and confirmed upon Oath, not to covet or usurp the Dominions of his Brothers, or their Descendents, and puts him in Mind of what he himself wrote formerly to the Holy See, when his Brother *Lewis* King of *Germany* drove him from his Kingdom, viz. *have Pity upon me, and suffer not a Breach of the most solemn Trea-*

[d] Aimoin. l. v. c. 24. Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 869.

ties

ties to paſs unpuniſhed. From theſe Words the Pope concludes, that as *Charles* was guilty of a like Breach of the moſt ſolemn Treaties in ſeizing on the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, the Apoſtolic See had, even according to him, a Right to puniſh him for it, and certainly would, if he did not reſtore it to the lawful Heir. He cloſes his Letter with admoniſhing, exhorting, and even commanding the King to relinquiſh what he had *unjuſtly* and *tyrannically* uſurped, and threatening to come in Perſon into *France*, and do what his Miniſtry required he ſhould, if the King did not comply with this Third Admonition[e]. In his Letter to the Biſhops and to *Hincmar* he complains of their Want of Reſpect for the Apoſtolic See in not anſwering the Letters, which he had ſent them by his former Legates; charges *Charles* with a Breach of his Oath, with Perjury, and Tyranny; and reproaches them with ſcandalouſly betraying their Miniſtry in not diſſuading and reſtraining him, as they ought, from invading the Dominions of the Emperor, while he was actually engaged in a War with the avowed Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. In the Cloſe of his Letter he requires *Hincmar*, and the other Biſhops, to ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of *Charles*, if he did not hearken to their Admonitions, elſe he would ſeparate them from his Communion. *Hadrian*'s Letter to the Lords of *Charles*'s Kingdom was the ſame, Word for Word, with that to the Biſhops[f].

Year of Chriſt 870.

As the Pope had written Two Letters to *Hincmar* in particular, *Charles* allowed that Prelate to anſwer them; and he anſwered them accordingly by a very long one, worthy of particular Notice, as it ſhows what were the Sentiments of the *Gallican* Biſhops in thoſe Days with reſpect to the Power claimed by the Popes over Kings and Kingdoms. For in that Letter, he tells the Pope in the Firſt Place, that he had acquainted the King, as well as the Lords and Biſhops of both Kingdoms, viz. of *France* and *Lorrain*, with the Orders which he had received from the Apoſtolic See, and had let them know that his Holineſs had declared the Kingdom of *Lorrain* to belong to the Emperor, and would without Diſtinction of Perſons, excommunicate any, who ſhould preſume to invade or uſurp it; but that the Kings of *France* and *Germany* had anſwered, that they were lawful Heirs to the deceaſed Prince, and had, as ſuch, an undoubted Right to divide his Kingdom between them in order to avoid a civil War, which would have ended in the utter Ruin of both

Hincmar's *Anſwer to a Letter he received from the Pope.*

[e] Hadrian, ep. 23. [f] Hadrian, ep. 24, 25, 26, 27.

Kingdoms.

Year of Chriſt 870.

Kingdoms. That *Charles* in particular had a well grounded Claim to the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, as having been bequeathed to him by his Father *Lewis the Debonnaire*, and confirmed to him by the Emperor *Lotharius*, Father to the preſent Emperor, who ſigned that Donation. And was I, adds *Hincmar*, to ſet up for a Judge? Was I to declare, that he had no Kind of Right to that Kingdom, and treat him as an Uſurper and a Tyrant? You tell me, that if the King does not comply with your Admonitions, I muſt renounce his Communion, or you will renounce mine. What you write I have communicated to many Eccleſiaſtics as well as to Laymen, and they all tell me, that no ſuch Order was ever ſent to any of my Predeceſſors though in their Times Brothers made War upon Brothers, nay and Children upon their Fathers; that the Conduct of your Holineſs in this Affair is quite unprecedented; that though *Lotharius* lived in public Adultery, your Predeceſſor did not command any Biſhop to ſeparate himſelf from his Communion, on pain of being himſelf ſeparated from that of the Holy See; that neither the Popes your Predeceſſors, nor other holy Biſhops have avoided the Company even of heretical or ſchiſmatic Princes; but on the contrary have treated them with all the Reſpect that was due to their Rank, and converſed with them when Occaſion required, with ſuch as *Conſtantius* the Arian, *Julian* the Apoſtate, and the Tyrant *Maximus*; that *Charles* was no Uſurper, no Tyrant, Names which your Holineſs is pleaſed to beſtow upon him, but lawful Heir to the Crown of the deceaſed King, which had been therefore offered him by moſt of the Lords and Biſhops of the Kingdom. They ſay in *France*, continues *Hincmar*, that the Popes have of late been greatly wanting in the Reſpect that is due to their Princes; that their Conduct towards them is very different from what it was in the Times of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*; that *Pepin*, eſpouſing the Cauſe of Pope *Stephen* againſt *Aſtulphus*, King of the *Lombards*, overcame that Prince, not by the Pope's Excommunication, but by Dint of Arms; that the Kingdoms of this World are to be gained not by Excommunications, but by Victories; and that the Lord himſelf has declared that Kings hold their Kingdoms of him; when we put them in Mind of the Power veſted in the Popes, as the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, and in the other Biſhops, they anſwer, exert that Power then againſt the *Normans* and other Enemies of the State without imploring our Aſſiſtance. But if you want our Help you muſt not put it out of our Power to help

help you. You must tell the Pope, that he cannot be both King and Bishop; that his Predecessors contented themselves with governing the Church, without meddling with Affairs of State; and that he must not think of obliging us to receive a King, who is at too great a Distance to defend us against the sudden and frequent Irruptions of the Pagans; that his Predecessors imposed no such Yoke on ours; that we cannot and will not bear it, being authorized by Holy Writ to defend our Liberties and our Inheritance even at the Expence of our Lives. If a Bishop excommunicates a Christian unlawfully, he thereby forfeits his Power; and he can exclude none from Life everlasting, who is not excluded from it by his Sins. It does not become a Bishop to deprive a Man of the Name of Christian, and give him up to the Devil, if he is not incorrigible, for a temporal Kingdom. If his Holiness therefore means to procure Peace, let him not concern himself with State Affairs; for he never will persuade us, that we shall not attain the Kingdom of Heaven, unless we acknowledge the King whom he shall be pleased to give us upon Earth. All are greatly shocked, continues *Hincmar*, at the Terms of Perjury and Tyranny, that are to be met with in your Letters, and say what it would serve no Purpose to let you know. But I must inform your Holiness, that the King is determined to maintain, at all Events, his Claim to the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, and that no Censures nor Excommunications will divert him from it g. Year of Christ 870.

Insolent Behaviour of the Pope's Legates in France.

In the mean time new Legates arrived from *Rome*, *viz.* Three Bishops, *John*, *Peter*, and *Wibod*, and a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church named *John*, with Envoys from the Emperor. The Legates went strait to St. *Denys*, where the King then was, and entering the Church of the Abbey while he was attending Divine Service there on the Festival of that Saint, they ordered him, in the Name of the Sovereign Pontiff, to relinquish the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, to which, they said, the Emperor alone had an undoubted Right. The King, highly provoked at their insolent Behaviour, ordered them immediately to withdraw, which damped their Courage not a little; and laying aside the Air of Authority which they had assumed, they became thenceforth more tractable. The King had several Conferences with them, treated them with great Civility, and soon after their Departure sent the Abbot *Arsegesilus* and a Layman named *Lotha-*

g Hincmar Opuscul. 41. tom. ii. p. 689. et apud Baron. ad ann. 870.

Year of Christ 870.

rius to *Rome* with Two Crowns of Gold enriched with precious Stones for St. *Peter* [h]. What Reception his Embaſſadors met with from the Pope Hiſtory does not inform us. But certain it is that *Hadrian*, finding that *Charles* was not to be intimidated with his Menaces, gave up the Point, and left the Kings of *France* and *Germany* to poſſeſs undiſturbed their reſpective Shares of the Kingdom of *Lorrain*. *Charles* kept his Share; but the King of *Germany* was ſoon after prevailed upon by the Empreſs *Ingelberga* to yield his to the Emperor.

The Pope takes Carloman *rebelling againſt his Father into his Protection.*

Charles was not more incenſed againſt the Pope for his adjudging the Kingdom of *Lorrain* to the Emperor, than he was on account of his taking his Rebel Son *Carloman*, and *Hincmar* the younger, Biſhop of *Laon*, into the Protection of the Holy See. *Carloman* had rebelled againſt his Father; but being taken Priſoner by the King's Troops, he was kept cloſely confined at *Senlis*. The Pope's Legates on their Arrival in *France* interpoſed in his Favour; and he was at their preſſing Inſtances releaſed from his Confinement, and even recalled to Court. But leaving his Father, ſoon after the Departure of the Legates, he fled into *Belgium*, and being there joined by great Numbers of Outlaws and Vagabonds, he laid waſte the whole Country between the *Meuſe* and the *Seine*. The Biſhops, whoſe Dioceſes he thus plundered, thundered out Excommunications againſt his Followers and Accomplices; and *Hincmar* of *Reims*, among the reſt, declared all, who ſhould continue with him after the Eleventh of *March*, cut off from the Communion of the Church. No Sentence was pronounced by *Hincmar* or any of the other Biſhops, againſt *Carloman* himſelf, the King having reſerved him to be tried by the Biſhops of the Province of *Sens*, as he was a Clerk (for his Father had obliged him to take Deacon's Orders) and belonged to that Church. The Threats of the Biſhops made no Impreſſion upon *Carloman* or his Followers; and they continued their Ravages till they were obliged by the King's Forces to quit the Country, and retire beyond Mount *Jura*. *Carloman* being thus driven out of *France*, and not doubting but he ſhould be excommunicated by the Biſhops of his Province, reſolved to recur to the Pope; and he ſent accordingly Deputies to implore the Protection of the Apoſtolic See againſt the undeſerved Reſent-

[h] Ann. l. vi. c. 24.

ment

ment of his Father, by whom he was, he ſaid, as cruelly as unjuſtly perſecuted. *Hadrian* had not yet forgot the little Regard that *Charles* had paid to his Remonſtrances, Exhortations, and even Commands, concerning the Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *Lorrain*; and therefore, laying hold of this Opportunity to vent his Paſſion, he wrote a moſt abuſive Letter to the King, telling him, that not ſatisfied with uſurping a Kingdom, to which he had no kind of Right, he ſurpaſſed in Cruelty the Brutes themſelves, that ſpared their Young; whereas he treated his own Son with a more than brutal Barbarity, not only depriving him of his Favour and Protection, but driving him out of his Kingdom, and moreover impiouſly inſiſting upon his being excommunicated by the Biſhops. This the Pope called a crying Piece of Cruelty and Injuſtice; and therefore ordered the King, in the Name of St. *Peter*, to receive *Carloman* again into Favour, to reinſtate him in the Benefices and Honours he enjoyed before, and cheriſh him as his Son till the Arrival of the Legates, whom he ſhould appoint to take Cognizance of the Affair, and ſettle it agreeably to the Laws of Juſtice. At the ſame time he wrote to the Lords of both Kingdoms, forbidding them to bear Arms againſt *Carloman* on Pain of Excommunication and eternal Damnation; and likewiſe to the Biſhops, declaring all their Excommunications null till the Affair was enquired into by his Legates on the Spot [i]. But to theſe Letters not the leaſt Regard was paid by the King, the Lords, or the Biſhops. For *Carloman* being taken ſome time after, he was firſt degraded by the Biſhops of the Province of *Sens*, and then ſentenced to Death by the Judges appointed by the King to try him. The Sentence however was not put in Execution, the King contenting himſelf with cauſing him to be deprived of his Sight, in order to prevent him, by that Means, from raiſing new Diſturbances in the Kingdom [k].

Year of Chriſt 870.

The Pope's Letters to the King in his Behalf;

and to the Lords and Biſhops.

No Regard paid to them.

The Interpoſition of the Pope in favour of *Hincmar* the younger was attended with no better Succeſs than his Menaces in favour of *Carloman*. *Hincmar* the younger was Nephew to *Hincmar* of *Reims* by that Prelate's Siſter, and had been preferred in 859 by the Intereſt his Uncle had at Court to the See of *Laon*, ſubject to that of *Reims*. He was at firſt greatly favoured by the King, who beſtowed upon him a rich Abbey, and even honoured him with an Employ-

Hincmar *of* Laon *incurs the Diſpleaſure of the King.*

[i] Hadrian, ep. 28, 29. [k] Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 873.

Year of Christ 870.

ment in his Court; but in the Year 868 he forfeited the King's Favour on the following Occasion. One *Luido* had enjoyed a Benefice in the Diocese of *Laon*, which after his Death was granted to his Son upon his paying a Sum of Money to that Church. This Benefice the Bishop took from him under some Pretence or other, and appropriated it to himself, though the King, to whom the Son of *Luido* applied for Redress, had desired him to restore it. Hereupon the King ordered the Cause to be tried in a Court consisting wholly of Laymen, summoned the Bishop to appear before them, and upon his refusing to appear, as if Laymen were not competent Judges in Affairs where the Church was concerned, confiscated the Revenues of his Bishopric, deprived him of his Abbey, and dismissed him from the Employment he held at Court. However, at the Interposition of *Hincmar* of *Reims*, Matters were adjusted for the present, the King was appeased, and the Bishop of *Laon* allowed to enjoy the Revenues of his Church till such time as the Affair was determined by proper Judges. For the Archbishop too had remonstrated, in a long Letter to the King, against the summoning of an Ecclesiastic before Lay Judges only, alledging several Canons to shew that the Bishop was not obliged to comply with the Summons, but on the contrary, that he would have betrayed the Rights of the Church had he obeyed it [1].

His unwarrantable Proceedings.

But the Bishop of *Laon* was a Man of a most restless Temper; and he soon after quarrelled anew with the King. For notwithstanding he was reinstated in the Possession of his Revenues till the Affair was finally determined by unexceptionable Judges, he wrote to the Pope, without the Knowledge either of his Uncle or of any other of the Bishops, complaining of the King, and representing him as an Usurper of the Lands and Estates of the Church. This Step was highly resented by the King, as well as by *Hincmar* of *Reims* and all the other Bishops, apprehending that it might occasion a Breach between *Charles* and the Pope, which would involve them, and, perhaps, the whole Kingdom in endless Troubles. But they were not more provoked at his recurring to the Pope than at his arbitrarily depriving, at this very Time, a Count named *Nortman* of a Benefice he enjoyed in his Diocese. That Benefice the King had granted to *Nortman* at the Bishop's own Request, who had re-

[1] Hincmar, ep. 29.

commended

commended him to his Favour as a Perſon of great Merit, and his particular Friend. But ſoon after wanting to recover it, he ordered *Nortman* to give it up, and upon his not complying, but urging that it was granted him by the King, and that he held it of the Crown, he wrote to the Pope, complaining of *Nortman* as if he had unjuſtly ſeized and refuſed to reſtore the Poſſeſſions of his Church. Upon the Receipt of that Letter *Hadrian* wrote one to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, ordering him to excommunicate *Nortman*, if he did not immediately reſtore to the Biſhop of *Laon* the Lands he had uſurped of his Church. *Hincmar* knew, that the Pope was miſinformed as to the Fact, and therefore very wiſely took no Notice of the Order that was ſent him. But in the mean time the Biſhop of *Laon*, breaking into *Nortman*'s Houſe with a Troop of armed Men, ſeized or deſtroyed whatever he found in it, drove him out, and, with the utmoſt Barbarity, his Wife too, though brought to Bed but a few Days before, and took Poſſeſſion both of the Houſe and the Tenements[m]. At the ſame time quarrelling with his own Clergy he ſuſpended them all, forbidding them, on pain of Excommunication, to perform any eccleſiaſtical Function whatever, to adminiſter Baptiſm to Children though in Danger of Death, or the Euchariſt to dying Perſons, and even to bury the Dead. *Hincmar* of *Reims* no ſooner heard of this Interdict than he wrote to his Nephew, ordering him, as his Metropolitan, to revoke it immediately. But with that Order he refuſed to comply; which obliged *Hincmar* to declare the Interdict null, and command the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Laon* to reſume their Functions without any Regard to the unjuſt and uncanonical Sentence of their Biſhop[n].

Year of Chriſt 870.

The King, highly provoked at the violent Proceedings of the Biſhop, appointed a Council, conſiſting of all the Biſhops of his Kingdom, to meet at *Verberie*, and ſummoned the Biſhop of *Laon* to it in particular. The Biſhops, in all Twenty-nine, met, purſuant to the King's Order, at the Place appointed, on the Twenty-fourth of *April* 869, and *Hincmar* of *Laon* among the reſt, who finding the Biſhops all to a Man, and even his Uncle, who preſided at the Council, ready to condemn him, appealed to the Pope, and begged Leave of the King, who was preſent, to purſue his Appeal at *Rome*.

Is tried in France, *notwithſtanding his Appeal to the Pope.*

[m] Acta Synod. Duziac. par. iii. c. 15. Hadrian, ep. 11. Hinc. Rem. ep. 35.
[n] Hinc. Opuſcul. c. 2.

Charles,

Year of Christ 870.

Charles, far from granting him his Requeſt, ordered him to be confined; but releaſed him from his Confinement ſoon after o. The following Year 870 another Council was held at *Attigni*, conſiſting of the Biſhops of Ten Provinces; and in that Aſſembly the Biſhop of *Laon* was accuſed by the King in Perſon of Breach of his Allegiance, by his Uncle of Diſobedience to him as his Metropolitan, by *Nortman* of the Violence he had offered him and the inhuman Treatment of his Wife, by the Clergy of his Dioceſe of ſuſpending them contrary to the Canons, and by ſeveral Biſhops of excommunicating Perſons of their Dioceſes, over whom he had no Kind of Juriſdiction. The Biſhop appealed again to the Pope; but no Regard was had by the King, the Archbiſhop, or the other Biſhops to that Appeal, nor would they grant him Leave to go to *Rome*. However the King did not inſiſt, nor did the Archbiſhop, upon his being tried according to the Rigour of the Law and the Canons. The King was ſatisfied with his renewing his Oath of Allegiance; and the Archbiſhop with his promiſing to obey him, for the future, as his Metropolitan. The other Complaints, that eſpecially of *Nortman* and his Wife, were referred to the Arbitration of Three Biſhops, viz. *Actard* of *Nantes*, *Raginelm* of *Noyon*, and *John* of *Cambray*; and all three, after examining the Affair of *Nortman* in the Preſence of the King, gave Sentence in his Favour.

He is depoſed in a Council of the Gallican *Biſhops.*

Year of Chriſt 871.

But in the mean time the Biſhop of *Laon*, diſtruſting his Cauſe, withdrew by Night from *Attigni*, though he had promiſed to remain there till the Complaints againſt him were all examined, and to ſtand to the Deciſion of the Three Biſhops. The King ſent him an Order to return; but with that Order he refuſed to comply, pretending, in a Letter he wrote in Anſwer to it, to be ill of a Fever, but at the ſame time begging Leave to go to *Rome*. The King anſwered the Meſſenger, who brought the Letter, that to him it ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange the Biſhop ſhould not be able, for his Illneſs, to come to him, and yet ſhould be able to go to *Rome*. He added, that he would readily grant him his Requeſt, provided he came, and ſatisfied him that it was juſt and reaſonable. But he could by no Means be prevailed upon either to return to *Attigni*, or to acquieſce in the Deciſion of the Three Arbitrators; nay, he declared in a Letter to the Archbiſhop, that if the King took upon him to diſ-

o Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 869.

pose of the Goods of his Church, he would not obey him, but excommunicate all, without Distinction of Persons, who should presume to seize or usurp them, being authorized therein by the Canons. This Letter the Archbishop communicated to the King, who more exasperated than ever against the Bishop of *Laon*, for threatening him with Excommunication, appointed a Council to meet at *Douzi* in the Month of *August* 871, and ordered him to be summoned to it to answer the several Accusations brought against him. The Bishop appeared upon the Third Summons, when the King charged him with Perjury, Sedition, and Rebellion; with calumniating him to the Pope; with seizing by Force, Lands, that did not belong to him; with the barbarous Treatment of *Nortman* and his Wife; with Disobedience to his Metropolitan; with disposing of the Goods of his Church, especially of a golden Chalice and its Patten, or Cover, enriched with precious Stones, which the King had offered to St. *Mary* of *Laon*; with excommunicating or suspending the Clergy of his Diocese contrary to the Canons, *&c.* To these Complaints the Bishop returned no Answer, but, appealing anew to the Pope, insisted upon his being judged by the Apostolic See. But *Hincmar* of *Reims* making it appear from the very Canons of *Sardica*, which the other quoted to support and justify his Appeal, that he was not to appeal to the Holy See before, but only after Judgment was given by the Bishops of the Province, the Council voted, all to a Man, his Deposition, *saving in all Things the Judgment of the Apostolic See.* The Sentence was pronounced by *Hincmar*, who presided at the Council, and signed by Seven Metropolitans, Thirteen Bishops, One Chorepiscopus, Six Presbyters, and Two Archdeacons [p].

Year of Christ 871.

The Bishops sent, upon the breaking up of the Council, *Actard*, Bishop of *Nantes*, to *Rome* with the Acts and a synodal Letter to the Pope, wherein they desired his Holiness to confirm them, or, if he did not approve of their Proceedings, to cause the Bishop, whom they had deposed, to be judged anew by the same Bishops or by those of the neighbouring Provinces, and to send, if he chose it, a Legate to assist at the Judgment in his Name, as was prescribed by the Canons of *Sardica*. They added, that if his Holiness should reverse their Sentence, or in the mean time reinstate the Bishop in his Dignity,

Their Letter to the Pope.

[p] Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 870. Hincmar Opuscul. Flodoard, l. iii. c. 22. Aim. l. v. c. 24.

they

Year of Christ 871.

they would avoid his Communion, and give themſelves no further Trouble about him. In the Cloſe of their Letter they begged the Pope to confirm the Election of *Actard*, whom the *Britons* had driven from the See of *Nantes*, and the People and Clergy of *Tours* had unanimouſly choſen for their Biſhop. This Letter is dated the Sixth of *September* 871. At the ſame Time *Hincmar* wrote a private Letter to the Pope to excuſe his not executing the Order he had ſent him to excommunicate *Nortman*, ſince his Holineſs was groſly impoſed upon with reſpect to that Affair. This he ſhows in his Letter, and wiſhes that, if his Holineſs ſhould have Occaſion to ſend him any ſuch Orders for the future, he would add this Clauſe to them, *provided the Caſe be as it has been repreſented to us*[q]. The Pope, in his Anſwer to the Biſhops of the Council, readily agreed to the Promotion of *Actard* to the Metropolitan See of *Tours*. But he highly diſapproved of their judging and condemning the Biſhop of *Laon* after he had appealed to the Apoſtolic See. "However ſince "you have condemned him, he added, ſaving the Judgment of the "Holy See, we order you to ſend him to *Rome* with one, at leaſt, "of his Accuſers, and forbid you to appoint another Biſhop in his "room till his Cauſe has been re-examined, and judged anew in "our Preſence[r]." At the ſame time he wrote to the King, complaining of his taking in ill part his paternal Admonitions, and exhorting him to receive his Corrections with the Submiſſion that became an obedient Son of the Holy See. He confirms the Election of *Actard*, but requires, and even commands, the King to ſend the Biſhop of *Laon* to *Rome*, declaring that he never would, upon any other Terms, conſent to his Depoſition[s]. Theſe Letters are both dated the Twenty-ſixth of *December* 871.

The Pope orders the Biſhop of Laon *to be ſent to* Rome.

Charles was highly provoked at the Pope's commanding him to ſend a Biſhop of his Kingdom to be judged at *Rome*, when he had by a Council of Biſhops been found guilty of many Crimes, and, among the reſt, of open Diſobedience to the Commands of his Sovereign; and he returned the following Anſwer to *Hadrian*'s Letter, penned, as is ſuppoſed and indeed is manifeſt from the Stile, by *Hincmar* of *Reims*, "In your Letter concerning *Hincmar* of "*Laon*, ſays the King, you write to us thus, *We will and com-* "*mand, by our Apoſtolic Authority, Hincmar of Laon to be ſent*

The King's Letter in Anſwer to the Pope's.

[q] Hincmar Opuſc. 41. p. 689. [r] Hadrian, ep. 32. [s] Ibid. ep. 33.

to

Year of Chriſt 871.

" *to us.* Did any of your Predeceſſors ever write in the like Stile " to any of ours? Do you not thereby baniſh Chriſtian Simplicity " and Humility from the Church, and introduce worldly Pride and " Ambition in their Room? And where did he, who dictated the " Letter that Biſhop *Actard* has brought to us, find it written, that " a King, who is, by the Laws both civil and eccleſiaſtic, the " Avenger of Crimes, can be commanded, by Apoſtolic Authority, " to ſend a Criminal to *Rome*, who has been legally convicted and " condemned? I wrote to you formerly, and now write to you " again, leſt you ſhould forget it, that we Kings of the *Franks*, " come of Royal Race, are not the Vicegerents of Biſhops, but " Lords and Maſters of the World." Here the King quotes ſeveral Paſſages from Scripture, and likewiſe from the Letters and Decrees of the Popes themſelves, commanding Obedience and Submiſſion to Kings and Princes, and then continues thus. " And where is the " Law to be found, that ſubjects Kings to Apoſtolic Authority, that " requires them to ſend Delinquents tried and condemned to *Rome* " in order to their being there tried and judged anew? This Law, " Hell itſelf has vomited forth from its dark ſubterraneous Pits to " lead us aſtray from the Path pointed out to us in Holy Writ. We " therefore entreat you never more to write ſuch Letters to us, or " to the Biſhops and Lords of our Kingdom, that we may not be " obliged to treat with Contempt both the Letters and the Bearers. " We are willing to embrace what is approved by the Holy See, " when what the Holy See approves is agreeable to Scripture, to " Tradition, and to the Laws of the Church. If it interferes with " them, know that we are not to be frighted into it with Me- " naces of Excommunications and Anathemas[t]." The Biſhops of the Council anſwered the Pope's Letter to them much in the ſame Stile, telling him, that they had met with many Things in his Letter, which they ſhould not have believed to have been written by him, had not their Brother *Actard* informed them, that the Multiplicity of his Occupations had not allowed his Holineſs the neceſſary Leiſure to read the Acts of the Council throughout, or to mind what they had writ to him. As to the Affair of *Hincmar* of *Laon*, they maintained, that, according to the Canons of *Sardica*, which they ſaid they had cauſed to be read to them, it ought to be judged upon the Spot, if his Holineſs choſe to have it judged anew, and not

The Letter of the Biſhops of the Council to the Pope.

[t] Apud Baron. ad ann. 871.

Year of Christ 871.

at *Rome* [u]. The Pope found by these Letters, that neither the King nor the Bishops were to be intimidated with his Menaces, and therefore thinking it advisable to change his Stile, he wrote another to *Charles*, wherein, after apologizing for his former Letters as written by his Secretary while he was indisposed, and bestowing the highest Commendations upon the King, he promised to employ all his Interest in his Behalf, if they should both outlive the Emperor, who had no Issue Male, and never to acknowledge any other Emperor than him, should Heaps of Gold be offered him. With Regard to the Condemnation of *Hincmar*, the Pope mentioned it with great Moderation, desiring, and not commanding him to be sent to *Rome*, and assuring the King, that he should refer the final Decision of his Cause back to the Bishops of his Province. But the King did not, nor did the Bishops, think it advisable to comply with his Holiness's Desire. On the other hand the Pope would not consent to the Election of another Bishop: And thus the See of *Laon* remained vacant till the Year 876, when the Affair was finally determined, as we shall see in the Sequel. The Pope, apprehending that the Promise he had made would give Umbrage to *Lewis* of *Germany*, begged the King to keep this Letter secret, or at least to communicate the Contents to none but his most faithful Servants [w].

The Pope writes again to the King but in a very different Stile.

Letters from the Emperor Basilius *and the Patriarch* Ignatius *to the Pope.*

In the latter End of the present Year 871, the Abbot *Theognostus* arrived at *Rome* with Letters from the Emperor *Basilius* and the Patriarch *Ignatius* to the Pope, entreating him to allow *Paul*, Keeper of the Charters of the Church of *Constantinople*, whom *Photius* had preferred to the Episcopal Dignity, to keep his Rank, and restore *Theodore* Metropolitan of *Curia* to his, as he had been ordained by *Ignatius*, and had suffered much in his Cause before he could be brought to side with the Usurper of his See. In Answer to these Letters the Pope told the Emperor and the Patriarch, that it was not customary for the *Roman* Pontiffs to act contrary to the Decrees and Ordinances of their Predecessors, or to those of General Councils, and he could not therefore grant them their Request. In his Letter to the Emperor he reproached him with having entirely neglected the Safety of the Apostolic Legates, who, returning by Sea without a Convoy, had been taken by the Pirates, had been stript of every thing they had, and used with the utmost Barbarity, which, he says,

The Pope's Answer to their Letters.

[u] Tom. viii. Concil. Gall. p. 1529. [w] Hadrian, ep. 29.

had

had never happened before to any Legates of the Holy See. In the same Letter he complained of *Basilius* for suffering the Patriarch *Ignatius* to ordain a Bishop for *Bulgaria*, threatening the Patriarch himself, as well as the Bishop whom he had ordained, with the Censures of the Apostolic See, if they should dare to concern themselves with that Country [x]. *Hadrian's* Answer to *Ignatius* has not reached our Times; but in the Fragment of another Letter in the *Greek* Copy of the Eighth Council, he censures the Conduct of the Patriarch in very sharp Terms, charges him with acting, in many Instances, contrary to the Canons, especially in promoting Laymen, at once, to Deacon's Orders in Defiance of the Decrees of the late Council, and bids him remember, that this was the First Step to the Downfall of *Photius*. However, as the Deputies of the Eastern Patriarchs had declared, that *Bulgaria* ought to be subject to the See of *Constantinople* [y], *Ignatius* sent, notwithstanding the Pope's Menaces, the Bishop whom he had ordained, and many *Greek* Priests and Monks with him, to preach the Gospel to the *Bulgarians*. Upon their Arrival the *Latin* Missionaries all withdrew, and leaving *Bulgaria* to the *Greeks* returned to *Rome* with Bishop *Grimoald*, who had acquired immense Riches by his Apostolic Labours, during his Stay in that Country [z].

Year of Christ 871.

Ignatius *disregarding the Menaces of the Pope keeps* Bulgaria.

Hadrian was greatly dissatisfied with the Conduct of *Grimoald*, but Death prevented him from enquiring into it. He died, according to the most probable Opinion, on the Twenty-sixth Day of *November* 872, after he had held the See Four Years, Eleven Months, and Twelve Days, and was buried in the *Vatican*. He is chiefly commended by the Writer of his Life for his Hospitality, Beneficence, and Generosity to the Poor, which, if we believe that Author, was miraculously approved by Heaven multiplying, in his Hands, the Money that he used to distribute among them [a]. He equalled in Ambition, perhaps in Parts too, his Predecessor *Nicholas the Great*, exercising, through the Meanness of the Patriarch *Ignatius* and by the Connivance of the Emperor, a Kind of Jurisdiction over the Rival See of *Constantinople*, but he failed as we have seen in the Attempt of disposing of Kingdoms, and subjecting the Royal to the Apostolic Authority.

Death of Hadrian. Year of Christ 872.

[x] Apud Baron. ad ann. 871.

[y] See above p. 20.

[z] Porphyr. in Basil. et Anast. in Hadrian.

[a] Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian.

BASILIUS, *Emperor of the* East.

JOHN VIII.

LEWIS II. CHARLES the Bald, *Emperors of the* West.

The Hundred and ſixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 872.

Election of John VIII.

IN the room of *Hadrian* was choſen *John*, the Eighth of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of one *Gundo*, and at that time Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church. As the Emperor was then in *Campania*, and approved of the Election, his Deputies, who were, according to Cuſtom, to aſſiſt at the Conſecration of the new Pope, arrived in a very ſhort Time at *Rome*; and in their Preſence *John* was conſecrated on the 14th of *December*, which in 872 fell on a *Sunday*, after a Vacancy of Eighteen Days [a].

The Emperor beſieged in a Tower by the Duke of Benevento.

Year of Chriſt 873.

The Emperor came to *Rome* ſoon after the Conſecration of the Pope, and held there an Aſſembly of the States of *Italy* ſubject to the Empire. In that Aſſembly *Lewis* applied to the Pope, who aſſiſted at it in Perſon, in order to be abſolved by him from an Oath he had taken on the following Occaſion. *Adalgiſus*, Duke of *Benevento*, provoked at the Ravages committed by the Imperial Troops in his Territories, and much more at the haughty Behaviour of the *French* Lords, who attended the Court, reſolved to be revenged on the Emperor; and he accordingly ſurrounded and attacked in the Night-time the Palace, where the Emperor lodged with the Empreſs, with his Daughter and a ſmall Number of Attendants, during his Stay at *Benevento*. The Emperor, awaked at the Noiſe, flew to the Gate, but not having ſufficient Force with him to defend it, he retired with his Family and his few Attendants to one of the Towers of the Place, where he defended himſelf with great Bravery Three whole Days. *Adalgiſus*, finding that he was determined to hold out to the laſt Extremity, and at the ſame time apprehending that the *French* Troops, quartered in the neighbouring Cities, might hear of his Danger and haſten to his Reſcue, reſolved to ſet fire to the Place, and the Materials were all got ready for that Purpoſe. But in the mean while the Emperor, alarmed at the Danger to which he ſaw himſelf and his Family inevitably expoſed, thought it adviſeable to capitulate; and the following Capitulation was by him agreed and

[a] Annal. Bertin. ad an. 872.

ſolemnly ſworn to, upon Reliques brought from the Cathedral to the Palace. 1. That the Emperor ſhould thenceforth never ſet foot in the Dukedom of *Benevento*. 2. That he ſhould, upon no Colour or Pretence whatever, ſend, for the future, any Troops into that Dukedom. 3. That he ſhould take no Vengeance on the Duke or the *Beneventans* for what had paſſed on the preſent Occaſion, but bury the whole in eternal Oblivion [b]. From this Oath the Emperor deſired to be abſolved, that he might, with a ſafe Conſcience, revenge the Affront offered by the Duke to the Imperial Dignity. The Pope declared at once, that an Oath, extorted by Force, was not binding, that the preſent Oath was, beſides, contrary to the Welfare of the Empire, and he therefore abſolved the Emperor from it in the Name of God, and, as if that were not enough, in the Name of St. *Peter*. At the ſame time the *Roman* Senate declared the Duke of *Benevento* a public Enemy, and War was proclaimed againſt him. However the Emperor, more tender-conſcienced than the Pope, and not acquieſcing in his Holineſs's Abſolution, would not head his Army in Perſon, but gave the Command of it to the Empreſs *Ingelberga*, flattering himſelf (an Evaſion only worthy of a Jeſuit) that he thus religiouſly obſerved the Oath he had taken. The Empreſs led the Army againſt the City of *Benevento*, but not being able to reduce it, and powerful Succours arriving in the mean time from the Emperor *Baſilius*, with whom Duke *Adalgiſus* had entered into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance, *Lewis* was glad to conclude a Peace with the *Beneventans*; and a Peace was accordingly concluded by the Interpoſition of the Pope [c].

Year of Chriſt 873. *The Emperor capitulates, but is abſolved by the Pope from the Oath he took on that Occaſion.*

The following Year the Pope, leaving *Rome*, repaired to *Ravenna*, to aſſiſt at a Council, which he had appointed to meet in that City, in order to make up a Difference between *Urſus* Duke of *Venice* and the Patriarch of *Grado*. *Senator*, Biſhop of *Torcellum* dying, the Clergy and People choſe *Dominic*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Altena*, for his Succeſſor. But the Patriarch refuſing to ordain him, becauſe he had made himſelf an Eunuch, the Duke, eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Elect, intimidated the Patriarch with his Menaces to ſuch a Degree, that not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Grado* he privately withdrew to *Rome*, and referred the Deciſion of the Affair to his

Year of Chriſt 874. *Council of* Ravenna.

[b] Annal. Bertin. et Metenſ. Regino. Leo Oſtienſ. Herembertus, &c. [c] Iidem ibid. et Regino ad ann. 873.

Holineſs,

Year of Christ 874.

Holineſs. Hereupon the Pope ſummoned all the Biſhops of that Province to meet at *Ravenna*, went thither himſelf with the Patriarch of *Grado*, and *Hendelmar* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and it was determined by the Council, conſiſting of Seventy-four Biſhops, that *Dominic* ſhould be ordained by the Patriarch [d] (A).

Death of the Emperor Lewis.

Year of Christ 875.

The following Year died at *Milan*, on the 13th, or, as others will have it, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, the Emperor *Lewis*, the Second of that Name; and upon his Death, as he left no Iſſue Male behind him, his Two Uncles *Lewis* of *Germany* and *Charles* of *France* laid Claim to the Empire and Kingdom of *Italy*. But *Charles*, entering *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army as ſoon as he heard of the Emperor's Death, and proceeding ſtrait to *Rome*, whither he was invited by the Pope, who had declared in his Favour, he entered that City amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People, and was crowned Emperor by the Pope with great Solemnity in the Church of St. *Peter* on Chriſtmas-day, the Day on which *Charlemagne* had received the Imperial Crown in the ſame Church [e]. The Coronation was a mere Ceremony, and had been hitherto looked upon in no other Light. But the preſent Pope, in a Speech he made to the *Italian* Lords and Biſhops at *Pavia*, ſpeaks of it as if it gave an undoubted Right to the Imperial Crown, and as if he had, by crowning *Charles*, made him Emperor. For in that Speech, after extolling and commending *Charles* as much as his Predeceſſor *Hadrian* had abuſed and reviled him, he told the Aſſembly, that he had elected him, purſuant to the Will of God revealed to Pope *Nicholas*, and had, with all Solemnity, advanced him to the Scepter of the Empire [f]; inſinuating thereby the Scepter of the Empire to be a free Gift of

Charles the Bald *crowned Emperor at* Rome.

[d] Rubeus, Hiſt. Ravenn. l. v. de Reg. Italiæ, l. vi.

[e] Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 876.

[f] Sigon.

(A) This Determination was contrary to the received Canons of the Church, forbidding any one to be ordained, who had made himſelf an Eunuch, or had diſmembered himſelf in Health, as it was worded by the Fathers of *Nice* in their firſt Canon, nay and commanding the Perſon to be depoſed, who ſhould commit ſuch a Fact after his Ordination. Theſe Canons were made to diſcountenance the miſtaken Notion of ſome, who, miſunderſtanding the Words of our Saviour, *There are ſome that make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*, fulfilled them literally after the Example of *Origen*. The *Valeſian* Heretics thought none but Eunuchs fit to ſerve God, and therefore made themſelves Eunuchs, as St. *Auſtin* informs us (1), and all who came over to them.

(1) Aug. de Hæreſ. c. 37.

his;

his; and from this time forward the Popes have pretended to have a Right to elect, or at leaſt to confirm the Election of the Emperors, reckoning the Years of their Empire, not from the Day of their Acceſſion to the Imperial Crown, but from that of their Coronation or Conſecration by the Pope. Year of Chriſt 875.

Eutropius, ſurnamed the *Lombard*, tells us, that *Charles*, in return for the Favours which he received on this Occaſion from the Pope, made many very rich and valuable Preſents to St. *Peter*, and beſides yielded to the Pope the Dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleti*, as well as the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and renounced the Right, which his Predeceſſors had enjoyed to that time, of confirming the Election of the Popes, and ſending Deputies to aſſiſt, in his Name, at their Conſecration. But ſeveral of this Pope's Letters have reached our Times, wherein he complains to *Charles* of ſome, who raiſed Diſturbances in *Rome*, and entreats him to puniſh with Baniſhment or otherwiſe ſuch as diſturbed the public Peace in that City, the Head or Metropolis of his Empire [g]; which was plainly acknowledging him for Sovereign of *Rome*. In the ſame Stile did *Hadrian* III. *Stephen* V. or VI. and *John* IX. the Succeſſors of the preſent Pope, write to the Succeſſors of *Charles* in the Empire. As for the Dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleti*, they were governed at this time, and long after the Pontificate of *John* VIII by their own Dukes, as is manifeſt from Hiſtory; and it is very certain that the Popes had no Kind of Power over the City and Dukedom of *Benevento* till the Beginning of the Eleventh Century or till the Year 1019, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. Neither did *Charles* renounce the Right of confirming the Election of the Pope, and ſending Deputies to aſſiſt at his Ordination, as will appear in the Courſe of the preſent Hiſtory. Charles *did not on this Occaſion yield to the Pope the Dukedom of* Benevento, &c.

From *Rome Charles* repaired together with the Pope to *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, and was in a Diet held there acknowledged Emperor by the *Italian* Lords and Biſhops, and according to Cuſtom crowned King of *Italy* by the Archbiſhop of *Milan*. In this Diet the Emperor declared *Boſo*, Brother to his Wife *Richilda*, Duke of *Lombardy*, gave him a Ducal Crown, and appointed him to govern, as his Lieutenant or Commiſſary, the *Italian* Dominions appertaining to the Imperial Crown [h]. From *Pavia* the Emperor returned to *France*, where his Election, and the Acts of the Diet of *Pavia* were con- *He is crowned King of* Italy *at* Pavia. Year of Chriſt 876.

[g] Johan. ep. 21. 23. 26. 31.

[h] Annal. Fuld. Metenſ. et Bertin.

firmed

Year of Christ 876.

Council of Pontion.

firmed in a Council held at *Pontion*, at which preſided the Pope's Legates *John* Biſhop of *Tuſcanella*, and *John* of *Arezzo*, and were preſent Six Archbiſhops, and Forty-three Biſhops. In this Council was read by *Odo*, Biſhop of *Beauvais*, a Letter, which the Emperor had procured from the Pope, appointing *Anſegiſus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, Primate of all *France* and *Germany* on the *French* Side of the *Rhine*. The Biſhops, greatly ſurpriſed at the Contents of the Letter, deſired to read it themſelves, ſince it was addreſſed to them. That the Emperor, who was preſent, would not allow, but inſiſted on their declaring their Sentiments concerning it. The Biſhops then anſwered, that they were ready to obey ſo far as was conſiſtent with the Rights of the Metropolitans, with the Canons, and with the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See. The Emperor and the Legates, not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, preſſed the Biſhops, but could by no means prevail upon them to approve of *Anſegiſus*'s Primacy, without Limitation or Reſtriction. *Fritarius* alone, who had been tranſlated from *Bourdeaux* to *Poitiers*, and now wanted to exchange *Poitiers* for *Bourges*, returned a ſatisfactory Anſwer, acknowledging the Primacy of the Archbiſhop of *Sens* without any Regard to the Right of the Metropolitans, to the Canons, or to the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See. But the Emperor was determined to carry his Point notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the other Biſhops; and therefore delivering to *Anſegiſus* the Pope's Letter commiſſioning him to hold his Place in this Council, he ordered him to be ſeated on a Chair at the Left Hand of *John* of *Tuſcanella* one of the Legates, but above all the Biſhops on this Side the *Alps*. The *Gallican* Biſhops loudly proteſted againſt this Innovation; and *Hincmar* of *Reims* publiſhed a Treatiſe to ſhow, that it was repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*, and inconſiſtent with the Privileges granted by preceding Popes to that See. But the Pope, glad to oblige the Emperor, ſupported the new Primate in his Dignity without any Regard either to the Canons or to the Decrees of his Predeceſſors; ſo that *Anſegiſus* enjoyed it to the Hour of his Death: And ſo great was the Power attending it, that he was ſtiled in *France* and *Germany another Pope* [i].

The Archbiſhop of Sens *appointed by the Pope Primate of all* France.

Sentence pronounced by the Pope againſt Formoſus *Biſhop of* Porto.

While the Council was yet ſitting, *Leo* Biſhop of *Gabii*, the Pope's Nephew, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Foſſombrone* arrived at *Pontion* with a Copy of the Sentence, that had been pronounced by the Pope,

[i] Odorann. in Chronic. Natal. Alexand. ſec. ix. et x. Part i. c. v. Gerard Dubois in Hiſt. Pariſ. l. 8. c. i.

in

in a Council held at *Rome*, againſt *Formoſus* Biſhop of *Porto*, *Gregory* Nomenclator of the *Roman* Church, *George* his Son-in-law, and their Accomplices. They were charged with many heinous Crimes, and among the reſt with conſpiring againſt the Emperor as well as againſt the Pope; and being ſummoned to appear and take their Trials, inſtead of complying with the Summons they had privately withdrawn from *Rome*. The following Sentence was therefore pronounced by the Pope againſt *Formoſus*, and approved by the Council. *Formoſus* Biſhop of *Porto*, formerly ſent into *Bulgaria* by Pope *Nicholas* of bleſſed Memory, having artfully inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of the newly baptized King, prevailed upon him to bind himſelf with dreadful Oaths never to receive another Biſhop from the Apoſtolic See ſo long as he lived; and he in his turn bound himſelf by the like Oaths to return to the King as ſoon as he poſſibly could, and with that view, obtained Leave of us with Letters and whatever elſe was neceſſary for his Journey. He has, beſides, prompted by his boundleſs Ambition, been long caballing to raiſe himſelf from a ſmaller to a greater Church, even to the Apoſtolic See, has abandoned his own Dioceſe without our Leave or Knowledge, and conſpired with his Accomplices againſt the Safety of the Republic, and of our beloved Son *Charles*, whom we have choſen and conſecrated Emperor. If he does not therefore perſonally appear, and ſatisfy us in the Term of Ten Days, that is, by the Twenty-ninth of *April* of the preſent Indiction, we declare him deprived, by the Authority of God and his holy Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, of all eccleſiaſtical Communion. If he does not appear within the Space of Twenty Days, that is, by the Ninth of *May*; if in the mean time he raiſes any Diſturbance in the Church, or cavils at this our Sentence, let him be anathematized without Hopes of Abſolution [k]. This Letter was read in the Sixth Seſſion of the Council of *Pontion*, and the Sentence againſt *Formoſus* confirmed by all the Biſhops of that Aſſembly. Of this Biſhop we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel, and ſhall even ſee him raiſed to the Pontifical Throne.

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Charge brought againſt him.

In the laſt Seſſion of the preſent Council the Empreſs *Richilda* was preſented to the Biſhops by the Two Biſhops, *John* of *Tuſcanella* and *Peter* of *Foſſombrone*, in her Imperial Robes, with a Crown on her Head, and being placed on a Throne cloſe to that

Richilda *introduced to the Council and ſaluted Empreſs.*

[k] Joann. ep. 319.

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of the Emperor's, she was by the whole Assembly with loud Acclamations saluted Empress.

The Emperor complains to the Pope of the Abuse of Appeals to Rome.

As the Abuse of Appeals to *Rome* began now universally to prevail in the *Gallican* Churches, not only Bishops, but Priests and the Rest of the inferior Clergy, appealing to the Pope from the Judgment given in the Provinces, the Emperor, at the Request of the Bishops of the present Council, wrote, or rather ordered *Hincmar* to write in his Name, to the Pope, and represent to his Holiness the evil Consequences necessarily attending so pernicious a Practice. In that Letter *Hincmar*, after shewing that such a Practice, if encouraged, would entirely subvert all ecclesiastical Discipline, and render the Authority of Bishops quite precarious, quotes the Canons of *Sardica*, on which the Popes grounded their Right of receiving Appeals, and proves from those very Canons, that Bishops are to be judged only upon the Spot, and that Priests are only allowed to appeal to their Metropolitans, or to the Bishops of the Province. In the Close of his Letter he entreats the Pope to conform to those Canons, since many Offenders would otherwise escape the Punishment due to their Offences, as few Bishops would care to send to *Rome* Deputies, Witnesses, and the Acts of their Proceedings, to maintain the Judgment they had given against every Clerk, whom they had condemned.

Several Provinces in Italy *over-run by the* Saracens.

While these Things passed in *France*, the Southern Provinces of *Italy* were over-run, and dreadfully harrassed by the *Saracens*. The late Emperor had gained several Victories over them, and shut them up in *Taranto*. But upon his Death, having nobody to oppose them, they made themselves Masters of several Places, spreading every-where Slaughter and Destruction; which obliged the neighbouring Dukes, not able to make Head against them with their own Forces, to sue for a Peace. The *Saracens* insisted, and would hearken to no other Terms, upon their entering into an Alliance with them, and marching with their united Forces against the Dukedom of *Rome*, and *Rome* itself. The Pope, apprised of this Alliance, spared no Pains, no Promises, nor Threats, to prevail on those Princes to break it off. *Guaiferius*, Prince of *Salerno*, not only quitted the *Saracens* through Fear of the Excommunication with which he was threatened, but marched, at the Request of the Pope, against the *Neapolitans*, who obstinately adhered to the Alliance, which they had entered into with the common Enemy, defeated them and made Twenty-two of

The Duke of Naples *joins the* Saracens.

them Priſoners, whom the Pope ordered to be put to Death [l]. *Sergius*, Duke of *Naples* fared not much better, for as he continued to act in concert with the *Saracens*, notwithſtanding the Excommunication thundered out by the Pope againſt him, and the *Neapolitans* in general, his Brother *Athanaſius*, Biſhop of that City, treacherouſly ſeized him, and having put out his Eyes, ſent him thus deprived of his Sight to *Rome* [m]. The Pope, highly pleaſed with the Preſent, wrote a Letter to the Biſhop, wherein he extolls his Zeal for the Welfare of the Church, in not ſparing his own Brother, agreeably to that of our Saviour, *he that loveth Father or Mother* (the Pope adds, or Brother) *more than me, is not worthy of me* [n]; compares him to *Judith* cutting off the Head of *Holofernes*, and promiſes to ſend him, by way of Reward for ſo good and ſo meritorious a Work, the Sum of 1500 Mancuſæ, a very conſiderable Sum in thoſe Days [o]. The Pope did not, it ſeems, recollect the Admonition of St. *Paul*, that a Biſhop ſhould be *no Striker* [p]. He wrote at the ſame time to the People of *Naples* to thank them for joining the Biſhop againſt the Duke his Brother, whom he ſtiles *the Man of Sin*, an Enemy to God, the Tyrant of his People, and a Rebel to the *Roman* Church [q]. The Biſhop, encouraged by the Pope, took upon him the Government of the Dukedom, and thus became both Duke and Biſhop. It was this he had in his View in removing his Brother, who died in great Miſery at *Rome*, out of the Way: And he accordingly no ſooner found himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed in his Government, than, treading in the Footſteps of his Brother, he joined the *Saracens*, committed moſt dreadful Ravages in the neighbouring Provinces, made frequent Inroads into the Dukedom of *Rome*, and threw the City itſelf into the utmoſt Confuſion. Hereupon the Pope ſolemnly excommunicated and anathematized him and all his Followers. But as he paid no more Regard to the Papal Thunders than he had done to the Ties of Blood and Nature, *John* was obliged to recur to the Emperor; and he wrote moſt preſſing Letters to *Charles*, entreating him to haſten to the Relief of his Dominions in *Italy*, and of *Rome* itſelf, in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of the ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. But *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, dying in the mean time at *Franckfort*, the Emperor, more deſirous of extending his Dominions on the *Rhine* than

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The Biſhop of Naples *his Brother treacherouſly ſeizes him, puts out his Eyes, and ſends him to* Rome.

Is highly commended on that Account by the Pope.

The Biſhop takes upon him the Government and joins the Saracens.

The Pope excommunicates him and preſſes the Emperor to haſten to its Relief.

[l] Erchamp. num. 39. [m] Leo Oſtien. [n] Mat. x. 37. [o] Johan. ep. 66. [p] 1 Tim. iii. 3. [q] Johan. ep. 67.

Year of Christ 876. defending thoſe in *Italy*, marched, upon the Firſt News of his Brother's Death, at the Head of a powerful Army againſt *Lewis*, the deceaſed King's Second Son, to whoſe Lot *Germany* had fallen. But the young Prince meeting him, when he leaſt expected it, with an Army not half ſo numerous as his, gave him a total Overthrow, cut the far greater Part of his choiceſt Troops in pieces, and obliged him to leave all his Baggage behind him and ſave himſelf by a precipitate Flight [r].

The Election of Charles *confirmed in a Council at* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 877. The Emperor, apprehending that *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria*, the eldeſt Son of the late King, might improve this Defeat to his Advantage, and lay Claim to the Imperial Crown, diſpatched *Adalgarius*, Biſhop of *Autun* to *Rome*, with Letters to the Pope, excuſing his not ſending him the promiſed Succours, and at the ſame time intreating him to convene a Council of as many Biſhops as he could poſſibly aſſemble, and get his Election to the Empire confirmed by them. The Council was aſſembled with all Speed, and opened by the Pope with a moſt fulſome Panegyric upon *Charles*, as if his Promotion had been revealed to Pope *Nicholas*, and he had uſed no indirect Means to attain the Imperial Dignity, but had been called to it, and freely choſen by the Biſhops and the *Roman* People. He therefore exhorted the Biſhops to confirm their own Election, that the World might ſee they did not repent the Choice they had made. To this they all agreed, and by the whole Aſſembly all, who ſhould diſpute or oppoſe the Election of *Charles*, were excommunicated, anathematized, and curſed, as Diſturbers of the public Peace, as Miniſters of the Devil, and Enemies to God and his Church. This Council was held in *July* 877, and *Adalgarius* of *Autun* was diſpatched with a Copy of the Acts to the Emperor [s].

The Emperor marches to the Aſſiſtance of the Pope; As the *Saracens* in the mean time purſued their Ravages without Check or Controul, burning Churches, deſtroying Cities, Towns, and Villages, and either putting to the Sword, or carrying into Captivity the helpleſs Inhabitants, the Pope diſpatched Meſſengers after Meſſengers to the Emperor, preſſing him in the Name of the Biſhops, Prieſts, Nobles, and the unhappy People, who had not yet fallen into the Hands of their mercileſs Enemies, to haſten to their Relief, and reſcue the Church, that had raiſed him to the Empire

[r] Annal. Fuld. Metenſ. et Bertin. ad ann. 876, & 877. [s] Tom. viii. Concil. Gall.

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in Preference to his Brother, from impending Slavery and Oppreſſion. The Emperor, thus preſſed by the Pope's Letters, and more by his Two Legates *Peter* Biſhop of *Foſſombrone* and *Peter* Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, ſent by his Holineſs to repreſent to him, by Word of Mouth, the deplorable Condition which his *Italian* Dominions were reduced to, reſolved at length to march with an Army into *Italy*. He ſet out accordingly in the Month of *July* of the preſent Year, with a ſmall Number of Troops, ordering his Generals to follow him with the main Body of the Army. On his Arrival at *Orba* on the other Side Mount *Jura*, he was met by *Adalgarius*, who delivered to him a Copy of the Acts of the Council confirming his Election, and at the ſame time informed him, that his Holineſs intended to meet him at *Pavia*. But the Emperor found him at *Vercelli*, and from thence proceeded with him to *Pavia*. They had not been long there when Advice was brought, that *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria*, was advancing at the Head of a powerful Army to aſcertain the Right he claimed to the Imperial Crown, as the eldeſt Son of the elder Brother. This Intelligence alarmed the Emperor, and as he had but very few Troops with him, he left *Pavia* in great Haſte, and repaſſing the *Po* retired to *Tortona*, where *Richilda*, who attended her Husband, was crowned Empreſs by the Pope.

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who meets him at Vercelli;

and crowns Richilda *Empreſs at* Tortona.

The Emperor and the Pope paſſed a few Days together at *Tortona*, waiting for the Troops, that *Charles* had ordered to follow him into *Italy*. But he waited in vain; and was ſoon informed, that the Generals, whom he had truſted with the Command of the Forces, had kept them at home and conſpired againſt him. Hereupon leaving *Tortona* in as great Haſte as he had done *Pavia*, he fled into *Morienne*, whither the Empreſs had withdrawn with all his Treaſures upon the News of the Approach of *Carloman*. It is remarkable, that while *Charles* was flying back to *France* upon the News of the Approach of *Carloman*, *Carloman* was flying back to *Bavaria* upon a falſe Report ſpread amongſt his Troops, that the Emperor and the Pope were coming at the Head of a numerous Army to give him Battle. From *Tortona* the Pope returned to *Rome*. But the Emperor died on his Way to *France*, being poiſoned by his Phyſician, a *Jew* named *Sedecias*, in whom he had ever placed an entire Confidence. The Phyſician is ſuppoſed to have been bribed by the Conſpirators to adminiſter the Poiſon of which he died: We do not at leaſt find that he was puniſhed for it. Be that as it will, the

The Emperor dies of Poiſon adminiſtered to him by his Phyſician.

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the Emperor died at *Brios*, a small Village on this Side of Mount *Cenis*, Eleven Days after he had taken the poisonous Potion, that is, on the Sixth of *October* 877, in the Second Year of his Empire, the Thirty-eighth of his Reign, and the Fifty-fourth of his Age [t].

Council of Ravenna.

A great Council was held this Year in the City of *Ravenna*, at which the Pope presided in Person, and were present no fewer than 130 Bishops. This Council is said in the Acts to have been convened *by Apostolic Authority and the Command of the Emperor Charles*; whence it is plain that it was not held after, as some have writ, but before his Death. The Pope mentions that Assembly in several of his Letters [u]; but only Nineteen Canons issued by it have reached our Time; and they are calculated to restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, greatly decayed in the *Italian* Provinces [w].

The Pope agrees to pay a yearly Tribute to the Saracens.

The News of the Emperor's Death threw the Pope and the *Romans* into the utmost Confusion. The *Saracens*, now Masters of a Fortress upon the Borders of the *Roman* Dukedom, delivered up to them by *Docibilis*, Duke of *Gaeta*, made daily Inroads to the very Gates of *Rome*. On the other hand the Pope, having disobliged *Carloman* and the other Princes by his Partiality for *Charles*, could expect no Relief from them. In this Extremity he resolved to treat with the *Saracens*, and he accordingly agreed to pay them a yearly Tribute of 25,000 Mancusæ, upon Condition they committed no Hostilities in the *Roman* Dukedom, nor made any Attempt upon the City of *Rome* [x]. The *Saracens* faithfully observed the Articles of the Treaty. But *Lambert*, Duke of *Spoleti*, and *Adalbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, who had both been excommunicated by the Pope for usurping some Lands that belonged to the *Roman* Church, entering *Rome* in a hostile Manner, seized on the Pope and confined him, plundered the City, and obliged the *Romans* to take an Oath of Allegiance to *Carloman* as King of *Italy* [y].

Rome *plundered by the Duke of* Spoleti *and the Pope confined.*

The Pope upon his Retreat repairs to France.

Upon their Retreat from *Rome* they set the Pope at Liberty, who after thundering out dreadful Curses against them, left *Rome*, and embarking at *Ostia* fled by Sea to *France*, not doubting but he should be well received there by *Lewis*, surnamed the *Stammerer*, who had succeeded the Emperor *Charles*, his Father, in that Kingdom. He landed at *Arles* on Whitsunday, which in 878 fell on

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[t] Annal. Bertin. [u] Epist. 53, 5, 56, 57, 59, 60. [w] Tom. ix. Concil. p. 300. [x] Johan. ep. 89. [y] Idem, ep. 84, 85.

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the Eleventh of *May*, and was from thence attended by Duke *Boſo*, and his Wife *Hermengarda* to *Lions*. From *Lions* he diſpatched Legates to *Tours* to acquaint the King, who lay indiſpoſed in that City, with his Arrival in his Dominions, and his Intention of aſſembling a Council there, as he could not ſafely convene one in *Italy*. The King appointed ſome Biſhops to wait on his Holineſs in his Name, to conduct him to *Troies*, the moſt proper Place for the Council to meet at, and to defray his Expences on the Road. *Baronius* writes, that the Pope, during his Stay at *Lions*, granted the Pall to *Roſtagnus* Archbiſhop of that City, and beſides declared him, at the Requeſt of *Boſo*, Vicar of the Apoſtolic See in *France*. It is indeed ſaid in the Letters quoted by *Baronius* as Pope *John*'s, *viz.* in the 93d, 94th, and 95th, that he appointed the Archbiſhop of *Lions* his Vicar and Repreſentative in *Gaul*. But *Natalis Alexander* has proved, beyond Contradiction, thoſe Letters to be forged [z].

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The Pope had invited to his Council all the Biſhops of *France* and *Lombardy*, and likewiſe *Lewis* of *France*, as well as the Three Sons of the late King of *Germany*, *Carloman*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*. But Thirty Biſhops only complied with the Invitation, and not one of the Princes but *Lewis* of *France*, in whoſe Kingdom the Council was aſſembled. The Biſhops met, for the Firſt time, on the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, when a Speech was read in the Pope's Name, laying before them the Outrages committed in *Rome* by *Lambert*, Duke of *Spoleti*, and the unworthy Treatment he had met with at his Hands. The Pope informed them, that he had excommunicated the Duke and his Accomplices in the Church of St. *Peter*, and deſired they would not only confirm his Sentence, but add their Anathemas to his, and cauſe them to be publiſhed by their Suffragans in all the Churches. To this the Biſhops readily agreed, and *Lambert* was again and again anathematized by the whole Aſſembly. At the ſame time the Sentence againſt *Formoſus* of *Porto* was confirmed, and he with his Accomplices the Third time excommunicated, degraded, and anathematized, the Biſhops declaring all with one Voice, that they condemned thoſe, whom the Holy See condemned, and received thoſe, whom the Holy See received.

Council of Troies.

The Duke of Spoleti *anathematized in that Council, and with him* Formoſus *of* Porto.

Hincmar of *Laon*, of whom I have ſpoken above, appearing unexpectedly at this Council, preſented a Memorial to the Pope, com-

Hincmar *of* Laon *kindly treated by the Pope and Biſhops of the Council.*

[z] Natal. Alex. ſect. 9, et 10. c. i. art. 11.

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complaining of the hard Treatment he had met with, eſpecially from his Uncle *Hincmar* of *Reims*, notwithſtanding his Appeal to *Rome*. He had been condemned, excommunicated, and degraded, by the Council of *Douzi*, in the Pontificate of *Hadrian*, as has been related above; and the Emperor *Charles*, while he was at *Rome*, had prevailed upon the preſent Pope to confirm the Judgment of that Council, and ſuffer another Biſhop to be choſen in the Room of *Hincmar*. The unhappy Biſhop, as he was a Man of a moſt reſtleſs Temper, had been kept cloſely confined after his Condemnation; and the King, to prevent his being ever reinſtated in his See, had after Two Years Confinement ordered his Eyes to be put out. In this Condition he appeared before the Pope and the Council, begging they would judge his Cauſe anew according to the Canons and the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See. The Pope had confirmed the Sentence of the Council of *Douzi*, had approved the Election of *Hedenulfus* in the Room of *Hincmar*, and could not, therefore, allow the Cauſe to be re-examined. However touched with Compaſſion he took off the Excommnnication, granted the depoſed Biſhop Leave to ſing Maſs, and, with the Conſent and Approbation of the King, allotted Part of the Revenues of the Biſhopric of *Laon* for his Maintenance. Hereupon the Biſhops, among whom were ſome Metropolitans who befriended blind *Hincmar*, reſtoring to him his ſacerdotal Habit, preſented him in that Attire to the Pope, and afterwards made him give the ſacerdotal Benediction to the People [a].

Some Canons of this Council.

Several Canons were iſſued by the preſent Council, and this, amongſt the reſt, worthy of particular Notice, that the higher Powers ſhould pay that Reſpect to Biſhops which was due to their Dignity and the Rank they held in the Church, and that no Man ſhould preſume to ſit in the Preſence of a Biſhop unleſs he commanded it. The Pope and the Biſhops, at the Requeſt of the King, excommunicated *Bernard*, Marquis of *Languedoc*, *Hugh*, the Son of *Lotharius* late King of *Lorrain* by *Waldrada*, and ſome others, as Diſturbers of the public Peace, and Enemies to the State.

Lewis *crowned King by the Pope*;

Lewis had been crowned, upon the Death of his Father, by *Hincmar* of *Reims*; but he nevertheleſs deſired to be crowned anew by the Pope; and his Holineſs accordingly performed the Ce-

[a] Concil. Gall. tom. iii. p. 421, 422. Annal. Bertin.

remony

remony with great Solemnity while the Council was yet ſitting, that is on the Seventh of *September* of the preſent Year 878. Some Writers, and *Baronius* among the reſt, will have *Lewis* to have been, on this Occaſion, crowned Emperor. But that Opinion is now univerſally exploded, the contrary being manifeſt from ſeveral Letters written by the Pope after that Ceremony, eſpecially from the 82d to *Lewis* and *Carloman*, the Sons of King *Lewis*, wherein he ſtiles *Charles* Emperor of bleſſed Memory, and gives no other Title to his Son *Lewis* than that of King [b]. But this Point is cleared up, beyond all Doubt, by a Charter, that was granted by *Lewis* to the Church of *Nevers*, Three Days after the Ceremony of the Coronation, and is ſtill extant. For in that Charter he only ſtiles himſelf *Lewis by the Grace of God, King* [c]. The Pope refuſed to crown *Adelaida* the Queen for Reaſons unknown to us, nor could he by any means be prevailed upon to perform that Ceremony. As *Lewis* had been obliged by his Father to put away his firſt Wife *Anſgarda*, by whom he had *Lewis* and *Carloman*, and marry *Adelaida* in her room, ſome are of Opinion that the Pope looked upon that Marriage as unlawful, and therefore would not crown the Queen. But that is mere Conjecture, no Notice being taken by any of the contemporary Writers, which is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, of the Motives that reſtrained the Pope from complying with the earneſt and repeated Intreaties of the King, whom he was ſo willing to oblige on every other Occaſion.

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who could not be prevailed upon to crown the Queen.

The Pope cloſed the Council on the Tenth of *September* 878, with a Speech addreſſed to the King and the Biſhops. He exhorted the King to employ his Arms, as his Predeceſſors had done, againſt the Enemies of God and his Church, and the Biſhops to arm their Vaſſals with all poſſible Speed and ſend them with him into *Italy* to protect the Holy *Roman* Church againſt the *Saracens*, and the Chriſtians, more wicked than them, who had joined them. He begged the King, and likewiſe the Biſhops, to return, without Delay, a poſitive Anſwer to this his Requeſt; but from Hiſtory it does not appear that either did; and the Pope was attended into *Italy* only by Duke *Boſo* and his Wife *Hermengarda*, with whoſe obliging Behaviour he was ſo

The Pope's Speech at the Cloſe of the Council.

[b] Joan. VIII. 71, 82, &c.

[c] Sirmond. in not. ad Concil. Trecen.

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well pleased, that on his Arrival at *Pavia* he adopted the Duke for his Son [d].

The Pope sends Legates into the East for the recovering of Bulgaria.

The deplorable State to which *Italy* was reduced at this Time and *Rome* itself, did not divert the Pope from attending to the Affairs of the East. As the Patriarch *Ignatius* continued, notwithstanding the Menaces of the late Pope, to keep Possession of *Bulgaria*, and to send *Greek* Bishops and other Missionaries to preach the Gospel there, *John* dispatched, this Year, into the East, *Paul* Bishop of *Ancona*, and *Eugene* Bishop of *Ostia*, with Letters to *Ignatius*, to the *Greek* Bishops and Clergy in *Bulgaria*, and to *Michael* King of that Country. In his Letter to the Patriarch he commands him to recall, in a Month's Time, all the *Greek* Bishops, Priests, and Missionaries, and to renounce all Jurisdiction over the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, on pain of being excluded from the Participation of the Body and Blood of our Lord, and being deprived of the Patriarchal Dignity, if he did not obey that Command of the Apostolic See within the Term of Two Months. In his Letter to the *Greek* Bishops and Clergy he declares them excommunicated, and suspended from all ecclesiastical Functions if they quit not the Country within a Month. He exhorts the King, in his Letters to him, to drive out the *Greeks*, lest he should be infected with the Heresies that frequently prevail among them [e]. The Legates were charged to represent to the Emperor, by Word of Mouth, the dreadful Ravages committed by the *Saracens* in *Italy*, and implore his Assistance.

Death of the Patriarch Ignatius.

Ignatius died before the Legates arrived at *Constantinople*, and, to their great Surprize, they found *Photius* placed anew in the Patriarchal Chair. As he was a Man of most uncommon Parts and great Address, he had regained the Favour of the Emperor in the Life-time of the deceased Patriarch, and was therefore suffered to seize on the Patriarchal See the Moment it became vacant. The Two Legates refused at first to acknowledge him; but they were soon persuaded by the Emperor to own him for lawful Patriarch, and *Photius*, who well knew how to deal with the *Roman* Legates, prevailed upon them with rich Presents publicly to declare, that the Pope, hearing of his Promotion, had sent them to approve and confirm it. Thus did he impose upon most of the Metropolitans and other Bishops,

Photius *restored and acknowledged by the Pope's Legates.*

[d] Johan. VIII. ep. 119. [e] Id. ibid. ep. 75, 76, 77.

who

who had hitherto ſided with the Two preceding Popes againſt him; and in order to impoſe upon the Pope himſelf he aſſured him in a Letter, which he wrote on this Occaſion, that he had long withſtood the Prayers of the Biſhops, and even the Commands of the Emperor, but had, in the End, been forced to yield, and reſume, which he did with the utmoſt Reluctance, the Patriarchal Dignity. He got the Biſhops to ſign this Letter, pretending that it was the Deed of a Purchaſe, which was to be kept ſecret; and when they had all ſigned it, his Secretary, named *Peter*, ſtole their Seals away, and ſet them to it, and for this Piece of Knavery *Photius* preferred him ſoon after to the Metropolitan See of *Sardis*. With this Letter thus ſigned and ſealed *Photius* diſpatched to *Rome* one *Theodore*, who had been ordained by him, during his Exile, Metropolitan of *Pathmi*, a City that never exiſted; and he was therefore ſtiled by Way of Deriſion Biſhop ot *Aphantopolis*, that is, of the inviſible City.

Year of Chriſt 878. *Writes to the Pope.*

At the ſame time the Emperor *Baſilius* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Pope, recommending *Photius* to his Favour in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and repreſenting his Reſtoration as the only poſſible Means of reſtoring Peace and Tranquility to the Church and State. The Embaſſadors arrived at *Rome* in the Beginning of *April* 879, were received by the Pope with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and, what greatly ſurpriſed the whole Church, obtained at once his Conſent to the Reſtoration of *Photius* ſo often excommunicated, and anathematized by his Two immediate Predeceſſors *Nicholas* and *Hadrian*. This appears from the Letter he wrote and ſent by the Embaſſadors on their Return to *Conſtantinople*, in Anſwer to that, which he had received from the Emperor. For in that Letter he tells *Baſilius*, that, *Ignatius* being dead, he, at his Requeſt, allows *Photius* to exerciſe the Epiſcopal Functions, though he had reaſſumed them without the Conſent or Knowledge of the Apoſtolic See, that had ſuſpended him from them; that he receives him as a Biſhop, as a Brother, as a Collegue; and that, relying on the extenſive and unlimited Power granted to him in the Perſon of St. *Peter*, he abſolves him from all eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, as well as all Biſhops, Prieſts, Clerks, and Laymen, who had incurred any on his Account. However the Pope inſiſted on the following Terms or Conditions, *viz.* that *Photius* ſhould, in a full Council, ask Pardon for his paſt Conduct; that in time to come no Layman ſhould be preferred to the Patriarchal See; and, what was the moſt important

The Emperor Baſilius *recommends him to the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 879.

Who abſolves him from the Excommunication and receives him as his Collegue.

Year of Christ 879.

Article of all, that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* ſhould renounce all Kind of Juriſdiction over the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*. The Pope cloſed his Letter with declaring all excommunicated, who, after the Third Admonition, ſhould refuſe to communicate with the Holy Patriarch *Photius*, ſhould give Ear to any Calumnies againſt him, or look upon him in any other Light than that of their ſpiritual Guide, and Mediator between God and them [f].

Upon Condition of his renouncing all Claim to Bulgaria.

The Pope's Letter in Anſwer to that of Photius.

The Pope, in his Anſwer to *Photius*'s Letter, acknowledges him for lawful Succeſſor to the deceaſed Patriarch of bleſſed Memory; exhorts him to forget paſt Injuries, to gain over by gentle Means ſuch as may ſtill oppoſe his Reſtoration; and earneſtly entreats him to get thoſe, who have been baniſhed, recalled from Exile, and reinſtated in their reſpective Dignities. The Pope wrote likewiſe to the Biſhops under the immediate Juriſdiction of the See of *Conſtantinople*, and to thoſe ſubject to the other Three Patriarchal Sees, to acquaint them with the Reſtoration of *Photius*, which, he ſays, he had agreed to at their Requeſt, *Photius* having forged Letters to that Purpoſe in their Names. It is to be obſerved that, in the Time of the preceding Pope, the whole Body of the *Roman* Clergy, and *John* among the reſt, he being then Archdeacon of that Church, bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath never to conſent to the Reſtoration of *Photius*, but ever to look upon his Ordination as void and null. But *John* was, on the one Hand, under dreadful Apprehenſions from the Neighbourhood of the *Saracens*, who had ſeized on ſome ſtrong Holds adjoining to the *Roman* Dukedom: On the other none of the Chriſtian Princes, beſides the Emperor of the Eaſt, were at this time in a Condition to afford him any Aſſiſtance or Relief; and therefore, ſacrificing all other Views to his own Safety, he did not ſcruple, in order to gain his Favour at ſo critical a Juncture, not only to reverſe the Decrees of his Predeceſſors, as well as thoſe of a General Council, but to break the ſolemn Oath he had taken (B).

[f] Johan. ep. 199.

(B) *Baronius* thinks that *John*, on account of the Cowardice and Puſillanimity which he betrayed on this Occaſion, was univerſally looked upon not as a Man, but a Woman, that by ſome he might have been called ſo, and that from thence the Fable of Pope *Joan* probably took its Riſe. But the Annaliſt did not, it ſeems, reflect that this Fable was not heard of till long after the Time of *John* VIII. that is, till the latter End of the Thirteenth Century, and that the She Pope was placed by the Inventor of it between *Leo* IV. and *Benedict* III. about the Middle of the Ninth Century.

The

The Imperial Embaſſadors left *Rome* in the Month of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year; and with them the Pope diſpatched into the Eaſt *Peter* Cardinal Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, adding him to the Two Legates, *Paul* and *Eugene*, whom he had ſent thither the preceding Year. He brought with him a Letter from the Pope to the Two Legates directing them how to proceed in the Affair of *Photius*. They were ordered in the Firſt Place to wait upon the Emperor with their new Collegue, and let him know, that his Holineſs had ſent them, at his Requeſt, to reinſtate the holy Patriarch *Photius* in his former Dignity. In the next Place they were to viſit *Photius* himſelf, and acquaint him that the Pope acknowledged him for his Brother and his Collegue, but only upon the Conditions mentioned above; *Photius* promiſed to fulfill thoſe Conditions; and a numerous Council being thereupon aſſembled, the Legates reſtored to him, in the Preſence of the Biſhops who compoſed it, the Enſigns of the Patriarchal Dignity, declared him lawful Patriarch of the Imperial City, and beſides, of their own Authority pronounced all depoſed, excommunicated, and anathematized, who ſhould thenceforth refuſe to acknowledge him, or ſhould receive any of the Councils that had condemned him. The preſent Council conſiſted of no fewer than 380 Biſhops, the Emperor was preſent in Perſon, with his Two Sons, *Conſtantine* and *Leo*; and the Three Legates, gained over with rich Preſents by *Photius*, allowed him to preſide at it with them. The Firſt Seſſion was held in *November* 879, and the laſt in *March* 880. The *Greeks* condemn and reject to this Day the Council held under *Hadrian*, and receive this, that condemned it, for the Eighth General Council.

Year of Chriſt 879.

The Pope's Legates reſtore to Photius *in a full Council the Enſigns of the Patriarchal Dignity;*

and condemn the Eighth General Council.

The Three Legates upon their Return to *Rome* took Care to conceal from the Pope their having condemned the Eighth General Council, and with it all the Councils that had condemned *Photius*. They only told him, that, purſuant to their Inſtructions, they had replaced *Photius* on the Patriarchal Throne; that his Reſtoration was approved by a very numerous Council aſſembled for that Purpoſe; that an End was, by that means, put to all Diſturbances in the Eaſtern Churches; that the Patriarch had ordered all the *Greek* Prieſts to be recalled from *Bulgaria*; and laſtly, that the Emperor would ſoon ſend a Fleet to protect the Coaſts of *Italy*, eſpecially of the *Roman* Dukedom againſt the *Saracens*. But the Pope was ſoon informed of the Prevarication of his Three Legates, and having thereupon depoſed them, he declared all they had done void and null,

They are depoſed on that Account by the Pope on their Return Home.

Year of Chriſt 880.

Year of Christ 880.

Photius *excommunicated anew.*

Marinus *ſent into the Eaſt anulls the Acts of the Council of* Conſtantinople.

Year of Chriſt 881.

null, excommunicated all, who ſhould receive the late Council held at *Conſtantinople*, or communicate with the Uſurper *Photius*, and diſpatched, without Delay, *Marinus*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, to *Conſtantinople*, with Orders to proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the Council lately convened there, and declare them null. This Commiſſion *Marinus* executed with the greateſt Firmneſs and Intrepidity, which ſo provoked the Emperor *Baſilius*, that he ordered him to be impriſoned, and kept cloſely confined. But finding that he was neither to be gained with Promiſes, nor terrified with Menaces, he ſet him at Liberty after 30 Days Confinement, and ſent him back to *Rome* [g]. The Pope informed by him of the Proceedings of the Council under *Photius*, confirmed, with great Solemnity, the Acts of the Councils, that his Two Predeceſſors *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* had convened againſt him, and condemned him anew in a Council he aſſembled for that Purpoſe [h].

Charles the Groſs *is crowned Emperor, but lends the Pope no Aſſiſtance againſt the* Saracens.

As to the State of Affairs at this Time in the Weſt, *Carloman* King of *Bavaria*, the eldeſt Son of *Lewis* late King of *Germany*, entering *Italy* at the Head of a numerous Army upon the Firſt News of the Death of his Uncle *Charles the Bald*, was there received, and acknowledged by the *Italian* Lords and Biſhops King of *Lombardy*. But he held not long his new Kingdom, being driven out of *Italy* by his younger Brother *Charles* ſurnamed *the Groſs*. *Carloman* died ſoon after; and as he left no Iſſue, the States of *Bavaria* choſe his Second Brother *Lewis* for their King, who, to prevent *Charles* from diſturbing him in the Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, renounced in his Favour all Claim to the Kingdom of *Lombardy* and the Title of Emperor. The Pope had not yet declared for either of theſe Princes; but he no ſooner heard of this Agreement between them, than he wrote to *Charles*, offering him the Imperial Crown, and preſſing him to come to *Rome* and receive it. He even went as far as *Ravenna* to meet him. But the State of his Affairs in *France* obliged that Prince to repaſs the *Alps*, and put off his Journey to *Rome*, till the latter End of the Year 880, when he was crowned with great Solemnity by the Pope in the Church of St. *Peter* on Chriſtmas-day [i] (C). But the new Emperor ſhewed no Inclination

[g] Epiſt. Steph. V. apud Bar. ad ann. 885. [h] Epiſt. Formoſ. in Actis Synod. viii. [i] Regino, Annal. Metenſ. &c.

(C) *Baronius* ſuppoſes this Ceremony to have been performed in 881, not aware that *Regino*, *Sigebert*, *Hermannus Contractus*, and the *Annaliſt* of *Metz*, whom he follows therein, reckon Chriſtmas-day the Firſt Day of the Year.

to

to employ his Troops againſt the *Saracens*, nor did the Pope, ſo long as he lived, receive from him the leaſt Aſſiſtance, though he frequently preſſed him, and likewiſe the Empreſs *Richilda*, to reſcue the Capital of his Empire from imminent Slavery and utter Ruin. Year of Chriſt 881.

As the Emperor, diverted at this Time by other Wars, was not in a Condition, had he been ever ſo willing, to redeem his *Italian* Dominions from the Ravages of the *Saracens*, the Pope ſpared no Pains, no Promiſes, no Anathemas to gain over ſuch of the *Italian* Princes as had joined them, and prevail upon them to enter into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance againſt them. He even went in Perſon to *Naples* to try whether he could, by any Means, perſuade *Athanaſius*, Duke and Biſhop of that City, of whom I have ſpoken above [k], to renew his Alliance with the ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. *Athanaſius* promiſed not only to break off the Treaty he had made with them, but to turn his Arms againſt them; and he was for that Purpoſe ſupplied by the Pope with a large Sum of Money. That Money the faithleſs Biſhop employed in levying new Forces to aſſiſt the *Saracens* more effectually, and oblige the neighbouring Princes to join them. The Pope therefore excommunicated him with great Solemnity in a Council at *Rome*, declaring him anathematized and ſuſpended from all the Functions of his Office, as a Biſhop, till ſuch Time as he recalled all the Troops to a Man, that he had ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the *Saracens* [l]. This Sentence made ſome Impreſſion upon the Biſhop, and he ſent one of his Deacons, but not till a Twelvemonth after, to aſſure the Pope, that, provided he abſolved him from it, he would order all his Troops Home, and thenceforth never lend the *Saracens* the leaſt Aſſiſtance. But the Pope, not ſatisfied with his barely affording them no Aſſiſtance, diſpatched *Marinus*, Biſhop and Treaſurer of the Holy See, and another Perſon of Diſtinction named *Sico*, to let *Athanaſius* know, that in order to obtain the wiſhed for Abſolution, he muſt convince him of the Sincerity of his Repentance, and that he could by no other Means convince him of it but by apprehending and ſending to *Rome* ſome of the chief Men among the *Saracens*, of whoſe Names *Marinus* would deliver him a Liſt, and cutting the Throats of the reſt in the Preſence of his Legates, *jugulatis aliis* [m].

The Biſhop of Naples *excommunicated in a Council at* Rome. Year of Chriſt 882.

Inſtance of this Pope's Cruelty.

[k] See above, p. 43. [l] Johan. ep. 270. [m] Johan. ep. 294.

Year of Christ 882.

Such was the Spirit of this blood-thirsty Church, even in those early Times.

Death of the Pope.

The Pope had resolved to undertake a Second Journey into *France*, in order to mediate a Peace between the *French* Princes at War with one another, and had even wrote to Count *Suppo* to meet him at Mount *Cenis* [n]. But he died in the mean time, according to the most probable Opinion, on the Fifteenth or Sixteenth of *December* 882, having held the See Ten Years and Two Days. The Continuator of the Annals of *Fulda* writes, that the Emperor received the News of the Death of Pope *John*, and was at the same time informed, that he had been knocked on the Head with a Hammer by some, who coveted his Wealth and aspired at his Dignity. But of this no Notice is taken by any other Writer. Of this Pope we have

His Writings.

320 Letters, the Fragments of some others, and a Constitution concerning the Cardinals commonly ascribed to him, but thought by the best Critics to be of a much later Date. *Platina* supposes the Life of Pope *Gregory the Great*, comprised in Four Books, to have been written by this Pope while he was yet Deacon of the *Roman* Church. But that Mistake is confuted by *Panvinius* [o]. The Life of *Gregory* was written during the Pontificate of Pope *John*, and at his Request, by a Deacon of the *Roman* Church named *John*, which probably led *Platina* into that Mistake.

The Letter condemning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son probably forged.

As for the Letter to *Photius*, wherein the Pope condemns as blasphemous the Addition of the Words *and from the Son* to the Symbol, it is by some looked upon as genuine, by others as spurious. The Stile certainly bears a very near Resemblance to that of this Pope's other Letters. But, on the other Hand, as we have a long Letter from *Photius* to the Patriarch of *Aquileia* upon this Subject, written after the Death of the present Pope [p], wherein he mentions several of his Predecessors, who had disapproved of that Addition, but, speaking of him, only says, that his Legates at the Council of *Constantinople* had signed the Symbol without it, we may, I think, conclude from thence the Letter in question to be forged. For is it not altogether incredible, that, if *Photius* had received such a Letter from Pope *John*, he would not have mentioned it, and named him among the Popes, who had condemned the said Addition?

[n] Johan. ep. 307. [o] In Notis ad Platin. [p] Apud Bar. ad ann. 883.

John

Year of Christ 882.

Allows the Moravians *to ſay the Canonical Hours in their native Language.*

John confirmed, at the Requeſt of *Sfento Pulcher*, Prince of *Moravia*, the Licence, that had been granted by Pope *Nicholas* to the Inhabitants of that Country, of ſaying the canonical Hours and celebrating Maſs in their native Language, the *Sclavonian Language we juſtly commend*, ſays the Pope in his Letter to the Prince I have juſt mentioned, *and order the Praiſe and the Works of Chriſt our Lord to be celebrated in that Tongue, being directed by divine Authority to praiſe the Lord not in Three only, but in all Languages, agreeably to what we find in Holy Writ*, Praiſe the Lord all ye Nations, and bleſs him all ye People. *The Apoſtles announced the wonderful Works of God in all Languages*, &c. *and he who made the Three chief Languages, the* Hebrew, *the* Greek, *and the* Latin, *created all the reſt for his Praiſe and Glory*[q]. The ſame Privilege was granted by the *Greek* Church to the *Ruſſians*, who ſpeak the *Sclavonian* Language; and they perform to this Day, as well as the *Moravians*, divine Service in their native Tongue. The Pope however ordered the Goſpel to be firſt read in the *Latin*, and afterwards, for the Sake of thoſe who underſtood not that Language, in the *Sclavonian*.

BASILIUS, LEO the Philoſopher, *Emperors of the* Eaſt. CHARLES the Groſs *Emperor of the* Weſt.

MARINUS,

The Hundred and ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

Marinus *elected.*

IN the Room of *John*, and a few Days after his Death, was unanimouſly choſen by the *Roman* People *Marinus*, called by ſome *Martin* II. a Native of *Galleſium* in *Tuſcany*, and the Son of a Preſbyter named *Palumbus*[a]. He had been ſent to *Conſtantinople* with the Character of Legate by Pope *Nicholas* to excommunicate *Photius*, by *Hadrian* II. to preſide at the Eighth General Council, and by *John* his immediate Predeceſſor, to annul the Acts of the Council held under *Photius*, and excommunicate him anew, as has been related above. Some will have him to have been a Biſhop at the Time of his Election, though of no particular See. But in the Annals of *Fulda*, continued by an anonymous Writer, and publiſhed by *Freherius*, he is ſaid to have been raiſed from the Dignity of Arch-

[q] Johan ep. 247. [a] Panvin. in Not. ad Platin. et Annal. Fuld.

Year of Christ 883.

deacon of the *Roman* Church to that of Sovereign Pontiff. He was ſcarce warm in the Chair when he declared the Acts of the late Council of *Conſtantinople* void and null, excommunicated *Photius*, and anathematized all, who ſhould communicate with him, or acknowledge him for lawful Patriarch [b]; which ſo provoked the Emperor *Baſilius*, that he never owned him for lawful Pope, alledging that he had been tranſlated, contrary to the Canons, from one See to another, and therefore was not canonically elected.

Excommunicates Photius.

Reſtores Formoſus.

The next Thing we find recorded of *Marinus* is, that he reſtored *Formoſus*, Biſhop of *Porto* to his See, though he had been often excommunicated by his Predeceſſor, and had even been obliged to ſwear, that he never would return to *Romé* nor reſume the Epiſcopal Dignity, but content himſelf, ſo long as he lived, with Lay Communion. From all theſe Oaths *Marinus* abſolved him, and declaring him innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, replaced him on his See [c]. About the ſame time *Marinus* ſent the Pall to *Fulco* preferred to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Reims* in the room of the famous *Hincmar*, who died on the Seventeenth of *December* 882. He is likewiſe ſaid to have ſent many valuable Preſents to *Alfred*, King of *England*, and among the reſt ſome of the Wood of the true Croſs, and to have exempted, at that King's Requeſt, the *Engliſh* School at *Rome* from all Taxes [d]. This is all we know of *Marinus*. He died, according to the beſt Hiſtorians, in the Second Year of his Pontificate, having preſided in the Apoſtolic See One Year and Five Months [e]. He is ſaid by *Platina* to have raiſed himſelf by wicked Practices [f]. But of ſuch Practices no Notice is taken by any of the more ancient Writers; nay in the *Saxon* Chronicle printed at *Oxford*, he is ſtiled a *renowned Pope* [g]. If he was choſen and ordained a few Days after the Death of Pope *John* in *December* 882, as we are told he was, and held the See One Year and Five Months, his Death muſt have happened in *May* 884. Of this Pope no Writings have reached our Times, beſides a Charter, which he granted to a *Benedictine* Monaſtery in the Dioceſe of *Limoges*, impowering the Monks to chuſe their own Abbot, according to the Rules of the Order, and anathematizing all, who ſhould be any-ways concerned in

His Death. Year of Chriſt 884.

[b] Breviar. Græc. Synod. Conſtantinop. viii. [c] Auxil. de Ordinationibus Formoſ. l. ii. c. 20. [d] Math. Weſtmon. et Sim. Dunel. ad ann. 884. [e] Marian. Luitprand. Martin. Polon. &c. [f] Platin. in Martin. II. [g] Chron. Saxon. ad ann. 883.

obliging

obliging them to receive one, whom they themſelves had not freely choſen [h]. Year of Chriſt 884.

BASILIUS, LEO the Philoſopher, *Emperors of the* Eaſt. **HADRIAN III.** CHARLES the Groſs *Emperor of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

MARINUS was ſucceeded by *Hadrian* the Third of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of one *Benedict*. He was choſen and ordained, ſo far as we can conjecture from the Duration of his Pontificate, in the latter End of *May* or the Beginning of *June* 884. Hadrian *choſen.*

As the *Saracens* ſtill continued their Ravages in *Italy*, and burnt in the Month of *September* of the preſent Year the rich Monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, murdered the Abbot *Bertarius* at the Altar, and committed many other barbarous Murders without Check or Controul, the Emperor *Charles* being obliged to employ his Forces in the Defence of his *French* Dominions againſt the *Normans*, the *Italians* began to think of chuſing an Emperor of their own Nation, who, not being diverted by foreign Wars, nor having other Kingdoms to defend, might ſolely attend to the Defence of *Italy*. This Meaſure the *Italian* Princes repreſented to the Pope as the only Means of preſerving *Italy* from being brought in the End under the Yoke of the *Saracens*; and *Hadrian* is ſaid to have iſſued, at their Deſire and Requeſt, a Decree ordaining, that, if *Charles* ſhould die without Iſſue Male, the Kingdom of *Italy* and the Title of Emperor ſhould be beſtowed upon none but Natives of *Italy* [i]. *Hadrian* at the ſame time decreed, that the new Pope ſhould be thenceforth conſecrated without waiting for the Imperial Envoys to aſſiſt at his Conſecration [k]. *Two Decrees iſſued by* Hadrian.

The Emperor *Baſilius*, hearing of the Promotion of *Hadrian*, left nothing unattempted to reconcile him with *Photius*, even offering to ſend a powerful Fleet to aſſiſt him againſt the *Saracens*, provided he communicated with him, and acknowledged him for lawful Pa- *The Emperor* Baſilius *ſtrives in vain to reconcile him with* Photius.

[h] Sirmond. Concil. Gall. tin. et Ciacon. in Hadrian III. [i] Sigon. de reg. Italiæ, l. v. ad ann. 884. [k] Pla-

Year of Christ 884.

triarch. But finding him no leſs inflexible than his immediate Predeceſſor, he wrote him a very ſharp Letter, charging him, as well as *Marinus*, whom he had ſucceeded, with Pride, Arrogance, and Preſumption, as if they ſacrificed the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church to their own private Views and the Exaltation of their See.

Death of Hadrian.

Hadrian did not live to receive this Letter, but died in his Way to *Worms*, being invited by the Emperor to aſſiſt at a Diet there. In

Year of Chriſt 885.

that Diet the Emperor propoſed to depoſe ſome Biſhops, very unjuſtly, ſays the Annaliſt of *Fulda*, and wanted for that Purpoſe the Authority of the Pope. But his Deſign, adds the Annaliſt, was defeated by the Death of the Pope, who died in the Neighbourhood of *Modena*, and was buried in the Monaſtery of *Nonantula*, about Five Miles from that Place [1]. If *Hadrian* held the See One Year and Four Months, as we read in moſt of the Catalogues of the Popes, his Death muſt have happened about the Month of *September* 885.

BASILIUS, LEO the Philoſopher, *Emperors of the* East. **STEPHEN V. *or* VI.** CHARLES the Groſs, WIDO, *Emperors of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Stephen *unanimouſly choſen.*

THE News of *Hadrian*'s Death no ſooner reached *Rome*, than the People, the Clergy, and the Nobility, aſſembled to chuſe him a Succeſſor; and they unanimouſly choſe *Stephen*, by Birth a *Roman*, and Presbyter of that Church, all crying out with one Voice, *we will have Stephen, and no other, for our Biſhop.* They went accordingly all in a Body from the Place of Election to his Houſe, and carried him by Force (for he was the only Perſon that oppoſed his Election) to the *Lateran* Palace, and there placed him upon the Patriarchal Throne. The very next Day, being *Sunday*, he was attended by the whole *Roman* Clergy to the Baſilic of the Prince of the Apoſtles, and ordained or conſecrated there with the uſual Solemnity [a].

Is ordained without the Emperor's Knowledge.

As the Emperor heard at the ſame time of his Election and Conſecration, he highly reſented their having performed that Ceremony

[1] Annal. Fuld. ad ann. 885. [a] Gulielm. Biblioth. in Steph. VI.

without conſulting him, or waiting for the Arrival of his Envoys to aſſiſt at it in his Name; and he immediately diſpatched *Liutard*, Biſhop of *Vercelli*, and ſome other Biſhops with Orders to depoſe him. But the Pope having ſent to him, by a ſolemn Legation, the Decree of his Election, ſigned by Thirty Biſhops, and by all the leading Men of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People, he was appeaſed, revoked the Order he had given, and acknowledged *Stephen* for lawful Pope [b]. Year of Chriſt 885.

Stephen was come of a noble and wealthy Family, was greatly beloved by Pope *Hadrian* II. and likewiſe by *Marinus*, who ordained him Prieſt, and was held in the greateſt Veneration by all Ranks of Men for the Purity and Sanctity of his Life. They had long had a great Drought at *Rome*, and the neighbouring Country was at the ſame time infeſted with prodigious Swarms of Locuſts, that every-where devoured the Fruits of the Earth, which the *Saracens* were not able to carry off. Thus a dreadful Famine began to rage in *Rome*. But the very Day *Stephen* was choſen, and even before he got to the *Lateran* Palace, a plentiful Shower fell; and as to the Locuſts, in order to encourage the People to deſtroy them, he publicly promiſed a Reward of Six Denarii a Buſhel. But finding that they multiplied as faſt as they were deſtroyed, and conſequently that to extirpate them he muſt put himſelf to the Expence of a Miracle, he bleſſed a great Quantity of Water, and diſtributed it among the People, ordering them to ſprinkle their Corn and Vines with it. They did ſo; and the Ground was ſoon ſeen every-where covered with Heaps of thoſe dead Inſects [c]. His Generoſity and Charity to the Poor do more Honour to his Memory than all his Miracles. For finding nothing in the Patriarchal Palace but bare Walls, the Furniture, Money, and every-thing elſe being carried off upon the firſt News of his Predeceſſor's Death, according to the Cuſtom that began then to prevail, and obtains to this Day, he was obliged to recur to his own Patrimony; and he generouſly expended it in maintaining the Poor, during the Famine, in relieving the Orphans, many of whom he fed daily at his own Table, and in privately ſupplying with all the Neceſſaries of Life noble but unfortunate and decayed Families [d]. Such is the Character the Bibliothecarian gives us of the preſent Pope.

Miracle wrought by him after his Conſecration.

His Liberality.

[b] Annal. Fuld. ad ann. 885. [c] Guil. Biblioth. in Steph. VI. [d] Id. ibid.

The

Year of Christ 885.

His Answer to a Letter from the Emperor Basilius *to his Predecessor.*

The Letter, that the Emperor *Basilius* wrote to *Hadrian*, filled with severe Reflections upon that Pope, as well as upon his Predecessor *Marinus*, for not communicating with *Photius*, as has been said above, was delivered to *Stephen*; and he answered it a few Days after his Consecration. The Emperor's Letter, said by *Baronius* to have been fraught with Blasphemies, has not reached our Times, but *Stephen*'s Answer to it has; and the Pope begins it with fixing the Limits of the Two Powers, the Spiritual and the Temporal, telling the Emperor, that it is his Province to check Tyrants with the Sword, to administer Justice, to make Laws, and to command Fleets and Armies; but that the Care of the Flock was committed to St. *Peter*, and in him to his Successors in the Apostolic See; and that their Power is as much above all temporal Power, as Heaven is above the Earth. From thence he takes Occasion to exhort the Emperor not to meddle with the Affairs of the Church, but contenting himself with his own Province, to leave the Disposal of spiritual Concerns to those, whom the Lord has trusted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the next Place the Pope proceeds to answer the Reason the Emperor had alledged, for not acknowledging *Marinus* for lawful Bishop, *viz.* because he had been translated, contrary to the Canons, from one See to another. *Stephen* positively asserts, that he was no Bishop at the Time of his Election; that the Emperor could not prove that he was; and that he therefore ought not, upon that Account, to have looked upon his Promotion to the Apostolic See as inconsistent with the Canons. He adds, that the Canons may, on many Occasions, be dispensed with, alledges several Instances of Translations in the Eastern Churches approved by Men eminent for their Sanctity, and concludes from thence, that the Canons, forbidding Translations, are not binding in all Cases, and consequently that *Marinus* might have been translated, which, he says, was not the Case, from another See to the first without any Breach of the Laws of the Church. The Pope then complains of the Emperor, but in the most respectful Terms, for taking into his Protection One, so often and so justly condemned, excommunicated, and anathematized by the Apostolic See; expresses great Surprize at his giving Ear to the Enemies of *Marinus* striving to prejudice him against that holy Pontiff worthy of eternal Memory; condoles the Church of *Constantinople* upon its being destitute of a Pastor, and only governed by a Layman; declares, that if he were not restrained by his great Regard

Regard for a Prince, ſo well deſerving of the Church in other Reſpects, he would treat the Uſurper *Photius* with more Severity than any of his Predeceſſors had done, and cloſes his Letter with congratulating the Emperor upon his having deſtined one of his Sons, *viz.* *Stephen* the youngeſt of the Three, for the Prieſthood, and earneſtly entreating him to ſend a Fleet to protect the Coaſt, and a Body of Troops to garriſon and defend the City of *Rome*, in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of the *Saracens*. We may judge of the deplorable Condition to which *Rome* was reduced at this Time, from their wanting even Oil, as we read in the Cloſe of the Pope's Letter, for the Lamps of the Churches[e].

Year of Chriſt 885.

This Letter was written by the Pope ſoon after his Conſecration, and conſequently in the latter End of *September* 885, but it did not reach *Conſtantinople* till the Year 886, after the Death of the Emperor *Baſilius*, which happened upon the Firſt of *March* of that Year, after he had reigned One Year with the Emperor *Michael*, and Nineteen alone[f]. He was ſucceeded by his Second Son *Leo*, ſurnamed *the Philoſopher*, or *the Wiſe*, his eldeſt Son *Conſtantine* dying before his Father: and to him was delivered the Pope's Letter addreſſed to his Father. As *Photius* was charged after the Death of *Baſilius* with having formed a Deſign of raiſing a Relation of his own to the Imperial Throne, the new Emperor, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, took Occaſion from thence to drive him, as guilty of High Treaſon, from the Patriarchal See, and confine him, ſo long as he lived, to a Monaſtery in *Armenia* called *Bardi*.

Death of the Emperor Baſilius; Photius *depoſed, and confined to a Monaſtery.*

Year of Chriſt 886.

To him *Leo* ſubſtituted his own Brother Prince *Stephen*, who had then ſcarce completed the Sixteenth Year of his Age. But as he had been ordained Deacon by *Photius*, and all Ordinations, performed by him, were declared null by the Decrees of ſeveral Popes, as well as by a Decree of the Eighth General Council, and ſuch as had received Orders at his Hands were rendered incapable of ever riſing to a higher Degree in the Church, the Emperor apprehended that the Pope might inſiſt on the Obſervance of thoſe Canons, and not conſent to the Promotion of the new Patriarch. Having therefore invited to a Conference *Stylianus*, Metropolitan of *Neoceſarea* in *Euphrateſia*, and with him all the Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons, Abbots, and Clerks, who had ſuffered moſt for not acknowledging *Photius*, nor communicat-

Stephen *the Emperor* Leo's *Brother ſubſtituted in his room.*

[e] Apud Baron. ad ann. 885. [f] Porphyr. in Baſil.

ing

Year of Christ 886.

ing with him, he addreſſed them thus; "I have, upon mature De-
"liberation, driven that wicked Man *Photius* from the Patriarchal
"See, and happily put an End to the Perſecution you have ſuffered.
"I ſhall require none of you to communicate with him. On the
"contrary, I beg you will all communicate with my Brother, that
"we may again become One Flock. But he has been ordained Dea-
"con by *Photius*, whom the *Romans* have condemned, if you do
"not chuſe to acknowledge him without firſt conſulting them, let
"us write jointly to the Pope for his Abſolution in behalf of thoſe
"whom *Photius* has ordained g."

The Emperor writes to the Pope for a Diſpenſation in behalf of his Brother, ordained Deacon by Photius.

The Emperor wrote to the Pope accordingly, and ſo did *Stylianus*, in the Name of all the Biſhops, Presbyters, *&c.* in the Eaſt, who communicated with *Rome*, begging his Holineſs to diſpenſe with their ordaining the new Patriarch contrary to the Canons, and to forgive thoſe, who, being impoſed upon by the Craft of the Uſurper *Photius*, had communicated with him upon the Death of *Ignatius*. *Stylianus* in his Letter (for that of the Emperor has not reached our Times) aſſures the Pope that he had oppoſed the Intruſion of *Photius* from the Beginning; enumerates the many Crimes, with which he twice opened himſelf a Way to the Patriarchal Throne, reckoning among them the Murder of his Predeceſſor *Ignatius*; excuſes thoſe, who had communicated with him, as having been induced to it by the Legates of the Apoſtolic See, whom the Emperor had, on the one hand, terrified with his Menaces, and *Photius*, on the other, allured with his Preſents; declares, that to his certain Knowledge not one of the many, who had communicated with *Photius*, had done ſo by Choice, and cloſes his Letter with the following Words;
"As we know that we are to be corrected, and reprimanded by your
"Apoſtolic See, we humbly beſeech you to deal mercifully with us,
"and receive thoſe, who have gone aſtray, but repent and return to
"the Fold; that by your means Peace may be reſtored in our Days
"to a Church, that has been ſo long divided and rent into Par-
"ties."

The Pope's Anſwer.

The Pope, in his Anſwer, not only approved of but expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Expulſion of *Photius*. However, obſerving no ſmall Diſagreement between the Emperor's Letter and that of *Stylianus*, the Emperor writing, that *Photius* had abdicated of

g Apud Baron. ad ann. 886.

his

his own Accord to lead a ſolitary Life, and *Stylianus* that he had been driven from his See, he would determine nothing with reſpect to the Diſpenſation for which they applied; but deſired that Biſhops might be ſent by both Parties, ſince he could not give Sentence without hearing the one as well as the other. The Emperor and the Biſhops, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, diſpatched Legates to *Rome* to give the Pope a minute Account of the Expulſion of *Photius* and of every thing that had paſſed on that Occaſion. But as *Stephen* died before their Arrival, we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of the Succeſs of this Legation in the following Pontificate.

Year of Chriſt 887.

In the mean time died in the Month of *January* 888 the Emperor *Charles the Groſs*, and, as he left no Male Iſſue, the *Italian* Princes determined to chuſe a King of their own Nation; but not being able to agree among themſelves, ſome acknowledging *Berengarius*, Duke of *Friuli*, and others *Wido*, Duke of *Spoleti*, the whole Country was divided into Two oppoſite Factions, and involved by that means in the utmoſt Confuſion. The Pope, ſiding at firſt with neither of the Competitors, invited *Arnulph* King of *Germany*, the natural Son of *Carloman* Brother to the late Emperor, into *Italy*, to take Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, and deliver the unhappy People from the Calamities of a civil and deſtructive War. But *Arnulph* being then engaged in another War, the Pope and the *Romans* declared for *Wido*, who, finding his Party thus greatly ſtrengthened, attacked *Berengarius* in the Neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and having gained a complete Victory, made himſelf Maſter of all *Lombardy* in 890, and going the following Year to *Rome* was there on the Twenty-firſt of *February* crowned Emperor by the Pope with the uſual Solemnity g.

Charles the Groſs *dies*. Year of Chriſt 888.

Wido *Duke of* Spoleti *choſen Emperor and crowned at* Rome. Year of Chriſt 891.

The Pope died, according to the moſt probable Opinion, about the latter End of *September* of the ſame Year, after a Pontificate of Nine Years and Fourteen Days according to ſome, but only of Nine Days according to others. That *Stephen* governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, and ſhould be called, not the VI. but the V. of that Name, appears from his Epitaph, which was ſtill to be ſeen in the old Porch of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Manlius*'s Time, as that Writer informs us, and is as follows;

Death of Pope Stephen.

g Herman. Contract. ad ann. 890. Luitprand, l. i. Sigon. de reg. Italiæ, l. vi. Annal. Metenſ.

Year of Christ 891.

Hic tumulus quinti sacratos continet artus
Præsulis eximii Pontificis Stephani;
Bis ternis annis populum qui rexit & urbem.

His Letters and some of his Actions.

Several Letters passed between this Pope and *Fulco* of *Reims*, that are to be met with in *Flodoard*'s History of that Church. *Lewis* the Son of *Boso*, who had been chosen King of *Burgundy* and *Provence*, was indebted to Pope *Stephen* for the Kingdom which his Father had possessed. For it was upon the Pope's Recommendation that the Bishops crowned and anointed him King, though he was then only Ten Years of Age; and we shall see him hereafter raised to the Imperial Throne. We have a Sermon preached by this Pope against the using of Charms, and talking at Church [h]. He forbad the Keepers of St. *Peter*'s Church to exact, or even to accept any thing of those who said Mass there; a Custom, which they had introduced, or rather revived in the Pontificate of his Predecessor. He is likewise said to have abolished several other Abuses, which the preceding Popes had connived at, and among the rest that of the Ordeal by Fire and hot Water.

LEO the Philosopher *Emperor of the* East. — WIDO, LAMBERT, *and* ARNULPH, *Emperors of the* West.

FORMOSUS,

The Hundred and tenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Formosus *raised to the Pontifical Chair.*

IN the room of *Stephen* was chosen *Formosus*, Bishop of *Porto*, who had been so often excommunicated by *John* VIII. and even obliged to swear that he would never return to *Rome*, nor ever exercise any Episcopal Functions, but content himself with Lay Communion so long as he lived. But from this Oath he was absolved by Pope *Marinus* [a], and upon the Death of *Stephen* raised to the Apostolic See from that of *Porto*, to which *Marinus* had restored him. He is the first that was translated from another See to that of *Rome*, the preceding Popes having all been chosen from among the Presbyters and Deacons of that Church. *Formosus*, though persecuted by Pope

[h] Apud Baron. ad ann. 890. [a] See above, p. 58.

John

John VIII. in the Manner we have ſeen, is commended by *Luitprand* for the Sanctity of his Life and the Knowledge of the Scripture [b], and ſeveral other Writers, who flouriſhed at the ſame time, ſpeak of him as one worthy, in every Reſpect, of the high Station to which he was raiſed. *Luitprand* ſuppoſes one *Sergius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, to have been choſen at the ſame time, but to have been driven from the See by the Party of *Formoſus* the more powerful of the Two [c]. But that this Schiſm happened on Occaſion of the Election of *John* IX. and not of *Formoſus*, ſhall be made to appear in the Sequel.

Year of Chriſt 891.

Is commended by ſeveral Writers.

The Legates, ſent by the Emperor *Leo* and the Eaſtern Biſhops, of whom I have ſpoken in the foregoing Pontificate, arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the Promotion of *Formoſus*, and were received by him with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem. However he could not be prevailed upon to grant them their Requeſt, and allow thoſe who had been ordained by *Photius* to keep their Ranks in the Church, or to be preferred to a higher Degree, ſince their Ordination had been declared null by the Decrees of his Predeceſſors, and thoſe of a General Council. All the Envoys could obtain of him was, that ſuch as had been ordained by *Photius*, and had communicated with him, ſhould be admitted to Lay Communion, upon their acknowledging their Fault, and asking Pardon for it in Writing. But the *Greeks*, to avoid the Confuſion that the depoſing of all the Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and other Clerks whom *Photius* had ordained, would occaſion in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, thought it adviſeable to leave them in their reſpective Ranks, and communicate with them upon their condemning *Photius*, and owning they had done Wrong in receiving Ordination at his Hands. Thus *Stephen*, the Emperor's Brother, though ordained Deacon by *Photius* was acknowledged for lawful Patriarch by all the Biſhops in the Eaſt, no Regard being had by them to the Decrees of the Popes forbidding thoſe, to be ever preferred to a higher Rank, who had been admitted by him to any Degree whatever in the Church [d].

Refuſes the Diſpenſation ſued for by the Emperor Leo *in Favour of his Brother.*

Who is nevertheleſs raiſed to the Patriarchal Throne.

The following Year *Formoſus* appointed a Council to meet at *Vienne*, in order to redreſs ſome Abuſes, that prevailed in the Kingdom of *Arles*, and ſent the Two Biſhops *John* and *Paſchal* to preſide at it. By that Council Excommunications were thundered out

Council of Vienne.

Year of Chriſt 892.

[b] Luitp. l. i. c. 8. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Concil. tom. ix. p. 428.

Year of Christ 892.

against Laymen, who should strike Clerks, make them Eunuchs, or any otherwise mutilate or maim them, should usurp Lands belonging to the Church, dispose of Churches without the Consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, or exact Fees of those, whom they presented to vacant Benefices. By the same Council Ecclesiastics of all Ranks were strictly enjoined to suffer no Women in their Houses[e].

The African *Bishops divided among themselves apply to* Formosus.

As the Churches in *Africa* were no less divided among themselves than those in the East, the *African* Bishops sent Deputies to consult *Formosus* concerning the Points that occasioned their Division, entreating him to return them a full and speedy Answer, and put an End, by that means, to the Schism, that had long prevailed among them. What these Points were, History does not inform us: But from a Letter, written by the Pope to *Fulco* of *Reims* at this very time, it appears, that, upon the Arrival of the *African* Deputies, he resolved to assemble a very numerous Council at *Rome*, in order to advise with them what Answer he should return. He appointed the Council to meet in the Month of *May* of the present Year, and, in his Letter to *Fulco*, desired him to repair to it without Delay, that he might consult him at Leisure[f]. But the Meeting of the Council was afterwards put off till the First of *March* of the following Year: and we have Reason to believe, that it was not held even then, no Mention being made of it by any Writer of those Days.

He espouses the Cause of Charles the Simple *against* Odo. Year of Christ 893.

Formosus espoused with great Zeal the Cause of *Charles* of *France*, surnamed *the Simple*, against *Odo* or *Eudes*, who upon the Death of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, that Prince's Father, had seized on the Kingdom of *Acquitaine* and the Country lying between the *Seine* and the *Loire*, and had been even anointed King of *France* by *Walterius* Archbishop of *Sens*. We have several Letters written by the Pope on Occasion of *Odo*'s Usurpation, some of them to *Odo* himself, exhorting him to restore to the lawful Heir the Countries which he had unjustly seized; and some to the *Gallican* Bishops, requiring them to interpose their good Offices with the Usurper, and divert him, if by any Means they could, from kindling a War, whereof the Issues are uncertain, in the Bowels of the Kingdom. But no Regard was had by *Odo* either to the Exhortations of the Pope or the Remonstrances of the Bishops; and *Charles*, though crowned King of all *France* by the Archbishop of *Reims* on the 28th of *Ja-*

[e] Concil. tom. ix. p. 434. [f] Flodoard, l. iv. c. 2.

nuary 893, was, in 897, obliged to yield great Part of that Kingdom to his Competitor, that is, the whole Country from the *Seine* to the *Pyrenees* g. But *Odo* dying the following Year, *Charles* was owned by all ſole King of *France*; and thus was that Crown reſtored to the Family of *Charlemagne*. Year of Chriſt 893.

Great Revolutions happened at the ſame Time in *Italy*. The Emperor *Wido* dying in 894, his Son *Lambert*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Empire, was the ſame Year crowned Emperor by *Formoſus*. But a moſt bloody War breaking out between him and *Berengarius*, who upon the Death of *Wido* had revived his Claim to the Kingdom of *Italy*, the Pope, to put an End to the Calamities attending ſo deſtructive a War, invited *Arnulph* King of *Germany* to *Rome*, promiſing to crown him Emperor, provided he drove out both the Tyrants, and reſtored Peace, with his victorious Arms, to the harraſſed Country. *Arnulph* readily complied with the Invitation, and entering *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army, made himſelf Maſter of the whole Country, now known by the Name of *Lombardy*. But inſtead of purſuing his March to *Rome*, he unexpectedly turned his Arms againſt *Rudulph*, who, upon the Death of *Lewis the Stammerer*, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of *Burgundy*. However he re-entered *Italy* the following Year, but found, on his Arrival at *Rome*, the Gates ſhut, and the City Walls defended by a numerous Garriſon, *Agiltruda*, Mother of the Emperor *Lambert*, having ſhut herſelf up in the Place with the Flower of the Imperial Troops. As her Party prevailed in the City, the Pope could afford no Aſſiſtance to the King of *Germany*, being himſelf kept, in a manner, Priſoner by *Agiltruda* and her Friends, determined to ſtand a Siege and defend the Place to the laſt Extremity. *Arnulph* therefore attacked firſt the *Leonine* City with his whole Army, flattering himſelf that he ſhould carry it by Aſſault. But he met with a vigorous Reſiſtance, and was repulſed with no ſmall Loſs. He reſolved to renew the Attack the next Day: But in the mean time an odd Accident put him in Poſſeſſion of the Place, without any Blood being ſhed on the one Side or the other. A Hare, ſtarting up among the Troops as they were preparing for the Aſſault, and running towards the City, the Soldiers purſued it with loud Shouts; and the beſieged, imagining they were advancing thus

Great Revolutions in Italy. Year of Chriſt 894.

Arnulph *King of* Germany *lays ſiege to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 895.

g Flodoard, l. iv. c. 2. Annal. Metenſ.

undauntedly

Year of Christ 895.

undauntedly to the Assault, were seized with a Panic, fled from the Walls in the utmost Confusion, and could by no Means be prevailed upon by their Commanders to return to their Posts. *Arnulph*, perceiving the Walls were abandoned on all Sides, laid hold of the Opportunity, as favourable as unexpected, and marching that Moment up to the Walls, took the Place by Escalade without the Loss of a single Man. *Arnulph*, now Master of the *Leonine* City, was preparing to attack the other Part of the City separated from this by the *Tyber*. But in the mean time the Senate and the Nobility, submitting to the Conqueror, came out in a Body with their Standards and Crosses to receive him, and implore his Protection against the Insults of his victorious Army.

The Romans *yield and admit him into the City.*

He is crowned Emperor by Formosus.

The Pope, now set at Liberty, received the King upon the Steps of St. *Peter's* Church, and attending him, with the whole Body of the Clergy, to the Tomb of the Apostle, he anointed and crowned him Emperor that very Day. The next Day the new Emperor having ordered the Heads of the *Roman* People to meet in the Church of St. *Paul*, obliged them to take the following Oath of Allegiance: "I "swear by all these holy Mysteries, that, saving my Honour, my "Law, and the Fidelity I owe to my Lord Pope *Formosus*, I am, "and shall be faithful all the Days of my Life to the Emperor *Ar-* "*nulph*; that I shall never join any Man against him; that I shall "never assist *Lambert*, the Son of *Agiltruda*, nor *Agiltruda*; and "that I shall never deliver, nor be any ways accessory to the Deliver- "ing of the City of *Rome* to either of them, or to any of their Par- "ty." As *Agiltruda* had the good Luck to make her Escape, and had thrown herself into the City of *Spoleti*, *Arnulph*, having appointed *Eurold* Governor of *Rome*, left that City after a short Stay there of Fifteen Days, and taking with him *Constantine* and *Stephen*, Two leading Men in the Senate, who had distinguished themselves by their Attachment to *Lambert*, marched to *Spoleti* with a Design to lay siege to that City; but, being taken ill on his March, he dropt that Design, and returned to *Bavaria*.

Oath taken by the Romans.

Upon his Retreat the War was rekindled between *Berengarius* and *Lambert* about the Kingdom of *Italy*, both claiming that Kingdom and the Title of Emperor with it. Thus was the whole Country again divided, more than ever, into Parties, some declaring for *Lambert*, others for *Berengarius*, and some for *Arnulph*. As *Arnulph* was then engaged in other Wars, and seemed to have laid aside

Lambert *and* Berengarius *divide by Agreement the Kingdom of* Italy.

Year of Christ 896.

all

all Thoughts of ever returning into *Italy*, the Pope left nothing unattempted to bring about a Reconciliation between the other Two: And they were in the End prevailed upon, in 896, to divide the Kingdom of *Lombardy* between them [h]. Year of Christ 896.

In the same Year 896, and on Easter-day, which fell that Year on the Fourth of *April*, died Pope *Formosus*, after a Pontificate of Four Years and Six Months [i]. *Luitprand* speaks of him as a *Man truly religious, and well versed in the sacred Writings* [k]. *Fulco*, Archbishop of *Reims*, a Prelate no less conspicuous for his Piety and Learning than his high Birth, being descended from *Charlemagne*, and First Cousin to the Emperor *Wido*, looked upon the Election of *Formosus* as a Mark of the Church being under the immediate Protection of Heaven [l]; *Auxilius*, who lived at this time, writes, that he drank no Wine, that he never tasted Meat; and that he died a Virgin in the 80th Year of his Age; and what he writes is confirmed by *Flodoard* commending this Pope for his Chastity, his Sobriety, his Generosity to the Poor, his Zeal in propagating the Gospel, *&c.* His Words are *Death of* Formosus *and his Character.*

Præsul hic egregius Formosus laudibus altis
Evehitur, castus, parcus sibi, largus egenis.
Bulgaricæ genti fidei qui semina sparsit,
Delubra destruxit, populum cœlestibus armis
Instruxit, tolerans discrimina plurima: promptus
Exemplum tribuens ut sint adversa ferenda,
Et bene viventi metuenda incommoda nulla [n].

However we shall soon see this Pope's Body taken out of the Grave, most barbarously insulted, and thrown ignominiously into the *Tyber*.

As for the Letter or Bull said by *Malmsbury* [o] to have been sent by *Formosus* to King *Edward*, the Son of *Alfred*, excommunicating him and interdicting his Kingdom till several Bishoprics, that had lain vacant Seven Years, were filled up, it is, without all Doubt, a forged Piece, nothing being more certain than that *Formosus* died in 896, and *Edward* did not come to the Crown till the Year 900. *Letter or Bull of this Pope to King* Edward *of* England *a manifest Forgery.*

[h] Annal. Fuld. et Metens. Herman. Contract. Luitprand. l. i. c. 8. [i] Annal. Fuld. Herman. Contract. [k] Luitp. l. i. c. 8. [l] Flodoard, l. iv. c. 1. [m] Apud Mabill. tom. 4. Annalist. [n] Apud Mabill. Secul. iii. Benedic. par. 2. [o] Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Ang. l. ii.

Besides

Year of Christ 896.

Besides no Notice is taken of this Excommunication either by the Author of the *Saxon Chronicle*, or by *Asserius*, who lived at this very Time, and would not, we may very well suppose, have passed over in Silence so remarkable an Event.

Leo the Philosopher *Emperor of the* East. Lambert *and* Arnulph, *Emperors of the West.*

BONIFACE VI.

The Hundred and eleventh Bishop *of* Rome.

Boniface *a Man of a most infamous Character.*

FORMOSUS was succeeded by *Boniface*, the Sixth of that Name, a Man, even according to *Baronius*, of a most infamous Character [a]. He was a *Roman*, the Son of *Hadrian*, and had been deposed, for his wicked and scandalous Life, first from the Rank of Subdeacon, and afterwards from the Priesthood, as appears from the Acts of a Council held under Pope *John* IX. [b]. He is said by the Continuator of the Annals of *Fulda*, who lived at this time, to have died of the Gout at the End of Fifteen Days. As he held the See so short a Time, and intruded himself into it by open Force, *Baronius* and after him some other Writers, have not allowed him a Place among the Popes. But he is reckoned among them, and placed by the abovementioned Annalist, as well as by *Flodoard*, between *Formosus* and *Stephen* VI. or VII.

Dies soon after his Election.

Hinc subit ad modicum vates Bonifacius almus.
Ter quinos hic in arce dies explevit honoris, &c.

says *Flodoard* [c].

Leo the Philosopher *Emperor of the* East. Lambert *and* Arnulph, *Emperors of the* West.

STEPHEN VI. *or* VII.

The Hundred and twelfth Bishop *of* Rome.

Stephen *intrudes himself into the See.*

STEPHEN VI. or VII. a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of a Presbyter named *John*, intruded himself, to use the Expression of *Baronius*, into the See, in the room of the Intruder *Boniface*.

[a] Baron. ad ann. 897. Fragment. de Pontif. Rom. [b] Apud Baron. ad ann. 904. [c] Flod. in

That

That he was in Poſſeſſion of the See before the 20th of *Auguſt* 896 is manifeſt from a Reſcript or Bull iſſued by him in Favour of *Arnulph* Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, and dated 20th of *Auguſt*, Fourteenth Indiction, that is in the Year 896 [a]. From the ſame Reſcript it appears, that *Stephen* at firſt acknowledged *Arnulph* for Emperor, the ſaid Bull or Reſcript bearing Date, *the Firſt Year of the Empire of the Great Emperor Arnulph crowned by God.* But from a Charter, which he granted to a Monaſtery in *France*, we learn, that, forſaking *Arnulph*, he ſoon after ſided with *Lambert*, that Charter being dated, *in the Reign of our moſt pious Emperor* Lambert, *Fifteenth Indiction*, which Indiction commenced at *Rome*, on the Firſt of *September* 896 [b]. Year of Chriſt 896.

The barbarous and unprecedent Treatment, that the dead Body of his Predeceſſor *Formoſus* met with from this Pope, reflects greater Diſgrace on his Memory, than his having intruded himſelf by Force and Violence into the See. For actuated with an unparallelled Rage againſt that Pope, he reſolved to try him after his Death; and having aſſembled a Council at *Rome* for that Purpoſe, he ordered the Body of the dead Pontiff to be taken out of the Grave, to be brought before them, and to be placed in his Epiſcopal Robes on the Pontifical Chair. Having then appointed him a Deacon for his Counſel, he addreſſed the dead Body thus: *Why didſt thou, being Biſhop of* Porto, *prompted by thy Ambition uſurp the Univerſal See of* Rome? What the mock Counſel anſwered we know not, but *Stephen*, with the Approbation and Conſent of all the Biſhops who were preſent, pronounced *Formoſus, heretofore Biſhop of* Porto, *guilty of the Charge*, viz. of intruding himſelf, by unlawful Means, into the Apoſtolic See; and he was thereupon ſtript of the Pontifical Ornaments, Three of his Fingers were cut off (thoſe, probably, with which the Popes uſed to bleſs People in thoſe Days, as they ſtill do in ours) and the Body was caſt into the *Tyber*. It was at the ſame time declared by the Pope and his Council, that *Formoſus* could confer no Orders, and therefore that they, who had received them at his Hands, ſhould be ordained anew [c]. They pretended that a Biſhop could, in no Caſe whatever, forſake his Firſt See, as a Man could in no Caſe forſake his lawful Wife, and marry another in her Room, wreſting to that Purpoſe the Words of St. *Paul, a Biſhop muſt be*

Condemnation and barbarous Treatment of Pope Formoſus.

His Ordinations declared null.

[a] Comment. Languedoc. p. 773. [b] Apud Dather. Spicileg. tom. 3. [c] Luitprand, l. i. c. 8.

Year of Christ 896.

the Husband of one Wife: and from thence they concluded, that a Bishop, by passing from one See to another, forfeited all his Power, and could therefore perform no episcopal Functions. But this Doctrine, though defined by Pope *Stephen* in a Council, and consequently *ex Cathedra*, has been long since condemned by his Successors, many of them, and the present Pope among the rest, having been translated, as *Formosus* was, from other Sees to that of *Rome*. The implacable Hatred that *Stephen* bore to *Formosus* was owing, according to *Platina*[d], to his having traversed his wicked Designs, and prevented him from being chosen at a former Election. But *Hermannus Contractus* ascribes it to his Zeal for the Emperor *Lambert*, and Aversion to *Arnulph*, whom *Formosus* had invited to *Rome*, and crowned Emperor[e].

Stephen *reverses the Decree of* Hadrian III. *relating to the Consecration of the Pope.*

As dreadful Disorders had happened in *Rome* at the Election of a new Pope ever since the Decree of *Hadrian* III. took place, whereby it was enacted, that the Elect should be ordained or consecrated without waiting for the Imperial Envoys, the Emperor *Lambert*, sensible how much it concerned him to have the Pope on his Side, took Occasion from thence to persuade *Stephen* to reverse the Decree of *Hadrian*, and confirm, by a new one, that of *Eugene* II. forbidding the new Pope to be ordained till his Election was approved by the Emperor, and Deputies were sent to assist in his Name at the Ceremony of his Consecration[f]. The Decree *Stephen* issued is quoted by *Gratian* in the following Words: *As the Holy Roman Church, in which we preside by the Appointment of God, suffers great Violence from many at the Death of the Pontiff, owing to the Custom which has been introduced of consecrating the Elect without waiting for the Approbation of the Emperor, or the Arrival of his Envoys to assist at his Ordination, and prevent, with their Presence, all Tumults and Disorders, we command the Bishops and the Clergy to meet when a new Pontiff is to be chosen, and the Election to be made in the Presence of the Senate and the People; but let the Elect be consecrated in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys*[g].

He is thrown into a Dungeon and strangled.

Stephen held the See but a short Time, according to some, One Year One Month and Twenty-eight Days; according to others, One Year and Three Months; and according to some, One Year One Month

[d] Platin. in Steph. VI. [e] Herman. Contract. ad ann. 896. [f] See vol. iv. p. 207. [g] Gratian, Distinct. 33. c. 28.

and

and Nineteen Days. But all we know for certain is, that he was in Poſſeſſion of the See before the 20th of *Auguſt* 896, as has been ſhewn above, and that *Romanus*, his immediate Succeſſor, held it in *October* 897, a Letter, Bull, or Reſcript of that Pope, dated the *Ides of October*, Firſt Indiction, or Year of Chriſt 897, having reached our Times. *Stephen* was driven from the See, was thrown into a Dungeon, and ſtrangled there, as we learn from his Epitaph found in the Ruins of the ancient Church of St. *Peter*, and publiſhed by *Manlius* in the Pontificate of *Alexander* III. (C). Who were the Authors of his Death Hiſtory does not inform us; but *Baronius* himſelf owns, that he richly deſerved the Doom that overtook him. He had entered the Fold, ſays the Annaliſt, like a Thief; and juſt it was that he ſhould die by the Halter [h]. *Flodoard* mentions a Letter from this Pope to *Fulco* of *Reims*, inviting him to a Council, which he propoſed to aſſemble at *Rome* [i]. But of this Council no Notice is taken by any other Writer.

Year of Chriſt 897.

[h] Baron. ad ann. 900. [i] Flodoard Hiſt Rem. l. iv. c. 4 et 6.

(C) The Epitaph is as follows:

Hoc Stephani Papæ clauduntur membra locello:
Sextus dictus erat ordine quippe patrum.
Hic primum repulit Formoſi ſpurca ſuperbi
Crimina, qui invaſit ſedis apoſtolicæ
Concilium inſtituit, præſedit Paſtor, et ipſe
Leges ſatis feſſis jura dedit famulis.
Cumque pater multum certaret dogmate ſancto,
Captus et a ſede pulſus ad ima fuit
Carceris interea vinclis conſtrictus, et uno
Strangulatus nervo, exuit et hominem
Poſt decimumque regens ſedem cum tranſtulit annum
Sergius huc Papa, funera ſacra colens.

From the laſt Diſtich it appears, that Pope *Sergius* (*viz.* III.) tranſlated the Body of this Pope, from the Place where it was interred before, to the Church of St. *Peter*, and that this happened Ten Years after his Death, or in 907. What is ſaid in this Epitaph agrees with what we read in *Flodoard*, who ſpeaks of *Stephen* VI. the preſent Pope, thus;

Tum ſextus Stephanus ſacra regimina culmine carpit,
Durus qui noſtris, propriis at durior inſtat.
Sæva quidem legat vivis, truciora ſepultis
Fulconemque mircis, Formoſum concutit actis
Concilium gregat infauſtum, cui præſidet atrox:
Prædeceſſorem abjiciens, ponenſque patronum.
Viſus ab hinc meritis dignam incurriſſe ruinam,
Carptus et ipſe, ſacraque abjectus æde, tenebris
Carceris injicitur, vincliſque innectitur atris,
Et ſuffocatum crudo premit ultio letho (1).

(1) In Frag. de Pont. Rom.

Year of Christ 897.

Leo the Philosopher, *Emperor of the* East. **ROMANUS,** Lambert *and* Arnulph, *Emperors of the* West.

The Hundred and thirteenth Bishop *of* Rome.

Romanus *chosen.*

STEPHEN being driven from the See, *Romanus*, a Native of *Gallesium*, and the Son of *Constantine*, was preferred to it in his room. We have Two Letters of this Pope, both beginning with these Words, *Romanus Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God*, and both dated in the Month of *October*, the First Indiction, which commenced in *Rome* on the First of *September* 897 [a]. *Romanus* is said by *Platina*, and after him by *Ciaconius* and *Oldwinus*, to have annulled the Acts of his Predecessor *Stephen*, and declared his Proceedings against *Formosus* unjust and illegal. But of that no Notice is taken by any of the more ancient Writers. *Romanus* enjoyed his Dignity, according to *Martinus Polonus*, and some Catalogues, only Three Months and Twenty-two Days, and with them *Flodoard* agrees, speaking of *Romanus* thus;

Said to have declared the Proceedings against Formosus *to be null.*

> *Post hunc luce brevi Romani regmina surgunt.*
> *Quatuor haud plenos tractans is culmina menses*
> *Æthere suscipitur, meritos sortitus honores.*

His Death. Year of Christ 898.

If he held the See but Three Months and Twenty-two Days, he must have died about the End of *January* 898. The Words *Æthere suscipitur*, &c. shew him to have been a Man of a different Character from his Predecessor.

Leo the Philosopher, *Emperor of the* East. **THEODORE II.** Lambert *and* Arnulph, *Emperors of the* West.

The Hundred and fourteenth Bishop *of* Rome.

Annuls the Acts of Stephen *against* Formosus, *and restores his Body to its Sepulchre.*

ROMANUS was succeeded by *Theodore*, the Second of that Name. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Photius*, and held the See but Twenty Days. However he reinstated, in his short Pontificate, those in their Ranks, whom *Formosus* had ordained and

[a] Baluz, in Append. ad Marcam Hispanic. n. 58, et seq.

Stephen

Stephen had depoſed, cauſed the Body of that Pope to be taken out of the *Tyber*, and, declaring all his Acts to be legal and valid, reſtored him with great Solemnity to his Sepulchre in the *Vatican* [a]. *Luitprand* writes, that upon the dead Body being carried into the Church it was ſaluted, as many *Romans* informed him, by all the Images of the Saints there [b]. *Theodore* is commended by *Flodoard* for his Temperance, his Chaſtity, his Liberality to the Poor, and is ſaid to have been a Lover of Peace, and greatly beloved by the Clergy [c].

Year of Chriſt 898.

His Death and Character.

LEO the Philoſopher, *Emperor of the* East.

JOHN IX.

LAMBERT *and* ARNULPH, *Emperors of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and fifteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the room of *Theodore* was choſen *Sergius*, Presbyter of the *Roman* Church; but the Party of *John* prevailing, *Sergius* was driven out of *Rome* before his Conſecration, and his Rival preferred to the See vacant by his Flight. *John* was a Native of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, the Son of *Rampoald*, a Deacon and Monk of the *Benedictine* Order [d]. Soon after his Election *Berengarius*, appearing unexpectedly before *Rome* at the Head of a numerous Army, obliged the new Pope to crown him Emperor. But he was no ſooner gone, than the Pope declared in a Council, which he aſſembled on that Occaſion, the Coronation of *Berengarius* null and illegal, as having been extorted by Force, and acknowledged *Lambert* alone for lawful Emperor. By the ſame Council the Acts of that held under *Stephen* againſt *Formoſus* were annulled: thoſe whom *Formoſus* had ordained were reſtored to their Ranks in the Church, as having been unjuſtly degraded; the Acts of *Stephen*'s Council were condemned to the Flames; but they were forgiven, who had aſſiſted at that ſacrilegious Aſſembly, upon their owning their Fault and begging for Mercy. Twelve Canons were iſſued by this Council, and the Four following among the reſt; 1. That though *Formoſus* had been tranſlated from the See of *Porto* to that of *Rome*, on account of his extraordinary

John *elected.*

Berengarius *obliges the Pope to crown him Emperor.*

Council of Rome *annuls the Acts of that held by* Stephen *againſt* Formoſus.

Other Decrees of this Council.

[a] Sigebert, in Chron. Flod. in Frag. de Rom. Pont. Auxil. l. ii. c. 2. [b] Luitprand, l. i. c. 8. [c] Flod. ibid. [d] Flod. ubi ſupra.

Merit,

Year of Christ 898.

Merit, no Man ſhould preſume, for the future, to paſs from one Church to another, they being excluded by the Canons from Lay Communion, even at the Point of Death, who tranſgreſs therein. 2. That they, who had violated the Sepulchre of *Formoſus*, and dragged his Body to the *Tyber*, ſhould not be admitted to the Communion of the Church till they performed the Penance impoſed upon them for ſo heinous a Crime. 3. That the new Pope ſhould be conſecrated in the Preſence of the Imperial Envoys. Thus was the Decree iſſued by *Stephen* VI. as has been related above, confirmed by the preſent Council; and it is here repeated Word for Word. 4. That none ſhould dare, upon the Death of the Pope, to plunder the Patriarchal Palace, on pain of incurring the Cenſures of the Church, and the Indignation of the Emperor; and this Prohibition extended to the Houſes of all Biſhops, the Cuſtom of plundering them when the Biſhops died prevailing at this Time all over *Italy*.

Council of Ravenna.

In the ſame Year 898 the Pope convened another Council at *Ravenna*, at which were preſent Seventy-four Biſhops and the Emperor *Lambert* in Perſon. By this Council the Acts of that, which I have juſt mentioned, were all confirmed; and it was, beſides, decreed, that the Regulations of the Fathers, and the Capitulars of the Emperors *Charlemagne*, *Lewis* I. *Lotharius*, and *Lewis* II. concerning Tythes ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, and Excommunications were thundered out againſt all, who tranſgreſſed them. When the Council was ended, the Pope repreſented to the Emperor the deplorable State to which the *Roman* Church was reduced, not having, he ſaid, wherewithal to relieve the Poor, nor even to pay the Salaries of her Clerks and other Miniſters. He then exhorted the Biſhops to diſcharge their Duty, not like Hirelings but true Paſtors, and to order a Faſt and Proceſſion, upon their Return to their reſpective Sees, for the Preſervation of the Emperor *Lambert*, the Exaltation of the Church, and the Extinguiſhing of all Schiſm and Diſcord in the State as well as in the Church [e]. *Flodoard* ſpeaks of a third Council aſſembled by this Pope, and Mention is likewiſe made of it in his Epitaph (E). But the Acts of that Aſſembly have not reached our Times.

[e] Sigon. de reg. Italiæ, l. vi. Rubeus Hiſt. Raven. l. v. Sigebert. in Chron. Vincen. Bellovac. in Specul. Hiſtorial.

(E) For we read there the following Lines;

Johannes meritis qui fulſit in ordine nonus
Inter apoſtolicos quem vexit altitonans
Conciliis docuit ternis qui dogma ſalutis, &c.

John

John IX. held the See, according to the moſt probable Opinion, Two Years and Fifteen Days, and muſt conſequently have died about the Beginning of *Auguſt* 900, it being manifeſt from ſome of his Letters, that he was in Poſſeſſion of the See in *July* 898. Of this Pope we have Four Letters, *viz.* One to *Stylianus*, Metropolitan of *Cæſarea*, another to the Clergy and People of *Langres*, the Third to *Charles the Simple* King of *France*, and the Fourth to *Heriveus*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*. *Stylianus*, who had all along adhered to the Patriarch *Ignatius*, and had, on that Account, been driven from his See, and moſt cruelly perſecuted by *Photius*, wrote to *John*, begging he would allow him, and the other Biſhops in the Eaſt, to communicate with thoſe, whom *Photius* had ordained; which, he ſaid, would reſtore the ſo long and ſo much wiſhed for Peace to the Patriarchal Church of *Conſtantinople*. The Pope, in his Anſwer, commended the Metropolitan for his Attachment to the Holy *Roman* Church his Mother, but at the ſame time declared, that he inviolably adhered, and ever would, to the Decrees of his Predeceſſors, excommunicating all, who communicated with thoſe whom the Uſurper *Photius* had preferred to any Rank whatever in the Church; ſince none could communicate with them without owning them to have been lawfully ordained, and *Photius*, who ordained them, to have been lawful Patriarch. But *Stylianus*, conſulting the Peace of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, did not acquieſce in the Pope's Anſwer, nor did the other Biſhops in the Eaſt. They all agreed among themſelves not only to communicate with thoſe, whom *Photius* had ordained, but to leave them in the Ranks to which he had preferred them. And thus was, at length, an End put to the Schiſm, that had divided the Eaſtern Churches for the Space of near Forty Years.

Year of Chriſt 900. John *dies.*

His Writings.

Will not allow the Biſhops in the Eaſt to communicate with thoſe whom Photius *had ordained.*

The Pope in his Letter to the Clergy and People of *Langres*, declares *Argrim* to have been lawfully elected to that See, though his Predeceſſor (*Stephen* V.) had diſapproved of his Election as illegal, and ordered another to be preferred to that See in his room. "I do "not condemn the Judgment given by my Predeceſſor, ſays the Pope "in this Letter, but only alter it for the better, being authorized therein "by the Example of ſeveral other Pontiffs." *John* did not, it ſeems, think himſelf bound to adhere to the Deciſions of his Predeceſſors, right or wrong; and he would have found it no eaſy Task to alledge *ſeveral* Inſtances of Popes acting ſo juſt a Part. The Pope wrote, at the ſame time, to *Charles* of *France*, entreating him to favour the

Approves an Election which his Predeceſſor had diſapproved.

Year of Christ 900.

the Reſtoration of *Argrim*, who had been canonically elected, and was deſervedly eſteemed and beloved by his People.

His Anſwer to the Archbiſhop of Reims *concerning the Wickedneſs of the* Normans *who had embraced Chriſtianity.*

The Pope's Fourth Letter is addreſſed to *Heriveus*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*, who had been ſubſtituted in that See to *Fulco* barbarouſly murdered by the Command of *Baldwin* II. Count of *Flanders*. *Heriveus* had applied to the Pope to know how he ſhould treat the *Normans*, who, after embracing the Chriſtian Religion, continued to lead the ſame Life as they had led before their Converſion, *viz.* to murder Chriſtians, and even Prieſts, to ſacrifice to Idols, and eat the Meats, which they had offered to their falſe Gods. The Pope, after congratulating the Archbiſhop upon the Converſion of thoſe Infidels (ſuch a Converſion as that of the Savages in the *Indies* by the Jeſuits and other Popiſh Miſſionaries), anſwers, that if they, who are guilty of ſuch Enormities are newly converted, and not ſufficiently inſtructed in the Doctrines and Principles of Chriſtianity, he muſt not proceed againſt them according to the Rigour of the Canons; but if they are not Novices in the Chriſtian Religion, if they are ſenſible of the Heinouſneſs of their Crimes, and deſire to atone for them, they may be made to undergo the Penance preſcribed by the Canons.

Letter from the Biſhops of Germany *to the Pope.*

We have Two Letters from the Biſhops of *Germany* to this Pope, both worthy of particular Notice. The Emperor *Arnulph* dying in *December* 899, his Son *Lewis*, at that time but Seven Years old, was acknowledged, the following Year, by the *German* Lords for lawful Heir to the Crown of *Germany*. On this Occaſion *Hatto*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, wrote to the Pope in his own Name and in that of his Suffragans, to acquaint him with the Death of *Arnulph* their King, and the Election of his Son *Lewis*, whom, he ſays, they had choſen with one Voice, agreeably to the ancient Cuſtom, that obtained among them, of keeping the Crown in the ſame Line. He then begs the Pope to excuſe their having done ſo without his Permiſſion, as it was impoſſible for them to ſend Deputies to *Rome*, the Roads being all infeſted by the Barbarians, Maſters of the Country between them and *Italy*. But as they had, at laſt, found an Opportunity of conveying a Letter to his Holineſs, they entreated him to confirm with his Bleſſing what they had done. In the next Place they lay before the Pope the Complaints of their Brethren, the Biſhops of *Bavaria*, againſt the *Sclavonians*, who, having revolted from the *French*, and ſeized on *Moravia*, had withdrawn themſelves from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of *Bavaria*,

pretending to have a Metropolitan of their own; and beſides accuſed the *Bavarians* to his Holineſs, as if they had entered into an Alliance with the Pagans (the *Hungarians)* and acted in Concert with them. *Hatto* aſſures the Pope, that this Charge has not the leaſt Foundation in Truth, and repreſents to him, at the ſame time, the Evils that will inevitably attend his allowing the *Moravians* to withdraw themſelves from all Subjection to the Biſhops of *Bavaria*; ſince they will be thereby encouraged to affect an Independency in the State as well as in the Church, and revolting anew to rekindle the War[f].

Year of Chriſt 900.

The other Letter was written to Pope *John* by *Theotmar* Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* in the Name of all the Biſhops of *Bavaria*, as well as of the Clergy and the People. This Pope had appointed One Archbiſhop and Three Biſhops in the Country of the *Moravians*, which, till his Time, had no Biſhop, but was under the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*. Of this *Theotmar* and the other Biſhops of *Bavaria* loudly complain in their Letter, charging the Pope with acting therein contrary to the known Laws of the Church, and the Decrees of his Predeceſſors *Leo* and *Celeſtine*, which they quote. They even inſinuate, as if his Holineſs had been prevailed upon by Dint of Money to erect thoſe new Biſhoprics, and exempt the *Moravians* from all Subjection to the See of *Saltzburg*, though they had been ſubject to it ever ſince their Converſion to Chriſtianity. The *Moravians* had prejudiced the Pope againſt the *Bavarians* as joined in Confederacy with the *Hungarians*, who broke into *Germany* and *Italy* at this Time, and committed every-where unheard of Barbarities, murdering Prieſts, burning Churches and Monaſteries, and carrying all, without Diſtinction of Sex or Age, into Captivity, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. In Anſwer to this Charge the *Bavarian* Biſhops aſſure the Pope, that their Country has ſuffered as much by the Irruption of the *Hungarians* as any other; that they have lent thoſe Barbarians no Kind of Aſſiſtance whatever; but, on the contrary, would have readily made Peace with the *Moravians*, in order to attack them, as a common Enemy, with their united Forces; but that the *Moravians*, far from hearkening to any Terms of Peace, had joined the *Hungarians* againſt their Chriſtian Brethren, and treated them with the ſame Cruelty[g]. What Anſwer

And from the Archbiſhop of Saltzburg *finding Fault with the Pope's Conduct.*

[f] Tom. ix. Concil. p. 498. [g] Ibid.

Year of Christ 900.

the Pope returned to this Letter we know not, nor whether he returned any: But of these new Bishoprics no further Mention occurs in History.

LEO the Philosopher, *Emperor of the* East. **BENEDICT IV.** LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and sixteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Character of the Popes of the Tenth Century.

WE enter now upon the Tenth Century, which we may well call, after *Baronius*, *an Iron Age barren of all Goodness, a leaden Age abounding with all Wickedness, and a dark Age, remarkable, above all the rest, for the Scarcity of Writers, and Men of Learning*[a]. *In this Century*, continues the Annalist, *the Abomination of Desolation was seen in the Temple of the Lord; and in the See of St.* Peter, *revered by the Angels, were placed the most wicked of Men, not Pontiffs, but Monsters. And how hideous was the Face of the Roman Church, when filthy and impudent Whores governed all at* Rome, *changed Sees at their Pleasure, disposed of Bishoprics, and intruded their Gallants and their Bullies into the See of St.* Peter. *No Mention was then made of the Clergy electing or consenting, the Canons were trod under Foot, the Decrees of the Popes were despised, the antient Traditions turned out of Doors, and the old Customs, sacred Rites, and former Method of chusing Popes quite laid aside. The Church was then without a Pope, but not without a Head, its spiritual Head* (Christ) *never abandoning it.* If the Church subsisted so long without any other Head but Christ, what Necessity is there for any other Head? If it had no visible Head for so long a Time, the so much boasted Succession was evidently interrupted. Other Historians speak in the same Strain of the Popes who were preferred to the *Roman* See in those unhappy Times. However we meet with some good Men among them, and in that Number we may reckon *Benedict* IV. the immediate Successor of *John* IX. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of *Mommolus*, come of an illustrious Family, and greatly esteemed by the *Roman* Nobility, as well as by the People and the Clergy. All we know

Benedict elected.

[a] Bar. ad ann. 900.

for

for certain concerning the Time of his Election is, that he was chosen and ordained before the Thirtieth of *August* of the present Year 900, a Letter, which he wrote to the Bishops of *France*, bearing that Date. Year of Christ 900.

Benedict had scarce taken Possession of the See when Deputies arrived at *Rome*, sent by *Argrim*, of whom I have spoken in the foregoing Pontificate, to inform him, that the Clergy and People of *Langres* had unanimously chosen him for their Bishop, that he had been ordained by *Aurelian*, Archbishop of *Lions*, and his Suffragans, and had governed that Church for the Space of Two Years and upwards, but had been driven from it by a powerful Faction, and was not yet restored, though his Election had been approved by the late Pope, and declared entirely agreeable to the Canons. On this Occasion the Pope assembled a Council in the *Lateran*, and the Bishops, who composed it, being all to a Man of Opinion that *Argrim* had been unjustly driven from the See of *Langres*, the Pope wrote to the *Gallican* Bishops, and, at the same time, to the Clergy and People of *Langres*, to acquaint them with the Decision of the Council, and recommend to them the Execution of the Decree they had issued. *Argrim* was accordingly reinstated in his See, and governed that Church quite undisturbed till the Year 911, when he resigned his Dignity to embrace a monastic Life. The Two Letters written by the Pope on this Occasion are dated, *the Thirtieth of* August, *in the First Year of Lord* Benedict *Pope, the Second after the Death of the Emperor* Laudebert *or* Lambert, *the Third Indiction*, that is in the Year of Christ 900[b]. From the Date of these Letters it is manifest that the Emperor *Lambert* died in 898. Some ascribe his Death to a Fall from his Horse; but others suppose him to have been murdered by *Hugh*, the Son of *Magnifred*, Count of *Milan*, who had been beheaded by his Order. The Emperor *Arnulph* died the following Year 899. *Berengarius* was still living; but as his Coronation had been declared null by the preceding Pope, no Notice is taken in the Date of either of those Letters of him or the Years of his Empire. *Restores the Bishop of* Langres *to his See.*

As the Pope did not acknowledge *Berengarius* for lawful Emperor, several *Italian* Lords, and among the rest *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, the most powerful of them all, invited, no Doubt, with the Approbation of the Pope, *Lewis* the Son of *Boso* late King of Lewis *the Son of* Boso *King of* Arles *crowned Emperor*,

[b] Concil. tom. ix. p. 511.

Year of Christ 901.

Arles, into *Italy* to take the Imperial Crown, promising to assist him to the utmost of their Power against *Berengarius*. *Lewis* readily complied with the Invitation, but *Berengarius*, the more skilful Commander of the Two, found Means to surround his Army on all Sides, upon his first entering *Italy*, so that he could neither advance nor retire, and was, at the same time, cut off from all Communication with the Country around him. In these Straits *Lewis* offered to withdraw his Troops, to quit *Italy* and return to his own Kingdom, provided he was allowed to retire unmolested. *Berengarius* insisted on his promising upon Oath never thenceforth to set Foot in *Italy*. That Oath *Lewis* took, but soon forgot it, and returned the very next Year 899 at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Army. Thus was a bloody War kindled in *Italy* between the Two Competitors. But *Lewis* prevailing in the End, drove *Berengarius* quite out of *Italy*, and entering *Rome* in Triumph, was crowned with the usual Solemnity by the Pope [c].

By Benedict, *and not by his Predecessor.*

Some, and among the rest *Baronius*, will have *Lewis* to have been crowned Emperor by the preceding Pope *John* IX. But from the Letters of the present Pope, quoted above, it is manifest, that he was raised to the Pontifical Dignity before the 30th of *August* 900; and we have a Diploma of the Emperor *Lewis*, dated, *February*, *Fourth Indiction*, or 901, *in the First Year of the Empire of our Lord* Lewis, *crowned by the most holy and thrice most blessed Pontiff and Universal Pope* Benedict [d], *Lewis* therefore was crowned by *Benedict* after the Thirtieth of *August* 900, and before the End of *February* 901. I said, *after the Thirtieth of* August, for the Two Letters, quoted above, are dated, *the Thirtieth of* August *the Second Year after the Death of the Emperor* Lambert; a plain Proof this, that *Lewis* was not at that Time yet crowned Emperor, else the Year of his Empire would have been marked.

Death of Benedict. Year of Christ 903.

Benedict died, according to the most probable Opinion, about the Beginning of *October* 903, having presided in the *Roman* Church Three Years and Two Months. We learn from his Epitaph [e], and from *Flodoard* [f], that he was a kind Father to the Widows, the Poor, and the Orphans, cherishing them like his own Children, and that he preferred the public to his private Good.

[c] Luitp. l. ii. c. 10. Regino in Chronic. [d] Florentinius de rebus ad Mathildem spectantibus l. iii. p. 114. apud Pagi ad ann. 950. [e] Apud Baron. ad ann. 907. [f] Flod. in Frag. de Pont. Rom.

Year of Chriſt 903.

LEO the Philoſopher, *Emperor of the* East. **LEO V.** LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and ſeventeenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

TO *Benedict* was ſubſtituted *Leo*, the Sixth of that Name, a Native of *Ardea*. But he was ſoon driven out by one of his own Prieſts named *Chriſtopher*, and thrown into Priſon, where he died of Grief, as we read in *Signonius*. In ſome Catalogues he is ſaid to have held the See Thirty Days, in others Forty, and in ſome One Month and Twenty-ſix, or Twenty-ſeven Days. All we know for certain is, that *Chriſtopher* was poſſeſſed of the Pontifical Dignity in the Month of *December* of the preſent Year 903. *Flodoard* ſays no more of this Pope than that he died before the End of Two lunar Months.

Leo *choſen, driven from the See, and thrown into Priſon.*

LEO the Philoſopher, *Emperor of the* East. **CHRISTOPHER.** LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and eighteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

CHRISTOPHER, the Succeſſor of *Leo*, was by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of one *Leo*. All we know of him is, that he intruded himſelf into the See by open Force and Violence, that he treated his Predeceſſor with great Barbarity, and confirmed all the Privileges, that his Predeceſſors had granted to the famous Abbey of *Corbie*. The Diploma, confirming thoſe Privileges, is dated, *the Seventh of the Calends of* January, *the Seventh Indiction*, that is, the Twenty-fifth of *December* 903, *in the Reign of our moſt pious Emperor* Lewis[a]. *Chriſtopher* therefore had ſeized on the See before the Twenty-fifth of *December* of the preſent Year. But he held it, as we read in *Martinus Polonus*, in *Flodoard*, and in moſt of the Catalogues, only Six, or at moſt Seven Months, being driven from it by *Sergius*, who firſt confined him to a Monaſtery, and afterwards ſhut him up in a Dungeon, where he died of the Hardſhips which he underwent[b]. *Manlius* ſuppoſes him to have been buried in the *Va-*

Chriſtopher *intrudes himſelf into the See.*

Is ſhut up in a Dungeon by Sergius *and dies.*

[a] Dacher. Specileg. tom. vi. p. 315. [b] Ciacon. Marian. Scot. &c.

tican,

Year of Christ 903. *tican*, and the following Epitaph, that was found in the Ruins of the ancient Church, to be his:

Hic pia Chriſtopheri requieſcunt membra ſepulti.

But one would think the Epithet *pious* could ſcarce be beſtowed upon him, or his Bones.

LEWIS the Philoſopher, *Emperor of the* East. **SERGIUS III.** LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and nineteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Sergius *uſurps the See.* Year of Chriſt 904. CHRISTOPHER being driven from the See, *Sergius*, the Third of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of *Benedict*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, intruded himſelf into it in his room. He was choſen upon the Death of *Theodore* II. as has been related above, but obliged by the more powerful Party of *John* IX. to quit *Rome* before his Ordination, and lie concealed for the Space of Seven Years, that is from the Year 898 to 904, when the Faction of *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuſcany*, who had eſpouſed his Cauſe, prevailing, he returned, drove out *Chriſtopher*, and placed himſelf on the Chair in his room [a]. *His Character.* *He was*, ſays *Baronius*, *the Slave of every Vice, and the moſt wicked of Men* [b]. In theſe unhappy Times lived, and, in a Manner, reigned at *Rome* the celebrated *Theodora* and her Two Daughters *Marozia* and *Theodora*. They were of a Senatorial Family, and no leſs famous for their Beauty, their Wit and Addreſs, than infamous for the ſcandalous Lives they led. *Marozia* cohabited with *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuſcany*, who having ſeized on the Caſtle *Sant Angelo*, delivered it up to her, and from thence ſhe, her Mother and her Siſter, ſupported by the Marquis and his Party, governed *Rome* without Controul, and diſpoſed of the Holy See to whom they pleaſed. *Has a Son by* Marozia *a famous Courteſan.* *Adelbert* had a Son by *Marozia* named *Alberic*, but ſhe nevertheleſs proſtituted herſelf to the Pope, and his Holineſs had by her a Son called *John*, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee raiſed to the Papal Chair, by the Intereſt of his Mother [c].

[a] Flodoard. ubi ſupra, et epitaph. apud Manlium. [b] Bar. ad ann. 908. [c] Luitp. l. ii. c. 13.

Sergius

Sergius is said to have granted the Pall to the Archbishop of *Cologne* [d], and to have exempted the Church of *Hambourgh*, or *Bremen* from all Subjection to that See [e]. He rebuilt, decorated, and enriched with many valuable Presents the *Lateran* Church, which had stood, says *John* the Deacon, ever since the Time of *Constantine the Great*, but fell in the Pontificate of *Stephen* VI. [f]. The Deacon speaks favourably of this Pope, and, if we believe what we read in his Epitaph, he was unjustly driven from the See by *John* IX. and resumed the Pontifical Dignity at the earnest Desire of the *Roman* People. But all the Writers, who lived the nearest to those Times, speak of Pope *Sergius* III. as a Man abandoned to all Manner of Vice, and the most wicked of Men. However we read of a solemn Embassy sent to him by *Leo* Emperor of the East on the following Occasion. The Emperor had married Three Wives; but as they had all proved barren, he resolved to marry a Fourth, named *Zoe*, by whom he had, in his First Wife's Life-time, a Son called *Constantine*. As Third and Fourth Marriages were forbidden in the *Greek* Church, *Nicholas*, then Patriarch, not only refused to perform the Marriage Ceremony, but deposed the Presbyter, who performed it, and would not allow the Emperor to enter the Church. Hereupon *Leo* applied to the Pope; and *Sergius*, not satisfied with approving of his Marriage, there being no Law in the *Latin* Church forbidding a Man to marry as many Wives as he pleases, dispatched Legates to *Constantinople* solemnly to confirm the Marriage which the Emperor had contracted. The Patriarch however continued to oppose it as unlawful and null, nor could he ever be prevailed upon to acknowledge *Constantine* for lawful Heir to the Imperial Crown. His Obstinacy, or rather his strict Observance of the Laws of his Church, provoked the Emperor to such a Degree, that he sent him into Exile, and raised *Euthymius*, his Syncellus, to the Patriarchal See in his room [g].

Year of Christ 911. *Some of his Actions.*

Sergius enjoyed the Pontifical Dignity Seven Years and Three Months, as we read in *Hermannus Contractus*, *Martinus Polonus*, and most of the Catalogues. As he was therefore ordained, about the Beginning of *June* 904, his Death must have happened about the latter End of *August* 911.

His Death. Year of Christ 911.

[d] Krantzius hist. Sax. l. iii. c. 1. [e] Adam. Bremens. l. i. c. 24. [f] Johan. Diac. de Eccles. Lateran. paragraph. 17. et Mabill. in append. Ordinis Roman. [g] Leo Grammatic. p. 473, et 483. Zonar. Symeon. Logoth. &c.

ANA-

Year of Christ 911.

LEO the Philosopher, ALEXANDER, *Emperors of the* East. **ANASTASIUS III.** LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and twentieth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Anastasius.

SERGIUS was succeeded by *Anastasius* III, by Birth a *Roman* and the Son of one *Lucian*. The only Thing we know of him, that deserves any Notice, is, that at the Request of *Berengarius*, King of *Italy*, he sent many rich Ornaments to the Church of *Pavia*, and granted to the Bishop of that City the Use of a Canopy the Privilege of riding a white Horse with the Cross carried before him, and of sitting in all Councils at the Pope's Left Hand[a]. *Ciaconius* adds, upon whose Authority I know not, that he repaired the Church of *St. Hadrian*, that was ready to fall, and there consecrated an Altar of his own erecting.

Letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople *to the Pope concerning Third and Fourth Marriages.*

To this Pope *Nicholas* of *Constantinople* wrote a long Letter to acquaint him with what had passed between him and the Emperor on occasion of that Prince's Fourth Marriage. The Emperor finding, according to his Account, that he could by no Means prevail upon him to authorize his Incontinence, ordered him to be seized at a grand Entertainment, to which he had invited him, to be conveyed from thence on board a Vessel and carried into Exile. However he repented, a little before his Death, of what he had done, and bewailing it with Floods of Tears, recalled him from Exile, and restored him to his See. In that Letter the Patriarch bitterly inveighs against Third and Fourth Marriages, stigmatizing them with the Name of an *impure Conjunction*, and treating those, who countenance or encourage them, as Promoters and Encouragers of Concubinage. The Words of St. *Paul, it is better to marry than to burn*, he absurdly restrains to Women only, as if it were better for Men to burn than to marry, and loudly complains of the Pope's Legates for presuming to approve what the Bishops in the East had all, with one Voice, condemned as repugnant to the Laws of the Church and the Gospel. He adds, that he did not intend that his Holiness should brand the Memory, either of the late Emperor, or

[a] Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. vi.

of

of his Predeceſſor *Sergius* for what they have done amiſs in that Affair, ſince both have been called from this World, to account for their Conduct at the Tribunal of the Sovereign Judge, but thinks that they, who have encouraged the Emperor to tranſgreſs the known Laws of the Church, and are ſtill living, ought to be puniſhed with the ſame Severity as if they themſelves had tranſgreſſed them [b]. As *Anaſtaſius* did not live long enough to anſwer this Letter, the Patriarch wrote another to Pope *John* X. of which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel. Year of Chriſt 912.

Anaſtaſius died, according to the Computation of the beſt Chronologers, about the Middle of *October* 913, after a Pontificate of about Two Years and Two Months, and was buried in the *Vatican*. He is commended in his Epitaph, and likewiſe by *Flodoard*, for the Mildneſs of his Government, for his Integrity, and the Purity of his Manners. He did nothing Blame-worthy, ſays *Platina*, which, in the Popes of thoſe Days, was Matter of great Commendation. *Death and Character of* Anaſtaſius. Year of Chriſt 913.

In the Beginning of the Pontificate of *Anaſtaſius*, or in the latter End of his Predeceſſor's, died *Leo the Philoſopher* Emperor of the Eaſt, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Alexander*, who took *Conſtantine*, the deceaſed Emperor's Son by *Zoe*, for his Partner in the Empire. *Death of the Emperor* Leo.

ALEXANDER, CONSTANTINE, *Emperors of the* Eaſt.

LANDO,

LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and twenty-firſt BISHOP *of* Rome.

LANDO, by Birth a *Sabine*, and the Son of *Tranus*, ſucceeded *Anaſtaſius*, but held the See, as we read in *Flodoard*, only Six Months and Ten Days. *Rubeus* in his Hiſtory of *Ravenna* informs us, that Mention is made of Pope *Lando* in the Tables written by *John*, Archbiſhop of that City, on the Nones of *February* of the Second Indiction, that is, on the Fifth of *February* 913 [a]. He is ſuppoſed to have died about the Twenty-ſeventh of *April* 914. In Lando *dies after a Pontificate of Six Months.* Year of Chriſt 914.

[b] Apud Baron. ad ann. 912.

[a] Rub. Hiſt. Raven. l. v. p. 253.

Year of Christ 914. his Pontificate died, after a very ſhort Reign the Emperor *Alexander*, and by his Death *Conſtantine* remained ſole Maſter of the Empire.

CONSTANTINE VIII. *Emperor of the* East. **JOHN X.** LEWIS III. *Emperor of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and twenty-ſecond BISHOP *of* Rome.

John *how raiſed to the See.*

JOHN X. a *Roman*, and the Son of *John*, was, upon the Death of *Lando*, raiſed to the Papal Chair by the Intereſt of the famous Proſtitute *Theodora*. *Luitprand* gives us the following Account of his Promotion. "In thoſe Days, ſays that Hiſtorian, *Peter*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, thought to be the Firſt Archiepiſcopal See after that of *Rome*, uſed frequently to ſend to *Rome* a Deacon of his Church named *John* to pay his Obeiſance to his Holineſs. As the Deacon was a very comely and perſonable Man, *Theodora* falling paſſionately in Love with him, engaged him in a criminal Intrigue with her. While they lived thus together, the Biſhop of *Bologna* died, and *John* had Intereſt enough to get himſelf elected in his room. But the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna* dying before he was conſecrated, *Theodora* perſuaded him to exchange the See of *Bologna* for that of *Ravenna*; and he was accordingly, at her Requeſt, ordained by Pope *Lando* Archbiſhop of that City. *Lando* died ſoon after, and upon his Death *Theodora* exerting all her Intereſt, as ſhe could not live at the Diſtance of Two hundred Miles from her Lover, got him preferred to the Pontifical Chair[a]."

Engages the Italian *Princes in a League againſt the* Saracens.

To no Pope, perhaps, did *Rome* owe more than to *John* thus elected, or rather intruded into the See. The *Saracens* had poſſeſſed ever ſince the Year 876 a Strong-hold on the Banks of the *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Rome*, and from thence made daily Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories, and kept the City itſelf in a manner blocked up; inſomuch that none could come to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles without expoſing themſelves to the Danger of falling into the Hands of thoſe Barbarians, and being

[a] Luitprand. l. ii. c. 13.

either murdered by them, or carried into Captivity. As *John* was better qualified to command an Army than to govern the Church, he reſolved to deliver *Rome* from ſo grievous an Oppreſſion, and with that View found means, being a Man of uncommon Addreſs and great Abilities, to engage not only the *Italian* Dukes, but *Berengarius* King of *Lombardy*, and even *Conſtantine*, Emperor of the Eaſt, in a League againſt thoſe Infidels, as a common Enemy. *Berengarius* had been crowned Emperor by *Stephen* VII. but that Coronation having been declared null by *John* IX. as has been related above, the preſent Pope promiſed to crown him anew, and get him acknowledged by all for lawful Emperor, provided he joined the reſt of the *Italian* Princes in the intended Expedition againſt the *Saracens*, who plundered the *Roman* Church of all the Wealth, that the Kings of the *Franks* and the *Roman* Emperors, his Anceſtors (for he was deſcended from *Charlemagne*) had ſo generouſly beſtowed upon St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors in the Apoſtolic See. *Berengarius*, allured with this Offer, marched to *Rome* at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Army; was met, as he approached the City, by the Nobility, the Clergy and the People, and attended by *Peter*, the Pope's Brother, amidſt the loud Acclamations of the Multitude, to the *Vatican*. The Pope waited for him in the Porch of the Church, ſitting in a Chair of State, from which he roſe as the King approached, and advancing a few Steps kiſſed him, and then conducted him to the Tomb of the Apoſtle, where, after a ſhort Prayer, he received his Confeſſion of Faith, and repaired with him to the *Lateran* Palace. There the Pope entertained him with all the Splendor and Magnificence of a great Prince till Eaſter Sunday, that is till the Twenty-fourth of *March* of the preſent Year 916, when he crowned him Emperor with the uſual Solemnity in the Church of St. *Peter*.

Year of Chriſt 914.

Crowns Berengarius *Emperor.* Year of Chriſt 916.

In the mean time arrived the expected Succours from the Eaſt, ſent by the Emperor *Conſtantine*, no leſs provoked againſt the *Saracens* than the Pope himſelf, for the dreadful Ravages they had committed, and continued to commit in his *Italian* Dominions. Upon their Arrival the Pope and the Emperor took the Field; for the Pope, who had more of the Soldier than the Biſhop, would have his Share in the Victory, which, he ſaid, he did not doubt but they ſhould obtain by the Interceſſion of the Prince of the Apoſtles, whoſe Patrimony they defended. The *Greeks* under the Command of *Nicholas*

He marches in Perſon againſt the Saracens.

Year of Christ 916.

cholas Picigli a Patrician, the Imperial Troops commanded by the Emperor in Person, and those of the *Italian* Lords, headed by their respective Dukes and Marquisses under the Pope as their Generalissimo, advanced from different Quarters to the *Garigliano*, surrounded the Fortress, and began to batter it on all Sides. The *Saracens* held out for Three Months against the daily Attacks of Three numerous Armies; but in the end, their Provisions being all consumed, they set Fire to the Fortress, which soon destroyed the Wealth of the many Provinces that they had plundered, and sallying out in a close Body, opened themselves a Way, Sword in Hand, to the neighbouring Woods and Mountains. But being closely pursued, they were all, to a Man, either taken, or cut in Pieces[b]. Thus was the Fortress of *Garigliano* recovered from the *Saracens*, chiefly by means of Pope *John*, after they had held it for the Space of Forty Years, and been so long the Terror of all *Italy*. His Holiness returned, in Triumph, from so successful an Expedition to the Arms of his beloved *Theodora*.

Who are all to a Man cut off or taken.

Council of Altheis.

In the same Year 916 the Pope appointed a Council to meet at *Altheis*, a Town in Lower *Bavaria*, in order to redress several Abuses that had crept into those Churches, and sent *Peter*, Bishop of *Ortona*, a City in *Abruzo*, to preside at it with the Character of his Legate. By that Council several Canons were enacted, and the following among the rest: That no Man should marry the Widow, whom he had criminally conversed with in her Husband's Life-time; that none should communicate with excommunicated Persons on Pain of incurring the same Excommunication; that no Bishop should pray with them in the Church; and that they, who, unmindful of their Allegiance, should revolt from, or bear Arms against, their lawful Prince, should be excommunicated, and by all avoided[c].

Sends a Legate into Spain.

Year of Christ 917.

The following Year the Pope, to avert the Punishment due, as he was sensible, to the scandalous and wicked Life he led, sent a Legate to visit, in his Name, the Tomb of the Apostle St. *James* at *Compostella* in the Kingdom of *Leon*, and at the same time wrote to *Sisenand*, who was then Bishop of that City, and looked upon as a Man of great Sanctity, desiring him to engage for him, with his daily Prayers, the Protection of the Holy Apostle in his Life-time, and at the Point of Death. *Sisenand* took Occasion from thence to send a

[b] Luitprand. l. ii. c. 13.

[c] Burchard. l. ii. c. 68. Juv. part. xiv. c. 116.

Presbyter,

Presbyter, named *John*, to *Rome*; and by him *Ordonius*, King of *Leon*, wrote a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope, with many rich and valuable Preſents. The Pope received the *Spaniſh* Legate with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, and kept him a whole Year at *Rome*, on account of ſome Diſputes between him and the *Roman* Clergy concerning the *Moſarabic* Miſſal, that was uſed in *Spain*, but differed in ſome Points from the *Roman*. As the Difference was, upon Examination, found to be no ways material, the *Spaniſh* Churches were allowed to uſe their own Miſſal, altering only ſome Words in the Conſecration of the Hoſt [d].

Year of Chriſt 919.

Approves of the Moſarabic *Miſſal with ſome Alterations.*

As ſome Miſunderſtanding had ſubſiſted between *Rome* and *Conſtantinople* ever ſince the Time of Pope *Sergius* III. who had approved of the Emperor *Leo*'s Fourth Marriage, as has been related above, the Emperor *Conſtantine*, and *Nicholas*, the Patriarch, deſirous of reeſtabliſhing a perfect Union and Concord between the Two Churches, ſent, in 920, a ſolemn Ambaſſy to *Rome* for that Purpoſe. The Pope, in his Turn, ſent the Two Biſhops *Theophylactus* and *Charles*, with the Character of his Legates, to *Conſtantinople*; and thus were the Two Churches again happily united. As *Euthymius*, whom the Emperor *Leo* had appointed Patriarch in the room of *Nicholas* ſent into Exile for oppoſing his Fourth Marriage, died at this Time, an End was put, by his Death, to the Schiſm, which had divided that Church, ſome acknowledging *Nicholas*, and ſome *Euthymius*. By the Treaty of Union, that was agreed to and ſigned, on this Occaſion, by the Patriarch and the reſt of the Clergy, Fourth Marriages were abſolutely forbidden on Pain of Excommunication, a Five Years Penance was impoſed upon thoſe, who ſhould contract a Third Marriage, after the Age of Forty, and they were enjoined a Three Years Penance, who, being Thirty Years of Age, and having Children, ſhould marry a Third Wife; but this Penance was to be leſſened, if they had no Children [e].

The Church of Conſtantinople *reunited to that of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 920.

In the Year 921 the Pope determined a Controverſy, which had laſted ſome Time, between *Hilduin*, and *Richerius* Abbot of *Prom*, concerning the Biſhopric of *Tongres*. *Richerius*, it ſeems, had been choſen Biſhop of that City by a Majority of the People and the Clergy, but *Heriman*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, had nevertheleſs ordained *Hilduin*. Both Parties applied to the Pope, who ſummoned the

The Pope determines a Diſpute concerning the Biſhopric of Tongres.

Year of Chriſt 921.

[d] Ambroſ. Moral. l. xv. c. 47.

[e] Apud Balſ. et Baron. ad ann. 917.

Two

Year of Chriſt 921.

Two Competitors and the Archbiſhop to *Rome*. *Hilduin* and *Richerius* complied with the Summons, but *Heriman* was prevented by Sickneſs, real or pretended, from undertaking that Journey. On this Occaſion the Pope aſſembled a Council of the neighbouring Biſhops; and by them *Richerius* was declared lawfully elected, and *Hilduin* not only pronounced an Intruder, but excommunicated and diveſted of the Epiſcopal Dignity. In his room *Richerius* was ordained by the Pope himſelf, who is ſaid to have honoured him with the Pall, an Honour that none of his Predeceſſors ever enjoyed[f].

Approves the Election of a Child to the See of Reims.

Year of Chriſt 925.

How little the Diſcipline and Laws of the Church were regarded by this Pope plainly appears from his confirming the Election of *Hugh*, whom his Father, Count *Herbert*, one of the moſt powerful Lords in *France*, had cauſed to be choſen Archbiſhop of *Reims*, though he was, at the Time of his Election, ſcarce Five Years old. *John* however appointed *Abbo*, Biſhop of *Soiſſons*, to perform the Epiſcopal Functions in that Dioceſe, and left the Care of the Temporalities to the Count, during the Minority of his Son[g].

Diſturbances in Italy.

Great Diſturbances happened in *Italy*, during *John*'s Pontificate. The Emperor *Berengarius* being treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his own People in 922, *Rodulph* II. King of *Burgundy*, entering *Italy*, ſeized on the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, and was crowned, according to Cuſtom, at *Pavia* by the Archbiſhop of *Milan*. But the *Italian* Lords, diſſatisfied with his Government, drove him out in 926, and choſe *Hugh*, Count of *Provence*, King of *Lombardy* in his room. He was the Son of *Theutbald* and *Bertha*, Daughter of *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*. His Mother, upon the Death of *Theutbald*, had married *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuſcany*, and had by him *Wido*, who ſucceeded his Father in that Marquiſate, and got the *Italian* Lords to call his Half-brother *Hugh* to the Crown of *Lombardy*. As *Hugh* went to *Italy* by Sea, he was met at *Piſa* by the Pope's Nuncio and the Deputies of the *Italian* Princes, and attended by them to *Pavia*, where he was crowned with great Solemnity. From *Pavia* the new King repaired to *Mantua*, whither the Pope himſelf went to congratulate him upon his Acceſſion to the Crown; and on this Occaſion his Holineſs is ſaid to have entered into an Alliance with him, but upon what Terms Hiſtory does not inform us[h].

Hugh *Count of* Provence *crowned King of* Lombardy.

Year of Chriſt 926.

[f] Concil. tom. ix. p. 571. Flodoard ad ann. 920, 922, 925. [g] Flodoard ad ann. [h] Luitprand, l. ii. c. 3. et l. iii. c. 4.

As

As the Two Proſtitutes *Theodora* and *Marozia* exerciſed, at this Time, an abſolute Power in *Rome*, *Wido*, Marquis of *Tuſcany*, in order to eſtabliſh his Intereſt there, married *Marozia*, though ſhe had had a Son by his Father *Adelbert*. *John* had been raiſed, as we have ſeen, to the Chair, by their Mother *Theodora*; but upon her Death *Marozia*, provoked at the Pope's placing greater Confidence in his Brother, named *Peter*, than in her or her Husband, reſolved to remove them both out of the Way. This Reſolution ſhe communicated to her Husband, and not only prevailed upon him to approve but to execute her wicked Deſign. For *Wido*, breaking into the *Lateran* Palace with a Band of Ruffians, while the Pope's Brother was there with him, killed the Brother on the Spot, and ſeizing the Pope, dragged him to Priſon, where he died ſoon after, ſome ſay, ſmothered with a Pillow [i]. He held the See, according to *Flodoard*, Fourteen ~~Months~~s and ſomewhat more *(paulo amplius)*, and conſequently muſt have died in *June* or *July* 928. He deſerved, ſays *Rubeus*, a better End; but to one Woman he owed his Riſe, and his Downfal to another [k]. *John* X. is the firſt Pope that was ſeen at the Head of an Army; and to him *Italy* owed more than to moſt of the Popes, who have been honoured with a Place in the Calendar. He is ſaid to have eſpouſed with great Zeal the Cauſe of *Charles*, ſurnamed *the Simple*, King of *France*, againſt his rebellious Subjects [l].

Year of Chriſt 928. John *is depoſed and dies in Priſon.*

John *the firſt Pope that headed an Army.*

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS. *Emperors of the* Eaſt.

LEO VI.

The Hundred and twenty-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

JOHN was ſucceeded by *Leo* VI. ſaid by *Onuphrius*, and after him by *Baronius* and *Papebroch*, to have been the Son of the Primicerius *Chriſtopher*. *Leo* is greatly commended by *Platina*, and the Writers who have copied him [a]. But all we read of him in *Flodoard*, who lived in thoſe Days, is, that he ſucceeded *John* X. and governed the Church Seven Months and Five Days.

Leo VI. *raiſed to the Chair.* Year of Chriſt 929.

From the Year 922, when the Emperor *Berengarius* was murdered, there were no Emperors of the Weſt till the Year 962, when

[i] Idem, l. iii. c. 12. [k] Hiſt. Raven. l. 5. [l] Flodoard Chron. [a] Platin. in Leon. VI.

Otho

Year of Christ 929. *Otho* King of *Germany* was crowned Emperor by Pope *John* XII. in the Seventh Year of his Pontificate, as I shall relate in the Sequel.

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS, *Emperors of the* East.

STEPHEN VII. *or* VIII.

The Hundred and twenty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Stephen *succeeds* Leo.

UPON the Death of *Leo*, *Stephen* VII. a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Theudemund*, was raised to the See in his room, and held it Two Years One Month and Twelve Days. Thus *Flodoard*, with whom most Chronologers agree. He must therefore have died about the Fifteenth of *March* 931. *Platina* speaks of him as a Man who was blessed with a sweet Temper, and led a very religious Life [z].

Dies. Year of Christ 931.

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS, *Emperors of the* East.

JOHN XI.

The Hundred and twenty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

John *intruded into the See.*

IN the room of *Stephen* was intruded into the See *John*, the Eleventh of that Name. He was the Son of Pope *Sergius* III. by *Marozia*, and owed his Promotion to *Wido*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, who had married his Mother, and jointly with her governed *Rome*. He must have been very young when raised to the See, as *Hugh*, King of *Italy*, was so taken with his Mother's Beauty, as to marry her upon the Death of her Husband *Wido*.

Grants a Charter to Odo *Abbot of* Cluny.

All we find recorded of this Pope from the Time of his Election, if we may so call it, in 931 to 933, is, that, at the Request of *Hugh* King of *Burgundy*, he granted a Charter to *Odo*, Abbot of *Cluny*, confirming the Grant of an Abbey given to that Monastery [a], and that he sent the Pall to *Artald*, the new Archbishop of *Reims* [b]. In

[z] Platin. in Steph. VII. [a] Apud Mabill. Secul. v. Benedict. [b] Flodoard, in Chron. ad ann. 933.

the

the Year 933 he was ſeized and kept confined to the Hour of his Death by his Half-Brother *Alberic* on the following Occaſion. *Hugh* King of *Italy*, become Maſter of *Rome* by marrying *Marozia*, began to treat the *Romans* as his Slaves rather than his Vaſſals. *Alberic*, the Son of *Marozia* by *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuſcany*, met with no better Treatment from him than the *Romans*; nay, being one Day ordered by his Mother to wait upon the King with Water to waſh his Hands, and did it very aukwardly, the haughty Prince ſtruck him in a Paſſion, which ſo provoked the Youth againſt the King as well as againſt his Mother, that he put himſelf at the Head of the diſcontented *Romans*, with a Deſign to drive them both out of *Rome*. As the People flocked to him from all Quarters, he attacked the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* before the King could aſſemble his Forces, and made himſelf Maſter of that Fortreſs, the King having, with much ado, made his Eſcape over the Wall, during the Hurry and Confuſion of the Aſſault. *Marozia* however fell into his Hands, and he kept her as well as his Brother Pope *John* cloſely confined ſo long as they lived [c]. Year of Chriſt 933. *Is confined*;

John died, according to *Flodoard*, in the Third Year of his Confinement, after a Pontificate of Four Years and Ten Months not quite complete. *and dies in Priſon.* Year of Chriſt 936.

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS, *Emperors of the* East.

LEO VII.

The Hundred and twenty-ſixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

LEO, the Seventh of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, was choſen, with one Conſent, by the Clergy and People to ſucceed the deceaſed Pope. He was himſelf the only Perſon that oppoſed his Election, but was in the End obliged to yield, and accept the offered Dignity. *Flodoard*, who went to *Rome* in his Pontificate, and was there perſonally acquainted with him, calls him a *Servant of God*, and ſpeaks of him as one endowed with every Virtue becoming a Perſon in his high Station. He ſpared no Pains to reſtore the decayed Leo's *Election and Character.*

[c] Luitprand, l. iii. c. 12.

Diſcipline, and redreſs the Abuſes, that prevailed not in the *Roman* only, but in moſt other Churches.

Hugh *King of* Italy *and* Alberic *Lord of* Rome *reconciled by his means.*

As the Diſagreement between *Hugh* King of *Italy*, and *Alberic* Lord of *Rome*, occaſioned great Diſturbances, ſome of the *Italian* Princes ſiding with the one, and ſome with the other, the Pope undertook, in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, to reconcile the Two oppoſite Parties. With that View he ſent for *Odo*, the Second Abbot of *Cluny*, who, he knew, was highly eſteemed and reſpected by the King. *Odo* interpoſed, as directed by the Pope, and not only a Peace, but an Alliance was concluded by his Means between the Two Princes, *Alberic* marrying the King's Daughter, and the King thereupon engaging not to diſturb him in the Poſſeſſion of *Rome* and its Dukedom [a]. This holy Monk was likewiſe employed by the Pope in reſtoring the famous Monaſtery of St. *Paul* at *Rome* to its former Diſcipline; and he ſucceeded therein to the great Satisfaction of the whole *Roman* Clergy, as well as of his Holineſs, flattering himſelf, that the other Monaſteries of *Rome*, encouraged by the Example of thoſe Monks, would reform themſelves [b].

Leo's *Letter concerning Abuſes that prevailed in the* German *Churches.*

Leo ſent the Pall to *Gerhard*, Biſhop of *Lorch*, and thus reſtored that See to the Archiepiſcopal Dignity, which it had formerly enjoyed [c]. *Gerhard* went afterwards to *Rome*, to inform the Pope of ſeveral Abuſes that obtained in the *German* Churches, and beg his Holineſs to correct them. The Pope, in Compliance with his Requeſt, wrote a Letter addreſſed to the Kings, Dukes, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops in thoſe Parts, exhorting them to join in extirpating, with their temporal as well as their ſpiritual Power, the many Diſorders which, he was informed, prevailed among them. In that Letter he anſwered the Queſtions, that *Gerhard* had propoſed to him, in order to their being known to all. Theſe were, whether Witches, Enchanters, and Wizards ſhould be put to Death; whether the Lord's Prayer ſhould be ſaid before and after Meals; and whether the Children of married Prieſts ſhould be admitted to holy Orders In Anſwer to theſe Queſtions the Pope leaves Enchanters, *&c.* to the Rigour of the Laws, iſſued by the Civil Power againſt them, declaring, at the ſame time, that it is no Sin to puniſh them with Death. He will not allow the Lord's Prayer to be ſaid at Meals,

His Anſwers to ſome Queſtions.

[a] Luitprand, l. iv. c. 1. Vit. Odon. [b] Vit. Odon. [c] Concil. t. ix. p. 595.

as

as being appropriated, according to him, to the Sacrifice of the Maſs. As for the Marriages of Prieſts, he condemns them as highly criminal, orders thoſe, who have contracted them, to be depoſed, but thinks, that *the Son ſhould not bear the Iniquity of the Father.* In the ſame Letter the Pope forbids the Chorepiſcopi to conſecrate Churches, ordain Prieſts, or adminiſter Confirmation; declares it unlawful for a Man to marry his Godmother or God-daughter, and cloſes his Letter with enjoining the Biſhops to obey *Gerhard* as their Metropolitan, and Vicar in thoſe Parts of the Apoſtolic See [d]. Year of Chriſt 937.

We have another Letter of this Pope, addreſſed to *Hugh*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of St. *Martin*, in the City of *Tours*, wherein he finds Fault with him for ſuffering Women to enter that Monaſtery, and excommunicates any Woman who ſhall thenceforth ſet Foot within the Walls. This Letter is dated the Ninth of *January* of the Eleventh Indiction, that is, of the Year 938, in the Third Year of his Pontificate; ſo that he was ordained before the Ninth of *January* 936, and muſt therefore have died about the Eighteenth of *July* 939, if he held the See, as we read in the beſt Chronologers, Three Years Six Months and Ten Days. As in One of his Letters, Part of which has reached our Times, he calls St. *Benedict* his Father, *Mabillon* from thence concludes him to have been a Monk of that Order; which is not at all improbable, the rather as he is ſtiled by *Flodoard a Servant of God*, a Title commonly given, in thoſe Days, to Monks. *His Letter to the Abbot of St.* Martin *at* Tours. *Dies.* Year of Chriſt 939.

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS, *Emperors of the* East.

STEPHEN VIII. *or* IX.

The Hundred and twenty-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

STEPHEN VIII. or IX. was raiſed to the See after *Leo*. He was by Birth a *German*, according to *Platina*. But *Ciaconius* will have him, upon whoſe Authority we know not, to have been a Native of *Rome*, only brought up in *Germany*. As he was choſen againſt the Will of *Alberic*, who continued to tyrannize at *Rome*, he was by ſome of his Partiſans ſo cut and disfigured in the Face, that he Stephen *ſucceeds* Leo. *Was ſo disfigured in the Face by Order of* Alberic, *that he was aſhamed to appear in public.*

[d] Auct. ubi ſupra.

Year of Christ 939.

was ever after ashamed to appear in public [a]. What some have written, *viz.* that *Stephen* was placed on the Chair by *Otho*, King of *Germany*, though opposed by *Alberic*, by the *Roman* People and the Clergy, has not the least Foundation in Truth or in History, *Otho* being then too much engaged in domestic Wars, and at too great a Distance from *Rome*, to concern himself with the Election of the Pope, or with any thing else that happened there [b].

The Pope sends the Pall to Hugh *Archbishop of* Reims.

Year of Christ 942.

The first Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his acknowledging *Hugh*, the Son of Count *Herbert*, for Archbishop of *Reims*, and sending him the Pall. *Hugh* had been chosen, by the Interest of his Father, Archbishop of that City when he was but Five Years old, as has been related above. But *Rodulph*, Duke of *Burgundy*, having made himself Master of *Reims*, drove *Hugh* from that See, and appointed *Artold*, Monk of the Monastery of St. *Remigius*, Archbishop in his room. But *Artold* being, in 940, driven out by the opposite Party in his Turn, *Hugh* was restored, and the following Year consecrated in a Council of Bishops at *Soissons*, though at that time only Eighteen Years of Age. The Bishops, who ordained him, dispatched one of their Body to *Rome* for the Pall, which *Stephen* readily granted, though it had been sent to *Artold* by *John* XI. but a few Years before [c].

He zealously espouses the Cause of Lewis d' Outremer.

The same Year 942 the Pope, zealously espousing the Cause of *Lewis*, surnamed *d'Outremer*, the Son of *Charles the Simple*, against his rebellious Subjects, dispatched a Bishop named *Damasus*, into *France* with Letters addressed to the *French* Lords, as well as to the People of *France* and *Burgundy*. In these Letters the Pope exhorted them to submit to their lawful Sovereign, and obey him whom God had placed over them, since they could not disobey him without disobeying God himself, who would not suffer their Disobedience to pass unrevenged. The Pope, in the Close of his Letter commands them, by virtue of his Apostolic Authority, to acknowledge *Lewis* for their King, to lay down their Arms, and send Deputies to *Rome* to acquaint him with their having done so, threatening them with Excommunication, if they did not comply with these his Apostolic Injunctions before the ensuing Christmas [d].

Sends again for the Abbot of Cluny.

As *Hugh* King of *Italy*, and *Alberic* Prince of *Rome*, fell out anew, and their Disagreement was likely to involve all *Italy* in a

[a] Baron. ad ann. 940. [b] Vide Papebroch. in Concil. Chronic. Historic.
[c] Flodoard Hist. l. iv. c. 28. [d] Idem in Chron.

Civil War, the Pope ſent for *Odo*, by whoſe means they had been reconciled before, in order to his mediating again a Peace between them, The holy Abbot, in compliance with the Pope's Requeſt, repaired immediately to *Rome*. But being taken ill ſoon after his Arrival there, he was obliged to return to *Tours*, where he died in a very ſhort time. The Pope did not long outlive him. For the Abbot's Death is ſaid to have happened in *November* 942 [e], and Pope *Stephen*'s about the Beginning of *December* of the ſame Year, after he had preſided in the See Three Years Four Months and Five Days.

Year of Chriſt 942.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 942.

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS, *Emperors of the* East.

MARINUS II. *or* MARTINUS III.

The Hundred and twenty-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

STEPHEN was ſucceeded by *Marinus* II. or *Martinus*. this Pope being by ſome named *Marinus*, and by others *Martinus*. *Baronius* tells us, upon the Authority of an antient Manuſcript lodged in the *Vatican* Library, that *Marinus* was a Native of *Rome*, and a great Friend to the Poor; that he rebuilt, repaired, and adorned ſeveral Churches; that he ſtrove, to the utmoſt of his Power, to reſtore the decayed Diſcipline, to reform the Monaſteries, and reconcile the Chriſtian Princes then at War [a]. What *Baronius* writes is confirmed by *Platina* in his Life of this Pope. He ſeems to have had a particular Regard for the Monks; and we have ſome Reſcripts or Bulls of his, granting Privileges and Exemptions to them and their Monaſteries [b]. He wrote a very ſevere Letter to *Scio* Biſhop of *Capua*, cenſuring him for his Ignorance of the Canons, for his Intimacy with Seculars, and his utter Diſregard for the Laws of the Church. What drew theſe harſh Cenſures upon him was his having ſettled upon one of his Deacons a Church with its Revenues, which his Predeceſſor had granted to the *Benedictine* Monks in order to their building a Monaſtery. The Pope orders the Biſhop to reſtore to the Monks,

The Election and Character of Marinus.

A great Friend to the Monks.

[e] Flodoard in Chron. [a] Baron. ad ann. 943. [b] Apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iii. p. 464. et Ughell. tom. i. col. 133.

without

Year of Christ 945.

without Delay, what he had taken from them, upon pain of Excommunication and Depoſition, and declares the Monaſtery, that was to be built, exempt from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Capua* and his Succeſſors in that See. As for the Deacon, to whom the Grant of that Church had been made, the Pope forbids the Biſhop to have ever thenceforth any Intercourſe with him, even at the Altar, and threatens him with Excommunication, if he paid not due Obedience to his Order[c].

His Death. Year of Christ 946.

Marinus held the See, according to the moſt probable Opinion, Three Years, Six Months, and Thirteen Days; and conſequently muſt have died ſome Time in *June* 946; and his Death is accordingly placed by *Flodoard* at that Year[d].

CONSTANTINE, ROMANUS, *Emperors of the* East.

AGAPETUS II.

The Hundred and twenty-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Agapetus.

AGAPETUS II. the Succeſſor of *Marinus*, by Birth a *Roman*, was ordained before the Twenty-ſecond of *June* 946. For we have a Letter of his bearing that Date of the Eleventh Indiction, which coincides with the Year 946; ſo that he was, at that Time, in Poſſeſſion of the See[a]. As the Diſagreement between *Hugh*, King of *Lombardy*, and *Alberic* Lord of *Rome*, occaſioned great Diſturbances in that City, eſpecially at the electing of a new Pope, *Agapetus* undertook, as ſoon as he was raiſed to the See, to reconcile them. But what Succeſs attended his Negotiations we know not, *Hugh* being this very Year driven out of *Italy* by *Berengarius*, the Grandſon of the Emperor *Berengarius* by his Daughter.

Council of Ingelheim.

As the See of *Reims* was claimed by *Hugh* and by *Artold*, and both had received the Pall from *Rome*, a Council was appointed to meet at *Ingelheim* in the Dioceſe of *Cologne* in order to determine whoſe Claim was beſt grounded. The Pope ſent *Marinus*, Biſhop of *Polymartis*, to preſide at it in his Name; and it conſiſted of Thirty-one Biſhops beſides him, the Two Kings *Otho* of *Germany*, and *Lewis d'Outremer* of *France* being preſent in Perſon. The

[c] Leo Oſtienſ. l. i. c. 60. Ravenn. l. v. [d] Flodoard in Chron. [a] Rubeus Hiſt.

Council

Council met on the Seventh of *June* 948, and the Two Competitors were ſummoned to appear; with that Summons *Artold* readily complied; but *Hugh* declining, upon various Pretences, to ſtand to the Judgment of that Aſſembly, the Biſhops declared with one Voice *Artold* lawful Biſhop of *Reims*, and at the ſame Time thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Hugh*, as one, who had, contrary to the Canons, intruded himſelf into that See. The ſame Sentence was at the ſame Time pronounced againſt *Hugh*, ſurnamed *the Great* or *the White*, if he did not, within a limited Time, quit the Party of the Rebels, and acknowledge *Lewis* for his lawful Sovereign [b]. From that Time *Artold* held undiſturbed the See of *Reims* till his Death, that is, till the Year 961.

Year of Chriſt 948.

The ſame Year 948, the Legate *Marinus* preſided at another Council held at *Treves*, and by that Council was confirmed the Sentence of the Council of *Ingelheim* againſt Count *Hugh* guilty of Rebellion and Treachery, of driving Biſhops from their Sees on account of their ſteady Attachment to their Prince, and ſeizing on their Revenues. The Biſhops, who had ordained *Hugh* Archbiſhop of *Reims*, were likewiſe excommunicated, and ſuſpended from all Epiſcopal Functions till they ſatisfied the Legates, and publicly acknowledged their Fault [c]. The Acts of both theſe Councils were confirmed the following Year by the Pope in a Council, which he aſſembled at *Rome*, upon the Return of the Legate, and Count *Hugh* was excommunicated the Third Time, as he ſtill continued at the Head of the Rebels [d].

Council of Treves.

The Acts of both Councils confirmed by the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 949.

The ſame Year the Pope confirmed all the Privileges that had been granted by his Predeceſſors to the See of *Hamburg*, and appointed *Adaldagus*, who then held that Archiepiſcopal See, his Vicar, with full Power to ordain Biſhops in *Denmark*, lately converted to the Chriſtian Faith, as well as in the neighbouring Countries [e].

The following Year a Diſpute ariſing, or rather the ancient Diſpute being revived between *Harold*, Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, and *Gerard*, Archbiſhop of *Lorch*, concerning the Metropolitan Dignity, *Agapetus* interpoſed, and dividing the Province of *Pannonia*, over which each of them claimed a Juriſdiction independent of the other, ſubjected Weſtern *Pannonia* to the See of *Saltzburg*, and the Eaſtern Part of that Province with the Country of the *Avares*, of

Agapetus *divides* Pannonia *into Two Archbiſhoprics.*

Year of Chriſt 950.

[b] Concil. tom. ix. p. 623. [c] Flodoard in Chron. ad ann. 948. [d] Idem ad ann. 949. [e] Adam. Bremenſ. l. ii. c. 2.

the

Year of Christ 950. the *Moravians* and the *Sclavonians*, to the See of *Lorch*, granted to both the Metropolitan Dignity, and distinguished both with the Pall [e].

His Death. Year of Christ 956. *Agapetus* sent likewise the Pall to *Bruno*, Brother to *Otho*, King of *Germany*, upon his being preferred to the See of *Cologne*, and to *Odo*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and this is all we read of *Agapetus*, though he presided in the See Ten Years and about Three Months. He is stiled by the Writer of the Life of St. *Bruno*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, *a Man of wonderful Sanctity* [f], and most other Writers place him among the few good Popes of this Century.

His Character.

CONSTANTINE, *Emperor of the* East. **JOHN XII.** OTHO, *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirtieth BISHOP *of* Rome.

John XII. *intrudes himself into the See.* UPON the Death of *Agapetus*, *Octavianus* the Son of *Alberic*, who had succeeded his Father in the usurped Sovereignty of *Rome*, seized on the See, though then, at most, but Eighteen Years of Age. Being raised to the Chair, he took the Name of *John*, that of his Uncle Pope *John* XI. and he is the First Pope that changed his Name.

Makes War upon the Prince of Capua *and is defeated.* Year of Christ 957. The First Thing we find recorded of this Pope is, his raising Troops and marching in Person, at the Head of a considerable Army, against *Pandulph*, Prince of *Capua*, but upon what Provocation History does not inform us. *Pandulph*, finding his Dominions thus unexpectedly invaded by the young Pope, had recourse to *Girulph*, Prince of *Salerno*, who readily joined him with all his Forces, as he apprehended, that the Pope would next fall upon him. The Two Princes, taking the Field with their joint Forces, met the Pope as he was advancing to *Capua* to lay Siege to that Place, and a Battle thereupon ensuing, *John*'s Army was entirely defeated, and he himself narrowly escaped falling into the Hands of the provoked Priinces [a].

Invites Otho *into* Italy. Year of Christ 961. This Defeat made the Pope lay aside all Thoughts of extending his Dominions or encroaching upon the neighbouring Princes; and

[e] Concil. tom. ix. p. 618. [f] Rotgerus. vit. Brunon. c. 23. [a] Apud Baron. ad ann. 957.

therefore

therefore disbanding his Army, he returned to *Rome*, and there abandoned himself to all Manner of Wickedness and Debauchery. Year of Christ 961. But in the mean time *Berengarius* King of *Italy*, and his Son *Adelbert*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Kingdom, governing in a most tyrannical Manner, and loading with most exorbitant Taxes the Clergy as well as the Laity, the *Romans* themselves not excepted, the Pope resolved to apply for Redress to *Otho*, King of *Germany*, a Prince no less renowned for his Justice and Virtue, than his warlike Exploits, and the Conquests he had made. *John* dispatched accordingly into *Germany*, *John* Cardinal Deacon, and *Azo*, Keeper of the Records of the *Roman* Church, to represent to the King the deplorable Condition, to which the Two Tyrants had reduced not only the *Roman* Church but all *Italy*, and entreat him to hasten to their Rescue. The Legates were enjoined to offer the Imperial Crown to the King of *Germany*, provided he drove out the Tyrants, and delivered the Mother of all Churches from the Miseries she groaned under, and could no longer bear. *Promises to crown him Emperor.* At the same Time came Deputies to *Otho* from most of the Bishops and Princes of *Italy*, all complaining of the tyrannical Government of *Berengarius* and his Son, and imploring his Protection. They all assured him, that the *Italian* Princes would readily join him, and assist him to the utmost of their Power, and acknowledge him, as soon as he appeared, for their King.

As *Otho* had no other Wars at that Time on his Hands, he could not withstand so tempting an Offer; and having therefore assembled the Flower of his Army, he went first to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, caused his Son *Otho* to be there anointed King of *Germany*, though then only Seven Years old, and from thence pursuing his March, he entered *Italy*, and advanced, without Opposition, to *Pavia*, the Troops of *Berengarius* flying every-where before him, and the *Italians* flocking from all Quarters to join him. At *Pavia* he was met by most of the Princes and Bishops of *Italy*; and having kept his Christmas there, he resumed his March after the Holidays, and arrived, the Enemy not daring to appear, without the least Interruption, at *Rome*. He was met at the Gate by the Clergy in a Body, by the Nobility, and Crowds of People, and attended by them with loud Acclamations to the *Vatican*. He was there received by the Pope, and after performing his Devotions at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, was crowned and anointed Emperor with the usual Solemnity. On this Occasion the

Otho marches into Italy. Year of Christ 962.

Goes to Rome *and is there crowned Emperor.*

Year of Christ 962.

Emperor, at the Requeſt of the Pope, promiſed upon Oath to defend the *Roman* Church againſt all her Enemies, to maintain her in the quiet Poſſeſſion of all the Privileges ſhe had enjoyed to that Time, to reſtore to the Holy See the Lands and Poſſeſſions that belonged to St. *Peter*, as ſoon as he recovered them, to aſſiſt the Pope to the utmoſt of his Power, when his Aſſiſtance was wanted, and laſtly, to make no Alteration in the Government of *Rome* without his Knowledge or Approbation. At the ſame Time the Emperor confirmed all the Grants of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*[b]; but obliged, in his Turn, the Pope and the *Romans* to ſwear Obedience to him, and promiſe upon Oath to lend no Kind of Aſſiſtance to *Berengarius* or to his Son *Adelbert*, from whoſe Tyranny he was come to deliver them. The Coronation of *Otho* happened before the Thirteenth of *February* 962; for we have a Diploma of his bearing that Date, wherein he ſtiles himſelf Emperor[c].

Famous Diploma of the Emperor Otho ſtill to be ſeen at Rome.

That Diploma, in Letters of Gold, is ſtill to be ſeen in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* at *Rome*; and it is thereby enacted, that the Election of the Pope ſhall thenceforth be made after the Manner preſcribed by the Canons; that none ſhall diſturb the Election on Pain of Baniſhment; that the Elect ſhall not be ordained till his Election is confirmed by the Emperor, and Deputies are ſent by him to aſſiſt, in his Name, at that Ceremony; that the new Pope ſhall promiſe, in the Preſence of the Imperial Envoys, to injure no Man in his Property; that they, who have been any ways injured, may apply either to the Commiſſaries of the Pope, or to thoſe of the Emperor reſiding in *Rome*, and have their Grievances redreſſed, and Juſtice done them by either. Thus was the Empire transferred from the *Italian* to the *German* Princes, by the free Election of an oppreſſed People, inviting him to their Relief, and putting themſelves, of their own Accord, under his Protection.

The Pope revolts from the Emperor.

Year of Chriſt 963.

The Emperor, in his Turn, made the Pope ſwear Allegiance to him, and promiſe upon Oath to lend no Aſſiſtance to *Berengarius* or to *Adelbert* his Son. But no ſooner was *Otho* gone, than forgetting his Oath, though taken upon the Body of St. *Peter*, he began privately to correſpond with *Adelbert*, who had taken Refuge among the *Saracens*; and he at laſt openly declared for him, and ad-

[b] Luitprand, l. vi. c. 6. Regino ad ann. 962. Flodoard, in Chron. Gratian. Diſt. 63.
[c] Apud Baron. ad ann. 962.

mitted

mitted him, with all his Followers, into *Rome*. The Emperor, upon the firſt Intelligence he received of the Pope's correſponding with his Enemies, diſpatched Embaſſadors to *Rome* to put him in Mind of the Oath he had taken, and at the ſame Time to enquire of the *Romans* what could have induced him to infringe the Treaty, which he had but lately concluded, and ſworn to obſerve. The Embaſſadors met with a very indifferent Reception from the Pope; and the *Romans* gave them a moſt ſhocking Account of the debauched Life which he publicly led, to the Diſgrace of the Apoſtolic See, and their holy Religion itſelf. They told the Embaſſadors, that he carried on, in the Eyes of the whole City, a criminal Commerce with one *Rainera*, the Widow of one of his Soldiers; that he had given her the Government of ſeveral Cities, and preſented her with Croſſes and Chalices of Gold belonging to the Church of St. *Peter*; that he publicly kept another Concubine, named *Stephania*, who lately died in the Delivery of a Child ſhe had by him; that he had changed the *Lateran* Palace, once the Abode of Saints, into a Brothel, and there cohabited with his Father's Concubine the Siſter of *Stephania*; that Women were afraid to come from other Countries to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles at *Rome*; that he ſpared none, and had, within theſe few Days, forced married Women, Widows, and Virgins, to comply with his impure Deſires. They added, that the Devil hated not more his Creator than Pope *John* did the Emperor, apprehending that he might, as a Prince of great Piety, and ſtrictly religious, call him to an Account and puniſh him for his Debaucheries, and that he therefore wanted an *Adelbert* to protect and defend him [d].

Year of Chriſt 963.

His Debaucheries.

The Emperor, informed by his Embaſſadors, upon their Return, of the wicked and ſcandalous Life the Pope led, ſaid no more than that he was yet a Child, and might mend his Manners by the Example of good Men and retrieve. But when he received certain Intelligence of his having openly declared for *Adelbert*, and even admitted him into *Rome*, he raiſed the Siege of *Montefeltro*, where *Berengarius* had ſhut himſelf up, and marched with his whole Army againſt the Pope and his new Ally. But they no ſooner heard of his March, than deſpairing of being able to withſtand ſo great a Force, they plundered the Church of St. *Peter*, and fled, carrying along with them all the Wealth they found there. The Emperor entered *Rome* at the Head

Otho *marches to* Rome.

The Pope abandons the City and flies.

[d] Luitprand, l. vi. c. 6.

Year of Christ 963.

of his Army, was received by the Clergy, the Nobility and the People, as their Deliverer, with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy, and attended by them to the Caſtle of St. *Paul*, which his Friends had ſurpriſed before the Flight of the Pope, and prepared for his Reception. During his Stay there, the *Romans* renewed, of their own Accord, the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to him, and at the ſame Time ſolemnly promiſed to give no Kind of Aſſiſtance to *Berengarius*, to *Adelbert*, or to any of his Enemies, and never to elect a Pope, nor ſuffer a Pope to be ordained without his Conſent, or that of his Son [e].

The Emperor aſſembles a Council at Rome *to try the Pope.*

The Emperor, having ſettled the civil Government of the City, aſſembled in the next Place, by the Advice of the Prelates who attended him, a Council in order to examine into the Conduct of the Pope, and give him an Opportunity of clearing himſelf, if he was innocent, from the many Crimes that were laid to his Charge. At this Council the Emperor preſided in Perſon, and were preſent Thirteen Cardinal Prieſts, Three Cardinal Deacons, the Archbiſhops of *Hamburg* and *Treves*, the Biſhops of *Minden* and *Spire*, and almoſt all the Biſhops of *Italy*, with many Prieſts, Deacons, and the chief Nobility of *Rome*. The Pope was ſummoned by the Council and the Emperor to appear and anſwer the many Accuſations lodged againſt him. But as he did not comply with the Summons, the Council met after waiting ſome Time for his Anſwer; and upon the Emperor's asking the *Italian* Biſhops, why his Holineſs abſented himſelf from ſo venerable an Aſſembly, all anſwered with one Voice, "we are ſurpriſed that you ſhould not know what is well known to the *Babylonians*, the *Iberians*, and even to the *Indians*. So public are his Crimes; and he is ſo loſt to all Shame, that he does not even attempt to conceal them." The Emperor deſired them to mention each Crime in particular that they laid to his Charge. Hereupon *Peter*, Cardinal Biſhop, riſing up, declared, that he had ſeen him ſay Maſs without communicating; *John*, Biſhop of *Narni*, and *John*, Cardinal Deacon, atteſted, that they had ſeen him ordain a Deacon in a Stable; *Benedict*, Deacon, with other Deacons and Prieſts ſaid, that they knew for certain that he had ordained Biſhops for Money, and had, among the reſt, ordained a Child, but Ten Years old, Biſhop of *Todi*. They added, that they knew likewiſe for certain, that he carried on a

Crimes laid to his Charge.

[e] Luitprand, l. vi. c. 6.

ſcandalous

candalous Intrigue with the Widow of *Rainerius*, with *Stephania*, his Father's Concubine, and at the ſame Time with one named *Ann* and her Niece; that he had turned the holy Palace into a Brothel; had publicly hunted; had put out the Eyes of *Benedict*, his ghoſtly Father, who died of the Anguiſh; had cauſed *John*, Cardinal Subdeacon, to be made an Eunuch, which occaſioned his Death; had ſet ſeveral Houſes on fire; and had been frequently ſeen clad in Armour with a Sword by his Side. Many Clerks as well as Laymen aſſured the Emperor and the Fathers of the Council, that he had, to their certain Knowledge, drank Wine in Honour of the Devil; that in playing at Dice he had invoked *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and the other Pagan Deities; that he never ſaid Mattins, nor any other canonical Hours, nor ever ſigned himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs [f].

Year of Chriſt 963.

As the Emperor only ſpoke the *Saxon* Language, which the *Romans* did not underſtand, he ordered *Luitprand*, Biſhop of *Cremona*, to addreſs the Aſſembly in *Latin*, as follows: "It too often "happens, as Experience teaches us, that Men, raiſed to high Stati- "ons, are envied and calumniated by their Inferiors, I therefore "conjure you in the Name of God, whom no Man can deceive, of "his immaculate Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, and by the Body of St. "*Peter*, in whoſe Church we are, not to alledge any Crime againſt "our Lord the Pope, of which you do not know him for certain to "be guilty." To this the whole Synod anſwered with one Voice, "If Pope *John* is not guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and of "many other ſtill more deteſtable Enormities, may St. *Peter*, who "opens the Gates of Heaven to the Juſt, and ſhuts them againſt the "Unworthy, never abſolve us from our Sins, and let us be placed "on the left Hand at the laſt Day. If you do not believe us, believe "your Army, who beheld him but Five Days ago, having a Sword "by his Side, and armed with a Shield, with a Helmet, and a Cui- "raſs." They were ſeparated from him only by the *Tyber*, which prevented them from taking him thus accoutred. The Emperor anſwered, "There are as many Witneſſes of it, as there are Soldiers "in my Army." Though the Crimes, of which he was arraigned, were all fully proved, yet the Synod begged he might be heard before he was condemned; and that being agreed to by the Emperor, the following Letter was written and ſent to him, in the Name of the Emperor, and the Biſhops who compoſed that Aſſembly.

Speech of the Biſhop of Cremona *to the Council in the Emperor's Name.*

[f] Luitprand, l. vi. c. 7.

Year of Christ 963.

Letter to the Pope from the Emperor and the Council.

" Being come to *Rome* for the Service of God, and not finding " you here, we asked the *Roman* Biſhops, the Cardinals, Presbyters, " Deacons, and People, why you had withdrawn from the City at " our Arrival, and would not ſee your Defenders, and the Defend- " ers of your Church. They, in their Anſwer, charged you with " ſuch Obſcenities, as would make us bluſh, were they ſaid of a " Stage-player. I ſhall mention to you a few of the Crimes that " are laid to your Charge; for it would require a whole Day to enu- " merate them all. Know then that you are accuſed, not by ſome " few, but by all the Clergy as well as the Laity, of Murder, Perju- " ry, Sacrilege, and Inceſt with your own Relations, and Two Sif- " ters; that you are ſaid to have drunk Wine in Honour of the De- " vil, and to have invoked, at Play, *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and the other " Demons. We therefore earneſtly entreat you to come and clear " yourſelf from theſe Imputations. If you are afraid of being in- " ſulted by the Multitude, we promiſe you upon Oath, that nothing " ſhall be done but what is warranted by the Canons." The Direc- tion of this Letter was, *To our Lord* John, *High Pontiff and Uni- verſal Pope, the Emperor* Otho, *and the Archbiſhops of* Liguria, Tuſ- cany, Saxony, *and* France, *greeting.*

The Pope's Letter to the Council.

To this Letter the Pope returned the following laconic Anſwer. " *John*, Servant of the Servants of God, to all Biſhops. We hear " that you want to make another Pope. If that is your Deſign, I " excommunicate you all in the Name of the Almighty, that you " may not have it in your Power to ordain any other, or even to " celebrate Maſs." While the Biſhops were reading this Letter ſe- veral other Biſhops arrived, and among the reſt, *Hericus*, Archbiſhop of *Treves*; and with their Advice the Council returned the follow-

The Council's Anſwer.

ing Anſwer to the Pope's Letter: " If you come to the Council, and " clear yourſelf from the Crimes that are laid to your Charge, we " ſhall pay all due Reſpect to your Authority. But if you do not " come, and are not detained by lawful Impediment, as you have " no Seas to croſs, nor a very long Journey to perform, we ſhall " make no Account of your Excommunication, but retort it upon " you. The Traitor *Judas* received of our Lord the Power of bind- " ing and looſening as well as the other Apoſtles; and with that " Power he was veſted ſo long as he continued faithful to his divine " Maſter and Lord. But by betraying him he forfeited all his Power

" and

" and Authority, and could thenceforth bind none but himſelf." The Biſhops were, it ſeems, all Strangers to the Doctrine, that the Pope is to judge all Mankind, and be judged by none. Year of Chriſt 963.

With this Letter were ſent *Hadrian*, Presbyter Cardinal, and *Benedict* Cardinal Deacon: But arriving at the *Tyber* they were informed, that the Pope was gone, with a Quiver upon his Shoulder, Nobody knew whither. The Letter was therefore brought back, and the Council being aſſembled the Third Time, the Emperor addreſſed the Biſhops thus: " We have waited for *John* in order to " lay our Complaints againſt him before you in his Preſence. But " now, as we find that he is determined not to appear, I ſhall briefly " acquaint you with, and leave you to judge of his Conduct towards " me. When he was grievouſly oppreſſed by the Two Tyrants, *Be-* " *rengarius* and *Adelbert*, he diſpatched Meſſengers to us into *Saxo-* " *ny*, beſeeching us to haſten to *Italy*, and deliver the Church of St. " *Peter* and himſelf from the Calamities they groaned under. I " complied with his Requeſt; and I need not tell you what I have " done, as you have all ſeen it. However, forgetting the Fidelity, " which he ſwore to me upon the Body of St. *Peter*, he entered into " an Alliance with *Adelbert*, invited him to *Rome*, ſupported him " againſt me, raiſed Seditions in the City, and arming himſelf with " a Cuiraſs, appeared thus armed in the Sight of my Army. Let him " be judged by the Synod." *The Emperor's Speech to the Biſhops.*

The Council replied, " Such an extraordinary Evil muſt be cured " by an extraordinary Remedy. Had he hurt none but himſelf, he " might, in ſome Degree, be borne with: But how many has his " Example perverted? How many, who would, in all Likelihood, " have led a pure and irreproachable Life, have abandoned themſelves " to all Manner of Wickedneſs? We beg therefore, that this Mon- " ſter, without One ſingle Virtue to atone for his many Vices, may " be driven from the Holy Apoſtolic See, and another, who will ſet " us a good Example, be put in his room." " It is our Pleaſure," replied the Emperor, " and nothing will give us greater Satisfaction, " than your raiſing to the Holy Apoſtolic See a Perſon of that Cha- " racter g." *The Biſhops Speech to the Emperor.*

g Luitprand, l. vi. c. 3.

LEO.

Year of Christ 963.

NICEPHORUS PHOCAS *Emperor of the* East.

LEO VIII.

OTHO *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-first BISHOP *of* Rome.

Leo *chosen in the room of the deposed Pope.*

JOHN being deposed by the Emperor and the Council, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, chose with one Voice *Leo* VIII. of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of *John*, formerly Protoscrinarius, or First Keeper of the Records, which Office *Leo* exercised at the Time of his Election. He is supposed to have been ordained on the Sixth of *December* 963, and in the Presence of the Emperor who was then at *Rome*.

John *stirs up the* Romans *against the Emperor.*

As the *Romans* seemed all extremely well pleased with their new Pope, and the City enjoyed a perfect Tranquility, the Emperor, to relieve the Inhabitants, dismissed the greater Part of his Army. Of this the deposed Pope was no sooner informed, than he began, by his Emissaries, to tamper with the *Romans*, and stir them up to Rebellion, promising to reward them with the immense Wealth of the Church of St. *Peter*, which he had taken with him, if they murdered the Emperor and his new Pope, the Usurper of the Holy See. The leading Men in the City hearkened to the Offer, and as no Men, says the Historian, are more greedy of, and more easily corrupted with Money than the *Romans*, they were soon prevailed upon to engage in so wicked an Attempt; and they conducted it with such Secresy, that at the Day appointed, the Second of *January* 964, the whole City was in Arms, without the Emperor's having ever received the least Intimation of their Design. They marched in Battle Array to the Emperor's Quarters on the other Side of the *Tyber*. But his advanced Guards taking the Alarm, the few Troops he had with him drew in an instant together, and marching, with their brave Commander at their Head, met the *Romans* as they were passing the Bridge, engaged them, put them, at the First Onset, to Flight, and pursued them with great Slaughter, till the Emperor, touched with Compassion, put a Stop to their Fury. The next Day Pope *Leo* interposed in behalf of the Rebels, and at his Request the good-natured Prince granted them all a free Pardon, upon their taking anew an

Who defeats but forgives them.

Year of Christ 964.

Oath

Oath of Allegiance, and delivering up Hoſtages for the Obſervance of that Oath [a]. Year of Chriſt 964.

Some few Days after, the Emperor reſolved to leave *Rome*, and repair to *Spoleti* and *Camerino*, being informed, that *Adelbert* had appeared in thoſe Dukedoms. Before he ſet out, the Pope perſuaded him to return the Hoſtages, aſſuring him that by ſuch a Mark of Confidence he would rivet himſelf in the Favour of the *Romans*, and engage for ever their Affection as well as their Fidelity. He did ſo; but he was ſcarce gone when a new Revolution enſued. For ſeveral Women of great Diſtinction, with whom the young debauched Pope uſed to riot and paſs the greater Part of his Time, no longer able to bear his Abſence, formed a Deſign of murdering *Leo* and reſtoring *John* to the See. They communicated their Deſign to ſeveral Perſons of Rank, and by them the depoſed Pope was unexpectedly brought back, was admitted into the City, and attended, in a Kind of Triumph, to the *Lateran* Palace. *Leo* had the good Luck to make his Eſcape to the Emperor then at *Camerino*. But Two of his Friends were ſeized, *viz. John*, Cardinal Deacon, and *Azo* the Protoſcrinarius; and *John* ordered immediately the Right Hand of the former to be cut off, and the Tongue, Noſe, and Two Fingers of the latter. At the ſame Time *Otger*, Biſhop of *Spire*, was whipt by his Command till he was ready to expire [b].

Conſpiracy againſt Leo; *who is obliged to quit* Rome. John's *Cruelty to* Leo's *Friends.*

In the next Place *John* aſſembled a Council in the Church of St. *Peter*, on the Second of *February* 964, at which were preſent Sixteen Biſhops, ſome Cardinals, and Seven Prieſts and Deacons, *John* preſiding in Perſon. It was finiſhed in Three Seſſions; in the Firſt, the Council that depoſed him was condemned as an unlawful and uncanonical Meeting, *Leo* was depoſed, and forbidden, on Pain of being anathematized without Hopes of Abſolution, ever to exerciſe any Epiſcopal Functions, or attempt the Recovery of the See, which he had, contrary to the Canons and all Laws of Juſtice uſurped, his Ordinations were all declared null, and they, whom he had ordained, ſtript in the Council of their ſacerdotal Ornaments, and ordered to write theſe Words upon a Paper, *my Father had nothing, and gave me nothing*, which was owning, that *Leo* had not the Power of conferring Orders, and therefore that they had received none. In the Second Seſſion, they, who had been any-ways acceſſory to the Uſurpa-

John *aſſembles a Council in* Rome. *Acts of that Council.*

[a] Luitprand, l. vi. c. 2. [b] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 964.

tion of *Leo*, were anathematized, if Laymen or Monks, and, if Eccleſiaſtics, degraded. In the Third Seſſion *Benedict* of *Porto*, and *Gregory* of *Albano*, who had ordained *Leo*, were ſuſpended from all Epiſcopal Functions after owning that they had acted contrary to the Canons, and begging Forgiveneſs. *Sico* of *Oſtia*, the Third Biſhop concerned in the Ordination of *Leo*, did not appear at the Council, and was therefore depoſed without Hopes of being ever reſtored. By this Council a Canon was iſſued, forbidding Laymen, on Pain of Excommunication, to ſtand, during Maſs, within the Presbytery, or near the Altar [c].

John *murdered.*

John did not long ſurvive the holding of this Council. For being one Night, ſoon after, in Bed with a married Woman, the Devil, ſays the Hiſtorian, but more probably the Husband in the Diſguiſe of the Devil, gave him ſo violent a Blow on the Temple, that he died in a Week, having held the See Seven Years and Two Months before his Depoſition, and Five Months more after it. His Death is ſuppoſed to have happened on the Fourteenth of *May* 964.

Benedict *choſen by the* Romans *in his room.*

Upon the Death of *John*, the *Romans*, perſiſting in their Rebellion, choſe one *Benedict*, a Native of *Rome*, and Protoſcrinarius of the *Roman* Church, to ſucceed him, though they had promiſed to the Emperor upon Oath to acknowledge no other than *Leo*, ſo long as he lived, and to ſuffer no Pope to be thenceforth ordained without his Conſent. *Otho* was then buſied in reducing the Dukedom of *Camerino*, but he was no ſooner informed of the Election of *Benedict*, than he left that Dukedom, and marching at the Head of his Army to *Rome*, inveſted the Place ſo cloſely on all Sides, that the Inhabitants were, in a very ſhort Time, obliged to ſubmit for Want of Proviſions, to open the Gates, and ſurrender at Diſcretion, though they had bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath never to forſake *Benedict*, nor to acknowledge *Leo*, whom they ſtiled the Emperor's Pope.

Otho *marches to* Rome *and obliges the Inhabitants to ſurrender.*

Otho, now Maſter of the City, ordered, in the Firſt Place, the Biſhops who attended him, and thoſe whom he found in *Rome*, to aſſemble in Council, and ſettle in the Firſt place the Affairs of the Church. The Biſhops met in the *Lateran* Church at the Time appointed, and *Benedict* being brought before them in his Pontifical Robes, *Benedict*, Cardinal Archdeacon, addreſſed him thus: "By "what Authority or by what Law haſt thou aſſumed theſe Orna-

[c] Apud Baron. ad ann. 964.

"ments

" ments in the Life-time of the venerable Pope *Leo*, whom thou " madeſt Choice of together with us in the Room of *John*, whom " we all condemned and rejected? Canſt thou deny thy having pro- " miſed upon Oath to the Emperor never to chuſe nor to ordain a Pope " without his Conſent, or that of his Son King *Otho?*" *Benedict* anſwered, *I have ſinned, take Pity on me;* which Words ſo affected the good-natured Emperor, that burſting into Tears he begged the Fathers would deal mercifully with him, provided he acknowledged his Fault in the Hearing of the whole Council. At theſe Words *Benedict*, throwing himſelf at *Leo*'s Feet and the Emperor's, owned aloud, that he was an Uſurper, and begged the Pope, the Emperor, and the Council to forgive him. He then took off his Pall, and delivered it to the Pope with his Paſtoral Staff, which *Leo* immediately broke, and ſhewed it thus broken to the People. After this *Leo* ordered him to ſit down on the Ground, and having ſtript him, in that Poſture, of all the Pontifical Ornaments, he pronounced the following Sentence; " We diveſt *Benedict*, who has uſurped the Holy Apoſ- " tolic See, of the Pontifical Dignity, and the Honour of Prieſthood; " however at the Requeſt of the Emperor, who has reſtored us, we al- " low him to retain the Order of Deacon, but upon Condition that he " quits *Rome*, and goes into perpetual Baniſhment [d]."

Year of Chriſt 964.

Benedict *condemned in a Council, and diveſted of the Pontifical Ornaments.*

By this Council a Conſtitution, or Decree, is ſaid to have been iſſued, conferring on the Emperor *Otho*, and his Succeſſors for ever, the Power of nominating the Pope, and granting the Inveſtiture to Biſhops. But whether the ſaid Conſtitution be forged or genuine, is not agreed among Authors. *Goldaſtus* [e], *de Marca* [f], and many others, maintain it to be genuine; and it is to be met with in *Gratian* [g] and in *Theodoric* of *Niem*. However, as in this Conſtitution Mention is made of the like Privilege, granted as is there ſuppoſed in 774 by Pope *Hadrian* I. to *Charlemagne*, and we have Reaſon to believe, that no ſuch Privilege ever was granted by that Pope, I cannot help looking upon the Decree or Conſtitution of *Leo* as a Forgery. The Reaſons, that incline me to think the Decree of *Hadrian* to be forged, are; 1. *Florus Magiſter*, in his Treatiſe *of the Election of Biſhops*, written about the Year 820, ſays it was eſtabliſhed *by Cuſtom*, that the Perſon elected ſhould be approved by the Prince; ſo that he was

Whether the Decree, conferring on the Emperor Otho *and his Succeſſors the Power of nominating the Pope, &c. be forged or genuine.*

[d] Luitprand, l. vi. c. 2. Concord. l. viii. c. 12, 29.
[e] Goldaſt. Conſtitut. Imperial. l. i.
[f] Marca
[g] Gratian. Diſtinct. l. iii. c. 23.

Year of Chriſt 964

quite unacquainted with the pretended Conſtitution of *Hadrian*; and we cannot ſuppoſe he would never have heard of it, if it had been enacted, as is ſaid, in 774, that is but Forty-ſix Years before, in a Council at *Rome*, conſiſting of 153 Biſhops. 2. *Lupus Ferrarienſis* grounds the Right of electing and inſtituting Biſhops, which he veſts in the Emperor and in other ſecular Princes, upon a Conſtitution iſſued by Pope *Zachary* in 757, and takes no Kind of Notice of the more recent Conſtitution of *Hadrian*; a plain Proof that it was not yet heard of in his Time. 3. From One of *Hadrian*'s Letters written in 784, it appears, that in the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, when a new Biſhop was choſen, the Decree of Election was ſent to *Rome*, and the Elect was thereupon ordained by the Pope without the Conſent or even the Knowledge of the Emperor. We have another Letter from the ſame Pope to *Charlemagne* of the Year 787, in Anſwer to one he had received from that Prince, deſiring that the Biſhop of *Ravenna* might always be choſen in the Preſence of his Deputies. The Pope anſwered, that this was a new Thing, and that ever ſince the Time of *Pepin* the Clergy and People of *Ravenna* had choſen their own Biſhop, none elſe interfering, and ſent the Decree of Election to the Apoſtolic See; which is evidently inconſiſtent with that Pope's having, by a ſpecial Decree, veſted in the Emperor, ever ſince the Year 774, the Power of appointing all Biſhops throughout his Dominions. Upon the whole, the Decree, aſcribed to *Hadrian*, is evidently forged; and conſequently that of *Leo*, ſuppoſing it genuine, and as ſuch confirming it, muſt be likewiſe a Forgery.

In that Decree, as quoted by *Goldaſtus*[h] out of *Theodoric* of *Niem*, who wrote about the Year 1420, *Leo* is made to yield to *Otho* all the Countries and Territories that had been given to the *Roman* Church by other Princes and Emperors. But as *Leo* there gives up many Places, which it is very certain the *Roman* Church never poſſeſſed, and many, which ſhe did not poſſeſs till long after the Time of this Emperor, that Piece is now univerſally looked upon as ſpurious[i].

Leo *dies*. Year of Chriſt 965.

Leo enjoyed the Pontifical Dignity but a very ſhort Time after his Reſtoration, for he died in the Beginning of *March* of the following Year 965, after a Pontificate of One Year and Three Months.

As for *Benedict*, ſtiled the Fifth of that Name, by thoſe who acknowledge him for lawful Pope, he was baniſhed to *Hamburgh*,

[h] Goldaſt. p. 36. [i] See Pagi ad ann. 964.

where

where he died in the Month of *July* of the ſame Year 965. *Adamus Bremenſis* writes, that at *Hamburgh* he led a very edifying Life; that he was a Man of uncommon Learning and Parts, and as worthy of the high Station, to which the *Romans* had raiſed him, as any of his Time[k]. *Ditmarus* ſpeaks of him, in his Chronicle, as a Man of great Sanctity, and adds, that, by the Command of *Otho* III. his Remains were tranſlated from *Hamburgh* to *Rome*[l]. Year of Chriſt 965.

NICEPHORAS PHOCAS *Emperor of the* East. **JOHN XIII.** OTHO *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-ſecond BISHOP *of* Rome.

UPON the Death of *Leo* the *Romans*, mindful of their Oath, diſpatched *Azo*, Keeper of the Records, and *Marinus*, Biſhop of *Sutri*, into *Saxony*, where the Emperor then was, to deſire him to appoint a Succeſſor to the deceaſed Pope. *Otho*, pleaſed with this Mark of their Obedience, left them at full Liberty to chuſe whom they pleaſed, but ſent with them *Otger*, Biſhop of *Spire*, and *Linzo* (perhaps *Luitprand)* Biſhop of *Cremona*, to *Rome*, to aſſiſt at the Election in his Name. Upon their Arrival the *Romans* choſe *Benedict*, then in Exile at *Hamburgh*, and even prevailed upon the Emperor to conſent to his Promotion[a]. But he dying in the mean time, *John* Biſhop of *Narni*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of a Biſhop of the ſame Name, was unanimouſly choſen, and ordained on the Firſt of *October*, which in 965 fell on a Sunday. John XIII. *choſen.*

The new Pope was ſcarce warm in the Chair, when the *Roman* Nobility, provoked at his haughty Behaviour, and the Power he aſſumed over them, entered into a Combination againſt him, and being aſſiſted by the Prefect and by one named *Rotfred*, a leading Man in the City, drove him from *Rome* and obliged him to take Refuge in *Capua*. He was there received with the higheſt Reſpect by Prince *Pandulph*, and entertained ſuitably to his Rank for the Space of Ten Months, that is, till the *Romans* recalled him, hearing that the Emperor was marching with his Army to *Rome* in order to reſtore him *Driven out of* Rome, *takes Refuge in* Capua.

[k] Adam. Bremenſ. l. ii. c. 6. [l] Ditmar. Chron. l. ii. c. 3. [a] Adam. Bremenſ. ubi ſupra.

Year of Christ 965.

and punish his Enemies, whom he could not but look upon as Rebels. The Pope, to reward the Prince and People of *Capua* for the Respect and Kindness they had shown him, during his Stay there, erected their City into a Metropolis, and before he set out on his Return to *Rome*, ordained the Brother of the Prince the First Archbishop of the Place [b].

Erects that City into a Metropolis.

Year of Christ 966.

In the mean time *Otho*, pursuing his March to *Rome*, seized at *Placentia Sigovulfus*, Bishop of the Place, and sent him Prisoner into *Germany* with several *Italian* Counts, who had declared, together with him, for *Adelbert*, and stirred the People up to Rebellion. From *Placentia* he advanced with his Army to *Rome*, and entering the City without Opposition, he ordered the chief Authors of the late Disturbances to be seized, sent the Consuls into Exile, and ordered the Thirteen Tribunes to be hanged. The Prefect had the good Luck to make his Escape. But the rest were all either banished, or condemned to Dungeons for Life, One, and he a Man of the First Distinction, was, by the Command of the Emperor, stript naked, and being set on an Ass most cruelly scourged through the chief Streets of the City, and then banished the Dukedom of *Rome*. The Body of *Rotfred*, who had been murdered by some of the Pope's Partizans, was dug up, was cut in Pieces, and thrown into the Kennels, as unworthy of Christian Burial [c].

Otho marches to Rome *to restore the Pope.*

Punishes the Romans *as Rebels.*

The Emperor, having thus made the *Romans*, who, he found, were not to be gained by gentle Methods, feel the Effects of his Justice, left *Rome* in the Beginning of the following Year, and, after visiting several Cities of *Tuscany*, repaired together with the Pope to *Ravenna*; where a Council was held, consisting of most of the Bishops of *Italy*, and of some from *France* and *Germany*, who attended the Emperor. In that Council the Emperor restored to the Pope the City of *Ravenna* with its Territory, and several other Places, which *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* had given to St. *Peter*, but *Berengarius* and *Adelbert* had seized and kept for themselves. In the same Council the Deposition of *Herold*, Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, was confirmed, and likewise the Election of *Frederic*, who had been appointed to succeed him. *Herold* revolting from the Emperor, had joined the Pagans, probably the *Hungarians*, and had been, on that Account,

The Pope holds a Council at Ravenna.

Year of Christ 967.

[b] Suppl. Regin. Leo Ostien. l. ii. c. 9. Sigon. l. vii. Canelius in Hist. Metropolitan. Par. 3. Dissert. ii. c. 5. [c] Suppl. Regin. ad ann. 967.

punished

puniſhed with the Loſs of his Sight, and driven from his See. But though deprived of his Sight, and ſuſpended from all Epiſcopal Functions, he continued to celebrate Maſs, to wear the Pall, and to act in every other Reſpect as ſtill veſted with the Archiepiſcopal Dignity. The Sentence of Depoſition was therefore anew pronounced in full Council againſt him, and all were excommunicated who ſhould thenceforth receive any Ordination whatever at his Hands. This Sentence or Decree is dated the Twenty fifth of *April* 967. Year of Chriſt 967.

Upon the breaking up of the Council the Pope returned to *Rome*, and there paſſed the remaining Part of his Pontificate without the leaſt Moleſtation from the *Romans*. The Emperor remained in *Lombardy*, and having there ſettled the Affairs of his *Italian* Dominions, he aſſembled, before his Return to *Saxony*, another Council at *Ravenna*, at which were preſent moſt of the Biſhops, who had aſſiſted at the former. By this Council the City of *Magdeburg* was, at the Deſire and Requeſt of the Emperor, erected into an Archiepiſcopal See, *Adelbert*, Monk of the Monaſtery of St. *Maximinus* at *Treves*, was, with the Approbation of the Biſhops, appointed by the Emperor the Firſt Archbiſhop of the Place, and ſent to *Rome* for the Pall. The Pope, deſirous of obliging the Emperor, not only granted the Pall to the new Archbiſhop, but declared him Primate of all *Germany*, put him upon the Level with the Archbiſhops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, made him Metropolitan of the *Sclavonians*, who inhabited the vaſt Country beyond the *Elbe* and the *Sala*, and were then, or ſhould be afterwards converted to the Faith. At the ſame Time the Pope ordered Biſhoprics to be founded in the following Places, *viz.* at *Zitz*, at *Meiſſen*, at *Merſeburg*, *Brandenburg* and *Poznan*, and theſe new Biſhoprics were all ſubjected to the Metropolitan See of *Magdeburg* [d]. Magdeburg *erected into a Metropolis.* Year of Chriſt 968.

While *Otho* was ſtill at *Ravenna* Embaſſadors arrived from *Nicephorus Phocas*, Emperor of the Eaſt, ſent with rich Preſents to conclude a Peace between him and the *Latins*. *Otho* received the *Greek* Embaſſadors with the greateſt Marks of Eſteem, ſent them back loaded with Preſents of great Value for the Emperor, and diſpatched with them to *Conſtantinople* ſome Perſons of the Firſt Rank in the Empire to propoſe a Match between his Son *Otho*, King of *Germany*, and *Theophania*, Daughter of the late Emperor *Romanus* by *Theophano*, whom *Nicephorus* the preſent Emperor had married. As the Em- Otho *ſends Embaſſadors into the* Eaſt *to propoſe a Marriage between his Son* Otho *and the Daughter of the Emperor* Romanus.

[d] Chronograph. apud Mabill. See Benedict v. p. 833.

peror

Year of Chriſt 968.

peror propoſed to keep his Chriſtmas at *Rome*, the Pope, acquainted therewith, wrote to the King of *Germany*, preſſing him to meet his Father there, and viſit with him the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles, the Protectors of his Kingdom as well as of the Church and the Empire. The King readily complied with the Invitation, and being, upon his Arrival at *Rome*, taken by the Emperor for his Partner in the Empire, he was crowned by the Pope on Chriſtmas-day, with the uſual Solemnity in the Church of St. *Peter* [e].

Young Otho *crowned Emperor.*

Otho *ſends Embaſſadors into the Eaſt.*

From *Rome* the Emperor diſpatched a Second Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople* to demand *Theophania* in Marriage for his Son *Otho*. But *Nicephorus*, inſtead of conſenting to the propoſed Marriage, treated the Embaſſadors, as well as the Pope's Nuncio, who attended them, with the utmoſt Contempt. *Luitprand* Biſhop of *Cremona*, who was at the Head of the Embaſſy, writes, that upon their Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, they were ſhut up in One of the Imperial Palaces; that they were not ſuffered to ſtir from thence, nor were any allowed to come near them; that the Imperial Miniſters gave the Emperor of the Weſt no other Title than that of King; that they expreſſed the greateſt Indignation at the Pope's ſtiling him, in his Letter, Emperor of the *Romans*; and that, with reſpect to the propoſed Marriage, the Emperor declared that he would conſent to it only upon Condition that *Rome* and *Ravenna* were re-united to the Empire, and that the Pope ſhould thenceforth be elected and ordained in the Preſence of his Envoys, agreeably to the Cuſtom that had ever obtained ſince the earlieſt Times. *Nicephorus* however condeſcended to anſwer *Otho*'s Letter, expreſſing a ſincere Deſire of living in Peace and Friendſhip with him, but returned no Anſwer to the Pope [f].

Treatment they met with there from Nicephorus.

Beneventum *made a Metropolis.*

Year of Chriſt 969.

The following Year, in a Council held at *Rome*, at which were preſent both the Emperors, *viz. Otho* and his Son, the Pope, at their Requeſt, and with the Conſent of all the Biſhops, who compoſed that Aſſembly, raiſed the See of *Beneventum* to the Rank of a Metropolis, granted the Pall to *Landulphus*, then Biſhop of the Place, and ſubjected to the new Metropolis the Sees of St. *Agatha*, *Avellino*, *Arriano*, *Aſcoli*, *Bovino*, *Volturara*, *Larino*, *Teleſe*, *Alife*, and *Siponto*. The Decree granting this Dignity and the Privileges attending it to the Biſhop of *Beneventum* and his Succeſſors for ever,

[e] Suppl. Regin. ad ann. 967.

[f] Luitprand, apud Baron. ad ann. 968.

is

is ſubſcribed by the Pope, by both Emperors, and Twenty three Biſhops, and dated the Twenty-ſixth of *May* 969[g]. Year of Chriſt 969.

In the mean time the Emperor *Nicephorus Phocas* being murdered, and *John Tzimiſces* raiſed to the Empire in his room, *Otho* ſent a Third Embaſſy into the Eaſt to propoſe the above-mentioned Marriage to the new Emperor. The Embaſſadors were received at *Conſtantinople* with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem, were entertained with the greateſt Magnificence, and the Match was no ſooner propoſed than agreed to by the Emperor and all the great Men of the Empire. *Otho* was no ſooner acquainted by his Embaſſadors with the Succeſs of their Negotiation, than he diſpatched ſome of the Firſt Men of the Empire to attend the Bride from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*. She was met there by the Two Emperors; and at their Requeſt the Pope firſt performed the Marriage Ceremony, and crowned her, the very next Day, with great Pomp and Solemnity, Empreſs of the Weſt[h]. *Marriage between the Emperor's Son and the Daughter of* Romanu, *who is crowned Empreſs at* Rome. Year of Chriſt 971.

The following Year the Pope died; and his Death is ſuppoſed to have happened on the Fifth or the Sixth of *September*, after he had preſided in the See Six Years, Eleven Months, and Five Days. The Inhabitants of *Poland* being converted to the Chriſtian Faith in this Pope's Time, he ſent ſome Biſhops from *Rome* to keep them ſteady in their new Religion, and with the Conſent and Concurrence of *Mieceſlaus*, their Firſt Chriſtian Duke or King, eſtabliſhed ſeveral Biſhoprics in that populous Country, then known by the Name of *Sclavonia*, as the Inhabitants were by that of *Sclavonians*[i]. By the ſame Pope the City of *Prague* was made an Epiſcopal See, and a Monk of *Saxony*, named *Ditmar*, was choſen the Firſt Biſhop of the Place, and ordained by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. None of the Natives were, it ſeems, acquainted with the *Latin* Language, and the Pope would not allow divine Service to be performed in any other. At the ſame Time *Mlada*, Siſter to *Boleſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, coming to *Rome* to viſit the holy Places there, was, at her Requeſt, allowed by the Pope to found a Monaſtery for Nuns in the City of *Prague*, and appointed the Firſt Abbeſs, the Pope only requiring her to exchange the Name of *Mlada* for that of *Maria*[k]. *John* XIII. is ſaid to have confirmed in a Council at *Rome*, the Privileges, which King *Edgar* *Death of the Pope.* Year of Chriſt 972. Poland *converted in this Pope's Time.* Prague *made an Epiſcopal See.* *He confirmed the Acts of a Council held in* London.

[g] Append. tom. ix. Concil. p. 1238. [h] Chronograph. Hildenſheim. et Sigebert ad ann. 971. [i] Chromer Hiſt. Polon. ad ann. 965. [k] Mabill. See Benedict V. p. 833.

Year of Christ 972.

had granted to the Monastery of *Glassenbury*, in a Council held at *London* in the Thirteenth Year of his Reign, that is 971 [l].

The Ceremony of christening Bells not introduced by him.

The Custom of blessing, or, as is vulgarly called, of christening Bells, is said by *Baronius* [m], to have been first introduced by this Pope, who gave the Name of *John Baptist* to the great Bell of the *Lateran* Church. But that this Custom prevailed long before the Time of *John* XIII. is manifest from the Capitulars of *Charlemagne* in 789, that is, near Two hundred Years before Pope *John*. For in those Capitulars the Christening of Bells is forbidden, *ut clocæ non baptizentur* [n]. This Custom therefore obtained so early as the Year 789, at least in *France* and *Germany*. Cardinal *Bona* observes, that the Name of some Saint is given to a Bell in its Consecration, that the People may think themselves called to Divine Service by the Voice of the Saint, whose Name the Bell bears [o]. *John* XIII. was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*; and there his Epitaph is still to be seen.

John Tzimisces, *Emperor of the* East. **BENEDICT VI.** Otho I. Otho II. *Emperors of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-third Bishop *of* Rome.

Benedict *chosen.*

BENEDICT, the Sixth of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of one *Hildebrand*, was, upon the Death of *John*, preferred to the Pontifical Chair in his room. He was ordained after the Twenty-eighth of *November*; for we have a Letter of his bearing that Date, which is said to have been *written in* 973, *the First Year of his Pontificate*; so that on the Twenty-eighth of *November* 973 he had not completed his First Year, and must, consequently have been ordained after that Day. All we find recorded of this Pope besides his tragical Death, is his having extended the Jurisdiction of the Archiepiscopal See of *Saltzburg* over the whole Province of *Noricum*, and all *Pannonia*, whereas his Predecessor *Agapetus*

Extends the Jurisdiction of the See of Saltzburg.

[l] Malmes. l. ii. de reg. c. 8. de antiq. Eccles. ritib. l. ii. c. 21.
[m] Baron. ad ann. 968.
[n] Martene
[o] Bona rer. Liturg. l. ii. c. 22.

II. had confined the Juriſdiction of that See to *Noricum* and *Lower Pannonia*, and ſubjected *Upper Pannonia* to the See of *Lorch*[a]. Year ſo Chriſt 972.

In the Second Year of *Benedict*'s Pontificate died the Emperor *Otho*, deſervedly ſurnamed *the Great*, and his Son and Succeſſor being diverted by foreign Wars from attending to the Affairs of *Italy*, many of the *Italian* Lords ſhook off the Yoke, and ſetting up for Sovereigns tyrannized uncontrouled over thoſe, who were not in a Condition to oppoſe them. At *Rome* one *Cincius*, having formed a ſtrong Party by exclaiming againſt the Emperor as a Tyrant, by putting the *Romans* in mind of the late Executions, and exhorting them to recover their former Liberty, attacked unexpectedly the *Lateran* Palace, and ſeizing on the Pope, who he knew would oppoſe him, dragged him to Priſon, and after keeping him ſome Time confined in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, cauſed him to be ſtrangled[b]. This is all we know of Pope *Benedict* the Sixth. Otho the Great *dies*. Year of Chriſt 973. *The Pope impriſoned and ſtrangled*. Year of Chriſt 974.

JOHN TZIMISCES, *Emperor of the* East. **DONUS II.** OTHO II. *Emperor of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and thirty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

BENEDICT being put to Death by the Tyrant *Cincius*, *Donus* II. a Native of *Rome*, was by the *Tuſculan* Faction choſen to ſucceed him. *Hermannus Contractus* does not reckon *Donus* among the Popes. But he is by all other Writers placed in their Catalogues immediately after *Benedict* VI. *Platina* writes, and after him *Stella*, that *Donus* was a Man remarkable for his Modeſty and his Integrity, and therefore met with no ill Treatment, but lived unmoleſted, and was buried in the Church of St. *Peter*. Upon the Death of *Benedict* VI. one *Franco*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, was raiſed by the Party of *Cincius* to the See. But the *Tuſcan* Party declaring againſt him, he left *Rome* ſoon after his Intruſion, and carrying with him the Treaſure of St. *Peter* fled to *Conſtantinople*. It was at his Inſtigation, and to make Place for him, that *Cincius* ordered *Benedict* to be murdered. He is ſtiled by *Gerbert*, *of all Monſters* Donus *elected*. *His Character*. *Dies*. Year of Chriſt 975.

[a] Concil. tom. ix. p. 711. [b] Hermannus Contract.

Year of Christ 975. *of Wickedness the most wicked.* Some however have allowed him a Place between *Benedict* VI. and *Donus* II. under the Name of *Boniface* VII.

JOHN TZIMISCES, *Emperor of the* East. **BENEDICT VII.** OTHO II. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Majolus *Abbot of* Cluny *declines the Pontifical Dignity offered by the Emperor.*

THE Emperor no sooner heard of the Death of *Donus*, than wishing to see one placed in the Chair capable of reforming the many Abuses that prevailed in the *Roman* Church, he wrote to *Majolus*, Abbot of *Cluny*, a Man held by all in great Esteem for the Sanctity of his Life, earnestly pressing him in his own Name, and in the Name of the Empress *Adalais*, his Mother, to accept of the Papal Dignity, and repair, without Delay, for that Purpose to *Rome*[a]. But the holy Abbot obstinately refusing to accept what others were striving by the most wicked Means to attain, the Emperor, after tempting him again and again, but in vain, with the same Offer, dispatched his Envoys to *Rome*, to assist according to Custom at the Ordination of the new Pope. The Deputies were ordered to join the *Tuscan* Party; and by that Party was chosen and ordained in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys *Benedict* VII. a *Roman*, the Son of one *David*, and at the Time of his Election Bishop of *Sutri*.

Benedict VII. *chosen.*

Excommunicates Franco.

Benedict was no sooner ordained, than assembling a Council in the *Lateran* Church, he deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized with great Solemnity *Franco*, who had intruded himself into the Chair upon the Death of *Benedict* VI. inhumanly murdered at his Instigation[b].

Holds a Council at Rome.

Year of Christ 981.

Of this Pope we find nothing else recorded in History but that in 977 he restored the See of *Lorch* to its Metropolitan Dignity, and in 981 held a Council at *Rome* against simoniacal Ordinations, at which the Emperor was present in Person[c]. In *Benedict*'s Time died at *Rome*, in the Month of *December* 983, the Emperor *Otho* II.

Dies.

and was buried in the Porch of the *Vatican* Church. The Pope survived him but a few Months; for his Death is said to have happened

[a] Syrus in Vit. Majoli, l. iii. c. 8. [b] Concil. tom. ix. p. 721. [c] Concil. tom. ix. p. 1244.

on

on the Tenth of *July* of the following Year 984, after enjoying the Pontifical Dignity Nine Years and ſome Months. Year of Chriſt 984.

BASILIUS, CONSTANTINE, *Emperors of the* East. **JOHN XIV.** OTHO III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-ſixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the room of *Benedict* was choſen a few Days after his Death *John* XIV. Biſhop of *Pavia*, and Arch-chancellor under the late Emperor *Otho* II. His Name was *Peter*, but he exchanged it, upon his Promotion, for that of *John*, out of Reſpect for the Prince of the Apoſtles. He held the See only Eight Months. For *Franco*, hearing that *Otho* was dead, left *Conſtantinople*, and returning to *Rome*, ſoon after the Election of *John*, was received with great Joy by thoſe of his Party, and even encouraged to reſume the Pontifical Dignity, and drive *John* from the See. This he readily undertook, and his Party prevailing, he ſeized on Pope *John*, confined him in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and there either ſtarved him to Death, or diſpatched him with Poiſon. He cauſed his Body to be expoſed to public View, that his Friends might all know he was dead, and lay aſide all Thoughts of attempting his Reſcue, or re-inſtating him in his See. *Franco* enjoyed but a very ſhort Time the uſurped Dignity, being carried off by a ſudden Death when he had not yet held it a whole Year. He behaved, after his Reſtoration, in ſo tyrannical a Manner to all indiſcriminately, even to thoſe of his own Party, that they ſtabbed his dead Body in an Hundred Places, dragged it ſtark naked through the Kennels to the Place where ſtood the Equeſtrian Statue of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (called in the *Vatican* Manuſcript the Statue of *Conſtantine)* and there left it. But it was from thence conveyed away early the next Day by ſome of the Clergy, and privately buried [a].

John XIV. choſen and driven from the See by Franco.

Franco *dies ſuddenly.* Year of Chriſt 985.

In the room of *Franco*, called in moſt Catalogues *Boniface* VII. though by no Writer acknowledged for lawful Pope, was elected *John*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Robert*. But whe-

John *elected but not reckoned amongſt the Popes.*

[a] Apud Baron. ad ann. 985.

ther

Year of Christ 985.

ther his Election was not canonical, or he died before his Conſecration, he is not reckoned among the Popes, his immediate Succeſſor, called likewiſe *John*, being counted the Fifteenth Pope of that Name. However as *John*, the Son of *Robert*, was elected, he is ſtiled, in the Chronicle of St. *Maxentius*, *Apoſtolicus*, that is Pope, and ſo is *Boniface* VII. For it is there ſaid, that Three *Apoſtolici* died in One Year at *Rome*, in 985, namely, *John* XIV. *Boniface* VII. and *John* the Elect.

Basilius, Conſtantine, *Emperors of the* Eaſt.

JOHN XV.

Otho III. *Emperor of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and thirty-ſeventh Bishop *of* Rome.

John *leaves* Rome *ſoon after his Election.*

TO *John*, the Son of *Robert*, was ſubſtituted *John* XV. by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of a Presbyter named *Leo*. He was choſen, it ſeems, without Oppoſition, and ordained, as appears from ſome of his Letters, in *December* 985 [a]. In the Beginning of his Pontificate, *Creſcentius*, a Man of great Power and Authority in *Rome*, aſpiring, after the Example of the *Tuſcan* Marquiſes, at the Sovereignty of the City, ſeized on the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, which alarmed the Pope, acquainted with his violent and tyrannical Temper, to ſuch a Degree, that leaving *Rome* he withdrew into *Tuſcany*, and from thence wrote to *Otho*, entreating him to haſten to the Relief of the Holy See, and the unhappy City, threatened with Deſtruction by a new Tyrant. *Otho* anſwered the Pope, that as ſoon as his Affairs were ſettled in *Germany*, he would march with his whole Army to *Rome*, and exert the ſame Zeal in Defence of the Apoſtolic See as his Father and Grandfather had done. The Pope took Care to acquaint *Creſcentius* with this Anſwer, who thereupon, remembering the late Executions, diſpatched ſome of the chief Men of his Party to invite his Holineſs back to *Rome*, and aſſure him, that he ſhould be treated with all the Reſpect that was due to the Succeſſor of the Prince of the Apoſtles. The Pope complied with the Invita-

Is recalled by the Tyrant Creſcentius.

[a] Baluz. in Append. Marcæ Hiſpan. p. 234.

tion,

tion, and was thenceforth suffered to live quite unmolested by *Crescentius*, and those of his Party [b]. Year of Christ 986.

In the Year 990 a Quarrel arising between *Ethelred*, King of *England*, and *Richard*, Duke or Marquis of *Normandy*, the Pope sent over into *England Leo*, Chorepiscopus of *Treves*, with the Character of his Legate *a latere*, to mediate a Peace between them. On that Occasion *John* wrote a Letter addressed to all the Faithful, wherein he tells them that he had sent a Legate to the Sea coast at a great Distance with exhortatory Letters; that on Christmas day his Legate had an Audience of the King; that he persuaded him to hearken to Terms of Peace, and send over with him Embassadors to treat with the Duke; and that, on the First of *March* 991, a Peace was happily concluded at *Roan* between the King and the Duke [c]. *Mediates a Peace between* Ethelred *King of* England *and* Richard *Duke of* Normandy. Year of Christ 990.

In the Life of this Pope we meet with the First Instance of a solemn Canonization. For by him was solemnly canonized, or sainted, *Ulderic*, Bishop of *Augusta*, at the Request of *Liutulf*, his Successor in that See. On that Occasion the Pope assembled a Council in the *Lateran* Palace; and when the Bishops were all met, *Liutulf* rising up, begged Leave of the Assembly to read to them the Book, which he held in his Hand, containing, he said, an authentic Account of the Life and Miracles of the venerable *Ulderic*. They readily agreed to his Request; and when he had done, the Pope, after consulting the Bishops, declared with their Approbation, that *Ulderic* might thenceforth be worshipped and invoked as a Saint reigning in Heaven with Christ [d]. They did not, it seems, inquire into the Truth of any Thing contained in that Book, but supposed the Miracles, and whatever else it contained, to be true. *The First Instance of a solemn Canonization.* Year of Christ 993.

The only Thing that occurs worthy of Notice in the Pontificate of *John* XV. is the Quarrel that arose in 990, between him and the *Gallican* Bishops, on the following Occasion. *Adelbert*, Archbishop of *Reims*, dying, the famous *Hugh Capet*, whom the *French* had raised to the Throne in 987 (A), appointed *Arnold*, natural Brother *Quarrel between the Pope and the* Gallican *Bishops.*

[b] Baron. ad ann. 985. [c] Malmes. de Reg. l. ii. c. 10. et Concil. tom. ix.
[d] Mabill. in Pref. ad Sec. v. Benedict, p. 99.

(A) As *Lewis* V. left no Issue behind him, the *French* chose *Hugh Capet*, descended from *Childebrand*, Brother to *Charles Martel*, for his Successor. *Charles*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and Uncle to the deceased King, had an indisputable Right to the Crown; but he was excluded on account of his Attachment to the *German* Party and the Emperor *Otho*. Thus was the Crown transferred from the *Carlovingian*, or the Second Race of the *French* Kings to the Third, who hold it to this Day.

Year of Christ 993.

to *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, with whom *Hugh* was then at War, to ſucceed him, flattering himſelf, that he ſhould thus gain him over to his Party. The Archbiſhop took the uſual Oath of Allegiance to the King; but Six Months after he betrayed the City to the Duke his Brother, as was proved by the Teſtimony of the very Prieſt, who by his Order opened the Gate to the Duke. Of this Treachery the King and the Biſhops of the Province of *Reims* complained to the Pope, informing his Holineſs, at the ſame time, that they deſigned to aſſemble a Council in order to try the Archbiſhop. The Deputies, whom they ſent to *Rome* on that Occaſion, were at firſt well received by the Pope. But *Herbert*, Count of *Vermandois*, having in the mean time eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Arnold*, to whom he was related, the Pope, gained by his Preſents, would not afterwards ſo much as admit the Envoys of the King and the Biſhops to his Preſence. However upon their Return a Council was aſſembled at *Reims*, at which preſided *Seguin*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and were preſent all the Biſhops of the Province of *Reims*, and a great Number of Abbots from different Provinces. They met on the Seventeenth of *June* 991; and *Arnold* being in the Firſt Seſſion convicted of High Treaſon, and of a manifeſt Breach of his Oath, he was in the Second, at which aſſiſted King *Hugh* and his Son *Robert*, ſolemnly depoſed, and *Gerbert*, formerly Preceptor to Prince *Robert*, was, at the Deſire of the King, appointed Archbiſhop of *Reims* in his room.

Council of Reims *againſt* Arnold.

Arnold was not depoſed by the Council, nor was his Succeſſor named, till he owned himſelf guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, and acknowledging himſelf unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity, delivered the Ring and his Croſier to the King, and publicly conſented to the Election of another Biſhop to that See. However ſome Abbots, undertaking his Defence, pretended, upon the Authority of forged Decretals, that his Renunciation was null, and that, notwithſtanding his pleading guilty, no other could be placed on that See, till his Cauſe was re-examined at *Rome*, and his Reſignation received by the Pope. But they were ſilenced by *Arnold*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, who, on that Occaſion, made a long Speech, ſhewing that all Honour was due to the See of *Rome*, as having been founded by St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles; that due Obedience ought to be paid to its Decrees, ſo long as they are conſiſtent with the Decrees of *Nice* and of other General Councils; that if the Pope acted agreeably

Speech of the Biſhop of Orleans.

agreeably to thoſe Decrees, he would not diſapprove nor reverſe the Judgment given by a provincial Synod, or a national Council; that if he diſapproved or reverſed it, greater Regard ſhould be had to the antient Laws and Canons of the Church Univerſal, than to any new Decrees that the Popes might be prompted to iſſue by Motives of Intereſt, Pride, or Revenge. From thence he took Occaſion to lament the deplorable Condition to which the *Roman* Church was reduced, being no longer governed by the *Leos*, the *Innocents*, the *Gregories*, &c. but by the moſt worthleſs Wretches of the whole human Race, by Monſters rather than Men, abandoned to all Manner of Wickedneſs, and void of all Knowledge both ſacred and profane. "And are we, he added, to conſult them "and acquieſce in their Judgment, when we have in *Belgium* and "*Germany*, Provinces ſo near us, ſo many Biſhops, no leſs eminent "for their Learning than for their Religion and exemplary Lives? "At *Rome* every thing is venal; and he will always have Juſtice on "his Side, who has moſt Gold to give to his Judges." The Biſhop of *Orleans* proves, in the remaining Part of his Speech, that the Biſhops of each Province are empowered, by the Councils, to try, condemn, and depoſe, ſuch of their Fellow Biſhops as are arraigned and convicted of Crimes, for which they deſerve to be depoſed; that they are directed by no Canons or Laws of the Church to conſult in ſuch Caſes the Pope, but are only required to acquaint him with the Judgment they have given, and, if he does not approve of it, to re-examine the Cauſe on the Spot.

Year of Chriſt 993.

The Pope ſuſpends the Biſhops of the Council.

The Pope was no ſooner informed of the Depoſition of *Arnold*, and the Ordination of *Gerbert*, than he declared the one and the other null, nay, and ſuſpended all the Biſhops, and among the reſt *Gerbert* himſelf, who had aſſiſted at that Council. But *Gerbert*, little imagining then that he ſhould ever be raiſed, as he afterwards was, to the Pontifical Dignity, not only made no Account of the Sentence pronounced by the Pope, continuing to perform all Epiſcopal Functions as if no ſuch Sentence ever had paſſed, but perſuaded the other Biſhops to pay as little Regard to it as he did himſelf. As *Seguin*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, who had preſided at the Council, betrayed ſome Fear of the Papal Thunder, *Gerbert* wrote to him, that he had nothing to fear; that the Judgment of the Pope was not ſo much to be dreaded as the Judgment of God; that ſhould the Pope ſin againſt his Brother, and not obey the Church,

Gerbert's *Letter on this Occaſion.*

Year of Christ 993.

after repeated Admonitions, he ought to be looked upon, without any Regard to his Station, as a Heathen and Publican; that he can cut no Man off, much less his Fellow Bishops, from the Communion of the Church, for not approving what they believe to be contrary to the Gospel; that a Sentence manifestly unjust, ought not to be look'd upon, according to the great Pontiff St. *Leo*, as coming from the See of St. *Peter*; that Bishops and the other Pastors of the Church, are to regulate their Conduct by the Scriptures, by the Canons of the Church Universal, and by the Decrees of the Apostolic See, when agreeable to them; that they, who transgress those Laws, are to be tried by them, and by them alone absolved or condemned, but that such as observe them have nothing to fear, and may live, happen what will, quite undisturbed. He closed his Letter with exhorting *Seguin* to take the Laws of the Church, and not the Will of one Man misinformed or misled by Passion or Prejudice, for the Rule of his Conduct.

Another Letter of Gerbert *on the same Occasion.*

Gerbert wrote another Letter on the same Subject to *Vilderod* Bishop of *Strasburg*, wherein, after giving him an Account of the Proceedings of the Council against *Arnold*, he maintains the Justice of the Sentence pronounced by the Bishops who composed it, as entirely agreeable to the Decrees of the General Councils, and the Practice of the Church in all Ages; confutes what had been urged by some Abbots in the Council, *viz.* that a Bishop could be judged and deposed by none but the Pope, and shews, that as the Crimes, which *Arnold* was arraigned of, deserved the Punishment that the Council had inflicted upon him, and were fully proved, the Pope could not reverse the Judgment they had given, nor suspend them for giving it.

The King writes to the Pope;

At the same Time King *Hugh* wrote to the Pope, giving him a succinct Account of the Proceedings of the Council of *Reims*, begging him to confirm them, as no-ways derogatory to the Authority of the Apostolic See, and inviting him to meet the *Gallican* Bishops at *Grenoble*, on the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, where the Affair should be examined anew, in the Presence of his Holiness. In Answer to this Letter the Pope pretended that he could not leave *Rome*, as the Tyrant *Crescentius* would probably lay hold of that Opportunity to usurp the Sovereignty of the City. He therefore proposed the assembling of a Council either at *Rome* or at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. But that Proposal being rejected by the *Gallican* Bishops, the Pope dis-

patched into *France Leo*, Abbot of St. *Boniface* in *Rome*, with the Character of his Legate, to aſſemble a Council at *Mouſon* in the Dioceſe of *Reims*, ordering him to inſiſt on the Expulſion of *Gerbert*, and Reſtoration of *Arnold*, as the one had been depoſed, and the other ordained, without the Knowledge or the Conſent of the Apoſtolic See.

Year of Chriſt 994. *who ſends a Legate into* France.

The Council met accordingly at the Place appointed on the Second of *June* 995; and the Legate having preſented to the Biſhops a Letter from the Pope, declaring the Depoſition of *Arnold* uncanonical, and repreſenting *Gerbert* as an Uſurper of his See, that Prelate ſhewed, in a Speech which he made, and afterwards delivered to the Legate in Writing, that *Arnold* had been judged and condemned according to the Canons; that being convicted of many enormous Crimes, he had owned himſelf unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity and reſigned it; that as for himſelf, he had never courted that nor any other Dignity; that he had been named to it by the King, without any Application from him, and freely choſen by the Biſhops of the Province; that he had long declined the offered Dignity, but was, in the End, forced to yield to the preſſing Inſtances of the King, of the Biſhops of the Province, and the People and Clergy of *Reims*; and conſequently that he did not deſerve to be treated as an Uſurper of or Intruder into that See. He added, that as to the Pope, his Holineſs had no juſt Cauſe to complain, ſince they had informed him of the whole Affair before they took any Step in it; but as he returned no Anſwer to their Deputies, after they had waited Eighteen Months for Directions, they thought it their Duty to proceed, according to the known Laws of the Church, againſt one, whoſe ſcandalous Conduct reflected Diſgrace on the Epiſcopal Order.

The Council of Mouſon. Year of Chriſt 995. Gerbert's *Speech in the Council.*

This Speech *Gerbert* delivered to the Legate in Writing, who promiſed to tranſmit it to his Holineſs, but at the ſame time ordered him to forbear all eccleſiaſtical Functions till the Meeting of another Council; and he appointed another to meet on the Firſt of *July* at *Reims*, there being preſent at this only Four Biſhops, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and the Biſhops of *Liege*, of *Verdun*, and *Munſter*. When the Legate commanded *Gerbert* to abſtain from the Functions of his Office till the Meeting of the new Council, he told him in plain Terms, that he would not comply with that Injunction, no Biſhop, no Patriarch, nor even the Pope himſelf,

Delivers it to the Legate.

Year of Chriſt 995.

himſelf, being impowered by the Canons to ſuſpend a Biſhop, unleſs he was convicted of the Crime laid to his Charge, or confeſſed it, or refuſed to appear at a Synod, when canonically ſummoned; that he was not guilty, nor even arraigned, of any thing of that Nature, and would not therefore condemn himſelf. However, at the friendly Interpoſition of *Luitolf*, Archbiſhop of *Treves*, he conſented to abſtain from celebrating Maſs till the Meeting of the Council [e].

Gerbert *depoſed, and* Arnold *reſtored.*

The Acts of that Council have not reached our Times. But from Hiſtory it appears, that *Leo*, the Pope's Legate, having gained, as he was a Man of great Addreſs, many of the *Gallican* Biſhops over to his Party, *Gerbert* was depoſed by that Aſſembly, and *Arnold* ordered to be reinſtated in his See. But notwithſtanding this Sentence, *Arnold* was kept by the King cloſely confined, as guilty of High Treaſon, till Three Years after, when, upon the Death of King *Hugh*, he was, at the Requeſt of Pope *Gregory* V. the immediate Succeſſor of the preſent Pope, releaſed by King *Robert*, the Son of *Hugh*, and ſuffered to return to his See [f]. As for *Gerbert*, he readily ſubmitted to the Sentence of the Council, however unjuſt, ſaying the Biſhops are welcome to take from me what they have given me; which was tacitly declaring, that he yielded to the Biſhops, and not to the Pope. He withdrew from *France* to the Court of *Otho* III. whoſe Preceptor he had been, and was by him firſt preferred to the See of *Ravenna*, and, upon the Death of *Gregory* V. to that of *Rome*, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Death of John XV. Year of Chriſt 996.

The Council of *Reims* was held in 995, and Pope *John* XV. died the following Year, the Eleventh of his Pontificate. He is commended by the Writers of later Times for his Piety, his Learning, and even for his Skill in the military Art, though we do not find, that he ever had the leaſt Opportunity of ſhewing or exerting that Skill, and it can be no great Commendation in a Biſhop to be a good General. He is ſaid to have writ ſeveral Books, but none of his Works have reached our Times. I ſhall leave *Baronius* to reconcile with this Pope's Sanctity, what was ſaid by *Arnold* Biſhop of *Orleans*, in the Council of *Reims*, *viz.* that in his Time every-thing was venal at *Rome*.

[e] Concil. tom. ix. p. 743, 747.

[f] Aimoin. in Vit. Sancti Abbon.

GREGORY

Year of Christ 996.

BASILIUS, CONSTANTINE, *Emperors of the* East. **GREGORY V.** OTHO III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Gregory V. *choſen.*

AS *Otho* III. was encamped with his Army at *Ravenna* when the Pope died, the Clergy, the Senate, and the People of *Rome*, immediately diſpatched Meſſengers to acquaint him with the Death of the Pope, to expreſs their Deſire of being honoured with his Preſence in their City, and beg his Directions with Reſpect to the future Election. Among the Clergy of *Otho*'s Chapel was his Nephew *Bruno*, then only Twenty-four Years of Age, but of a ſweet Diſpoſition, of an exemplary Life, well verſed in moſt Branches of Learning, and by all no leſs eſteemed for his eminent Virtues than his high Birth. This Youth *Otho* recommended to the Clergy and People of *Rome*, and he was, it ſeems, elected while he was ſtill at *Ravenna*. For we are told by the Author of the Life of St. *Adalbert*, Biſhop of *Prague*, who flouriſhed at this very Time, that *Bruno* was elected, and attended to *Rome* by *Willigiſus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and another Biſhop; that he was received there with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and conſecrated Pope to the great Satisfaction of the People and Clergy [a]. As to the Time of his Ordination, all we know for certain is, that he was ordained before the Twenty-eighth of *April* 996. This we learn from a Charter he granted to the Monaſtery of St. *Ambroſe*, dated the Twenty-eighth of *April* 998, in the Second Year of his Pontificate [b]. If he was on the Twenty-eighth of *April* 998 ſtill in his Second Year, he muſt have begun his Firſt before that Day. At his Ordination he choſe to be called *Gregory*, and he is the Fifth of that Name.

He crowns Otho *Emperor.*

Otho, who had been hitherto only ſtiled King of *Germany*, went ſoon after the Ordination of his Nephew to *Rome*, and was by him ſolemnly crowned Emperor on Whitſunday, which in 996 fell on the Thirty-firſt of *May* [c].

The Electoral College not inſtituted by Gregory.

The ſame Year *Gregory* held a Council at *Rome*, conſiſting chiefly of *Italian* Biſhops; and in this Council the Electoral College is ſaid

[a] In Vit. Adalbert apud Mabill. See Benedict. V. 555. [b] Concil. tom. ix. p. [c] Chronograph. Hildenſheim. ad hunc ann.

to

Year of Christ 996.

to have been inſtituted by the Pope and the Emperor, who was preſent at it in Perſon. But the Writers, who firſt aſcribed that Inſtitution to *Gregory* V. all lived Three hundred Years after his Time; and the more ancient and contemporary Hiſtorians are all to a Man ſilent about it. Beſides, the Presbyter *Nippo*, in the Account he gives us of the Election of the Emperor *Conrad*, ſurnamed the *Salic*, that happened Twenty-ſix Years after the Death of *Gregory* V. tells us, as an Eye-witneſs, that *Conrad* was elected Emperor by the Archbiſhops, who voted the firſt, and by the Grandees of *Italy* as well as of *Germany*, the Emperor, whoever he was, being at that Time King of *Lombardy*. In the ſame Manner *Lotharius*, Duke of *Saxony*, was choſen Emperor in 1125 upon the Death of *Henry* V. who died without Iſſue, as we read in *Orderic*, who flouriſhed about that Time [d]. From theſe Teſtimonies of contemporary Writers, and many more might be produced, it is evident, that the Number of Electors was not, till long after this Pope's Time, confined to Seven.

Gregory *driven from* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 997.

Upon the breaking up of this Council, with Reſpect to which we are left quite in the Dark, the Emperor, taking Leave of the Pope, returned with his Army to *Germany*, having firſt made the *Romans* ſwear Allegiance to him, and Obedience to the Pope. But he was no ſooner gone, than the Tyrant *Creſcentius*, having formed a ſtrong Party under Colour of redeeming the City from the Bondage it groaned under, and reſtoring the *Romans* to the Liberty they enjoyed under their own Princes, drove *Gregory* from his See, plundered the *Lateran* Palace, and began, as Conſul and Prince of the Republic, Titles his Followers beſtowed on him, to act as Sovereign of *Rome*.

John XVI. *Antipope.*

Gregory being fled, the Tyrant declared the See vacant, and raiſed to it one *Philagathes*, who took the Name of *John*. He was a Native of *Calabria*, of a very mean Extraction, but a Man of great Parts and Addreſs. As *Calabria* was then ſubject to the *Greek* Empire, and he ſpoke that Language, he ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of the *Greek* Empreſs *Theophania*, the Wife of *Otho* II. and was by her recommended to the Emperor, who employed him in ſeveral Affairs of great Moment, as did likewiſe his Son the preſent Emperor *Otho* III. Upon the Death of the Biſhop of *Placentia* he ſeized on that See, and held it till, hearing that *Gregory* was

[d] Orderic Vitalis, l. ii. p. 882.

driven

driven from *Rome*, he purchaſed that See with the Plunder of the Church of *Placentia* [e]. Year of Chriſt 997.

From *Rome Gregory* withdrew to *Pavia*, and in a Council held there excommunicated *Creſcentius*, as well as the Uſurper of his See, and with them all their Accomplices. The Sentence pronounced by the Pope againſt *John* was confirmed by all the Biſhops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, in the Councils they aſſembled for that Purpoſe. In the mean time the Emperor, hearing of the Revolt of the *Romans*, of the Expulſion of the Pope, and Tyranny exerciſed in *Rome* by *Creſcentius*, ſet out at the Head of a ſmall, but choſen Body of Troops, for *Italy*, and finding the Pope at *Pavia*, purſued his March with him to *Rome*. *John* betook himſelf to Flight at their Approach; but falling into the Hands of ſome of the Pope's Friends, they deprived him of his Sight, cut off his Noſe, and tore out his Tongue. This they are by ſome ſaid to have done without the Emperor's Knowledge, apprehending that he might forgive him, as he had been formerly one of his chief Favourites [f]. But others write, that this Puniſhment was inflicted upon him by the Command of the Emperor [g]. As for *Creſcentius*, he retired into the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, not having a ſufficient Number of Men to defend the Walls of the City. But the Emperor ordered a general Aſſault, and having taken the Place by Storm, though till that Time thought impregnable, he ordered the Tyrant's Head to be cut off, and his Body to be hung upon a Gibbet before one of the Gates of the City, with the Bodies of Twelve of his Accomplices [h]. The famous Abbot St. *Nilus* is ſaid by the Author of his Life to have exerted his utmoſt Endeavours in Favour of *John*, begging both of the Pope and the Emperor that his Life might be ſpared, and he ſent back to his Monaſtery (for he was originally a Monk) to do Penance there for his Sins. That Writer adds, that, notwithſtanding the Interpoſition, the Prayers and Entreaties of ſo holy a Man, the Pope ordered the unhappy Wretch, blind and deformed as he was, to be led through the Streets of *Rome* in a tattered Sacerdotal Habit, mounted upon an Aſs with his Face to the Tail, which he held in his Hand. But of this no Notice is taken by the more ancient Writers; and beſides, *Gregory* is commended by the contemporary Writers for the Sweetneſs of his Temper, and is even ſaid to have diverted the Emperor,

Excommunicated by Gregory.

Gregory *reſtored*. Year of Chriſt 998.

Creſcentius *and his Accomplices puniſhed.*

[e] Chron. Magdeburg. ad ann. 997. [f] Ibid. ad ann. 998. [g] Chronograph. Hildenſheim. ad ann. 998. [h] Idem ibid.

when

Year of Chriſt 998.

when he firſt came to *Rome*, from baniſhing *Creſcentius* for the Diſturbances which he had raiſed, under the other Popes, in that City. The Executions ſpoken of above ſtruck ſuch Terror into the People, that they thenceforth carefully avoided giving *Gregory* the leaſt Cauſe of Complaint.

Council of Rome.

The Pope being thus reſtored to his See, and having nothing to fear from the *Romans*, convened a Council in *Rome*, at which aſſiſted Twenty-eight Biſhops and the Emperor in Perſon, with a great Number of Presbyters, Abbots, and Deacons. This Council was chiefly aſſembled on the following Occaſion. *Robert*, King of *France*, had married *Berta*, the Widow of *Odo*, Count of *Champagne*, and Daughter of *Conrad*, King of *Burgundy*. But as *Robert* had been Godfather to One of her Children, and Godfathers were forbidden by the Council of *Trullo*, not only to marry the Infant, but the Mother of the Infant, for whom they had anſwered [i], the Pope aſſembled a Council to declare the King's Marriage inceſtuous and null. And ſuch it was accordingly declared by the Pope and all the Biſhops who were preſent, and the King was ordered, in the

King Robert *excommunicated and his Queen.*

Firſt Canon, to diſmiſs *Berta*, whom he had married contrary to the Laws of the Church, and to atone by a Seven Years Penance for that Tranſgreſſion, on Pain of being cut off from the Communion of the Faithful. The ſame Sentence was pronounced againſt *Berta*, if ſhe did not ſeparate from the King. By the Second Canon, all the Biſhops, who had aſſiſted at that Marriage, and *Erchembaldus* in particular, Archbiſhop of *Tours*, who had given the nuptial Benediction, were ſuſpended from their Epiſcopal Functions and the Communion, till they went to *Rome*, and, acknowledging their Fault, obtained Forgiveneſs of the Apoſtolic See. No Regard was at firſt paid, either by the King or by *Berta*, to the Sentence of the Pope and his Council: but it made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Minds of his Subjects, that he was forſaken, if *Petrus Damianus* is to be credited, by all his Domeſtics except Two, who ſupplied him with the Neceſſaries of Life, and neither would they have any other Intercourſe with him, nor would they ſo much as touch the Veſſels he had uſed, till they had purified them in the Fire [k] (A). Be that as it

[i] Juſtin. Cod. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 16.

[k] Petrus Damian. ep. 5.

(A) But this is probably of a Piece with what we read in the ſame Author, *viz.* that *Berta* was delivered of a Monſter, having the Neck and the Head of a Gooſe.

will,

will, the King lived Three Years longer with *Berta*, and then, dismiſſing her, married *Conſtantia*, ſurnamed *Candida*, the Daughter of *William* Count of *Provence*. He is ſaid to have been perſuaded by *Abbo*, Abbot of *Fleury*, to part with *Berta* and marry another in her room. *Ivo* of *Chartres* writes, that the Biſhops went all to *Rome* with the King and with *Berta* to be abſolved by the Pope [1]. But the Writer of *Abbo*'s Life, taking no Notice of the King's Journey to *Rome*, only ſays, that he confeſſed his Fault, that he publicly begged Pardon for the Scandal that he had given, and performed the Penance, that was enjoined him. Year of Chriſt 998.

Other Canons of this Council.

Giſilerius, Biſhop of *Mersburg*, held at this Time the Archbiſhopric of *Magdeburg*, and being therefore charged with holding Two Pariſhes, that is Two Biſhopries, it was ordained by the Third Canon of the preſent Council, that the Church of *Mersburg* erected, by the Apoſtolic See, and the Emperor *Otho* I. into an Epiſcopal See, but diveſted of that Dignity by *Otho* II. ſhould be reſtored to its former Rank: and by the Fourth Canon it was decreed, that if *Giſilerius* could make it appear, that his tranſlating himſelf from the See of *Mersburg* to that of *Magdeburg* was not owing to Ambition, but that he had been invited by the People, he ſhould be continued in that See; but if he could not make that appear he ſhould return to *Mersburg*. It was added in that Canon, that if it could be proved, that he had been induced by Motives of Ambition or Avarice to exchange the one Church for the other, he ſhould keep neither. The Fifth Canon related to the Church of *Puy* in *Velay*. *Guy*, Biſhop of that City, had, on his Death-bed, appointed *Stephen* his Nephew to ſucceed him, without conſulting either the Clergy or People. *Stephen* was accordingly ordained by the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and the Biſhop of *Nevers*. But this Ordination was declared null by the Council, *Stephen* was depoſed, and Two Biſhops, who had ordained him, were ſuſpended, till they ſatisfied the Holy See. By the ſame Canon the Clergy and People of *Velay* were empowered to chuſe their Biſhop, who was to be ordained by the Pope, and King *Robert* was exhorted not to ſupport *Stephen*, but, on the contrary, to favour the Election of the Clergy and People. This Judgment was complied with in *France*, and in the room of

[1] Ivo, Part. ix. c. 8.

Year of Christ 998. *Stephen*, *Theodard* was elected by the Clergy and People, and ordained by *Silvester* II. the Succeſſor of *Gregory* [m].

Gregory *dies*. Year of Christ 999. *Gregory* did not long ſurvive the holding of this Council, for he died, as appears from his Epitaph, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the Church of St. *Peter*, on the Eighteenth of *February* 999. In the ſame Epitaph he is commended for his high Birth, for his Knowlege of Three Languages, the *French*, or the *Teutonic*, the *Latin*, and the Language, or barbarous *Latin*, that was then ſpoken in *Italy*, and for his Generoſity to the Poor.

Basilius, Constantine, *Emperors of the* East. **SILVESTER II.** Otho III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and thirty-ninth Bishop *of* Rome.

Silveſter II. *choſen*. GREGORY was ſucceeded by *Gerbert* unanimouſly choſen by the Clergy and People of *Rome* upon the Recommendation of the Emperor, who had preferred him the Year before to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Ravenna*. He was a Native of *Auvergne*, come of an obſcure Family, but endowed with moſt extraordinary Parts, and had ſhown from his tender Years great Thirſt after Knowlege. He was highly eſteemed by the Emperor *Otho* II. who choſe him for Preceptor to his Son *Otho* III. and gave him the Abbey of *Bobio* in *Italy*. Upon the Death of the Emperor he returned to *France*, and ſettled at *Reims* with Archbiſhop *Adalberon*. He pretended to have been named by that Prelate, on his Death-bed, for his Succeſſor in that See. But the King, *Hugh Capet*, nevertheleſs preferred to it *Arnold*, the natural Son of *Lotharius* King of *France*, and Brother to *Charles*, Duke of *Lorraine*. When *Arnold* was convicted of having betrayed that City to the Duke, and thereupon depoſed by the Council of *Reims*, he was, with the Approbation of the King, choſen by the People of *Reims* and the Biſhops of that Province to ſucceed him. But being afterwards depoſed in his Turn by *Leo*, the Legate of *John* XV. the Emperor *Otho* III. got him firſt choſen Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and afterwards raiſed to the Apoſtolic See.

[m] Concil. tom. ix. p. 772, et ſeq.

He

He was ordained in the Preſence of the Imperial Envoys, on Palm-Sunday, which in 999 fell on the Second of *April*; and on that Occaſion he took the Name of *Silveſter* II. Year of Chriſt 999.

He was no ſooner ordained, than, forgetting the Quarrel between him and *Arnold*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*, he confirmed that Prelate in his See, empowered him to perform all the Functions of his Office, to wear the Pall, to conſecrate the Kings, to ordain his Suffragans, and exerciſe the ſame Juriſdiction over them, as had ever been exerciſed by any of his Predeceſſors. As he could not juſtify him without condemning himſelf, he told him in the Letter, which he wrote to him on that Occaſion, that though his Conſcience condemned him, he abſolved him by the Authority, with which he was veſted as the Succeſſor of the Prince of the Apoſtles[a]. *His Generoſity to* Arnold *of* Reims.

The Pope is ſaid to have ſent the following Year to St. *Stephen* I. King of *Hungary*, the famous Crown, with which his Succeſſors are crowned to this Day, and to have beſtowed upon him, at the ſame Time, the Title of King, and appointed him his perpetual Legate, with full Power to diſpoſe of all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments at his Pleaſure, and to have, as Legate of the Apoſtolic See, the Croſs carried before him, as a Reward juſtly due to his Apoſtolic Labours in converting his Subjects to the Chriſtian Faith. *I am called the Apoſtolic*, ſaid the Pope to the King's Ambaſſadors demanding a Royal Crown for their Maſter, *but he may well be called the Apoſtle of Chriſt, who has gained to him ſo numerous a People; and we therefore leave the Churches to be diſpoſed of by him, as our Vicar*[b]. *St.* Stephen *King of* Hungary *perpetual Legate.* Year of Chriſt 1000.

In the Year 1001 the Pope ſent *Frederic*, Cardinal of the *Roman* Church into *Germany*, to determine a Difference between *Bernouard*, Biſhop of *Hildeſheim*, and his Metropolitan *Willegiſus*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. The Archbiſhop had given the Veil to a Nun in a Monaſtery under the immediate Juriſdiction of the See of *Hildeſheim*, and beſides conſecrated the Church of the ſaid Monaſtery without the Permiſſion of the Biſhop. *Bernouard*, provoked at the arbitrary Proceedings of his Metropolitan, and determined to maintain the juſt Rights of his See, went in Perſon to *Rome* to complain to the Pope. *Silveſter*, who had been formerly acquainted with him, received him with the greateſt Marks of Eſteem, the rather, as he was warmly recommended to him by the Emperor, but he *The Biſhop of* Hildeſheim *complains to the Pope of his Metropolitan.* Year of Chriſt 1001.

[a] Concil. l. ix. p. 778. [b] Apud Surium. in Vit. S. Steph. ad Diem 20 Aug.

Year of Christ 1001.

would give no Sentence till he had heard both Sides, and the Affair was inquired into on the Spot. He therefore sent the above-mentioned Cardinal into *Germany* with Orders to assemble a Council, to hearken to the Advice of the Bishops, who composed it, and to determine the Dispute together with them. The Council met by the Appointment of the Legate at *Polden* on the Twenty-second of *July*. But the Archbishop, finding his Conduct was censured by almost all the Bishops who were present, privately withdrew; and he was thereupon, with the Approbation of the Council, suspended by the Legate from all Episcopal Functions, till he gave the Bishop of *Hildesheim* such Satisfaction as his Fellow-Bishops should judge proper; and he was strictly enjoined to abstain for the future from anyways encroaching on the Jurisdiction and Rights of his Suffragans as established by the known Laws of the Church. The Acts of this Council were brought to *Rome* by the Cardinal Legate, and confirmed by the Pope in a Council held in the *Lateran* Palace, at which were present Thirty Bishops, and the Emperor in Person.

Council in Germany *disapproves the Conduct of the Metropolitan.*

Silvester *dies.* Year of Christ 1003.

Of this Pope, though highly commended by most of the Writers who lived the nearest to this Time, for the Sanctity of his Life as well as the Prudence, with which he administered his short Pontificate, we find nothing else recorded besides his giving the Pall at *Rome* to St. *Herebert*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, and his confirming to *Leothoric*, Archbishop of *Sens*, the Primacy of all *Gaul*, formerly granted by *John* VIII. to *Ansegisus*, his Predecessor in that See. *Silvester* died on the Twelfth of *May* 1003, having governed the Church Four Years One Month and Nine Days. The Day of his Death is marked on his Epitaph, which was composed by Pope *Sergius* IV. who succeeded him in 1009, and is still to be seen in the *Lateran* Church.

Charged with the Study of Magic.

Cardinal *Benno*, who lived in the Time of *Gregory* VII. writes, that *Silvester* was a famous Magician, that he learnt the black Art in a Book, which he stole at *Seville*; that he did Homage to the Devil; that he sold his Soul to him for the Popedom; that he had a brazen Head in his Closet, which answered all the Questions he asked, and that having consulted the Devil about the Length of his Life, he was assured he should not die till he had said Mass in *Jerusalem*; that he thereupon promised himself a very long Life, but happening in the Fifth Year of his Pontificate to say Mass in the Church called *The Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, he was taken suddenly ill, and concluding

cluding from a ſtrange Noiſe of Devils that his End was at hand, he made a full Confeſſion of his Sins to the Cardinals, and deſired, that his Body might be put into a Chariot drawn by Two Horſes, and buried where they ſhould ſtop; that his Requeſt being complied with, the Horſes ſtopt at the *Lateran* Church, and that he was buried there by the Cardinals. To theſe Tales other Writers have added, that for a long Time after his Bones were heard to rattle, and his Sepulchre uſed to ſwear great Drops, when a Pope was to die. Theſe Fables, however abſurd and ridiculous, have been adopted by *Sigebert*, who indeed ſpeaks doubtfully of them, and likewiſe by *Martinus Polonus*, *Vincent* of *Beavais*, *Galfrid*, *Malmsbury*, and ſeveral others, who flouriſhed many Years after his Time. But he is highly commended for his Piety and eminent Virtues by all the contemporary Writers, who ſpeak of him, namely by his Succeſſor *Sergius* IV. in his Epitaph, by *Ditmar* Biſhop of *Mersburg* [c], by *Helgald*, Monk of *Fleuri* [d], and by ſeveral others, who lived in his Time, or very ſoon after it. His Riſe from the loweſt Station in Life to the higheſt Dignity in the Church, the high Favour he was in with the Emperor and other Princes and Kings of his Time, and his extraordinary Knowlege in every Branch of Literature, eſpecially in Mathematics and Aſtronomy, probably made him be looked upon in ſo ignorant an Age as a Magician; and what was ſaid by the ignorant Multitude was gravely related by Cardinal *Benno* as Matter of Fact, the Cardinal being a moſt violent Partizan of the Emperor *Henry*, with whom *Gregory* VII. was then at War.

Year of Chriſt 1003.

Silveſter travelled very early into *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, in Queſt of Knowlege, ſpent large Sums, as ſoon he had it in his Power, in the Purchaſe of Books, and ſpared no Expence to get thoſe tranſcribed, which he could not purchaſe. He wrote himſelf ſeveral learned Treatiſes of Rhetoric, Arithmetic, and Geometry. He made a Set of Globes, and a Clock while he was with the Emperor at *Magdeburg*, and afterwards an Aſtrolabe, of which he wrote a Treatiſe by Way of Dialogue between him and *Leo*, the Pope's Legate. Upon his being preferred to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Ravenna* he wrote a very learned Charge to his Suffragans, which has been publiſhed by *Mabillon* under the following Title, *A Sermon or Speech of the Philoſopher* Gerbert, *Pope of the City of* Rome,

His Writings.

[c] Ditmar. l. vi. [d] Helgald, in Vit. Robert. Regis.

ſurnamed

Year of Christ 1003.

ſurnamed Silveſter, *for the Inſtruction of Biſhops* [e]. In that Piece he highly complains of the Simony that prevailed in his Time. To *Silveſter* is aſcribed by *Baronius* and others the Life of St. *Adalbert*, Biſhop of *Prague* and Martyr. But the learned *Mabillon* has plainly proved it to be the Work of an anonymous Monk [f]. This Pope wrote a great Number of Letters upon different Subjects, whereof One hundred and Sixty were printed at *Paris* in 1611. But the compleateſt Collection of theſe Letters is to be met with in *Ducheſne* [g]; and they afford us great Light with Reſpect to the Affairs of thoſe Times both Eccleſiaſtic and Civil. His Thirty-eighth Letter contains the Firſt Exhortation to the *Croiſade*. For he there introduces the City of *Jeruſalem* addreſſing and exhorting the Church Univerſal to reſcue the holy Places, where our Lord was born, where he lived and ſuffered, out of the Hands of the Infidels. He was frequently conſulted, before his Promotion to the Apoſtolic See, by the Emperor *Otho* III. and we have One of that Prince's Letters to him with the following Direction, *To* Gerbert *a moſt learned Philoſopher, and eminent in the Three Branches of Philoſophy.* The Verſe he wrote on his Promotion from *Reims* to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, does him no great Honour (A).

Basilius, Constantine, *Emperors of the* East. **JOHN XVII.** Henry II. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and fortieth Bishop *of* Rome.

John XVII. *choſen.*

IN the room of *Silveſter* was choſen, after a Vacancy of Thirty-three Days, *John* XVII. ſurnamed *Sicco*, a Native of *Rome*, of a mean Deſcent according to ſome, of a very illuſtrious and ancient Family according to others. As the Emperor *Otho* III. died the Year before, and *Henry* of *Bavaria* was not yet crowned Emperor, the Clergy and People were left to chuſe whom they pleaſed, and to their Diſagreement was, probably, owing the Length of the Va-

(A) Scandit ab R, *Gerbertus* in R, poſt Papa viget R.

[e] Mabill. Analect. tom. 2. [f] Mabill. Sec. Benedict. V. [g] Duchef. Scriptor. ver. Franc.

cancy. We know nothing at all of the Character or Actions of this Pope. Indeed his Pontificate was ſo ſhort, that he ſcarce had Time to perform any Thing worthy of Notice. For he was ordained on the Thirteenth of *June* 1003, and died on the Seventh of *December* of the ſame Year, having held the See Five Months and Twenty five Days. He was buried, as *Joannes Diaconus the Younger* informs us, in the *Lateran* Church, and his Tomb was ſtill to be ſeen there in his Time [h]. Year of Chriſt 1003.

BASILIUS, CONSTANTINE, *Emperors of the* East. **JOHN XVIII.** HENRY II. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and forty-firſt BISHOP *of* Rome.

JOHN XVII. was ſucceeded by *John* XVIII. by Birth a *Roman*, and called, before his Election, *Faſanus*. He was ordained on the Twenty-ſixth of *December*, which in the Year 1003 fell on a Sunday. John XVIII. *choſen.*

The Firſt Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his ſending a Legate into *Germany* to aſſiſt at the Conſecration of *Tagmo*, who had been elected Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* in the room of *Giſilerus* deceaſed. That See was founded by *Otho* I. and by a particular Privilege granted at his Requeſt, the new Archbiſhop was to be ordained by none but the Pope. As *Tagmo* therefore was not, at the Time of his Election, in a Condition to undertake a Journey to *Rome*, nor did the Pope think it adviſeable to leave the City in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, he appointed a Legate to aſſiſt at the Ordination in his Name; and the Ceremony was performed by *Willegiſus*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the other Biſhops of the Province, in the Preſence of the Legate, and of *Henry*, Duke of *Bavaria*, who had ſucceeded *Otho* III. in the Kingdom of *Germany* [a].

In this Pope's Time the City of *Bamberg* was, with his Approbation, erected by King *Henry* into a Biſhopric, and taken by the Pope into the particular Protection of the Apoſtolic See, but at the Bamberg *made an Epiſcopal See.*

[h] Joan. Diac. de Eccleſ. Lateran. [a] Ditmar. l. v.

ſame

Year of Chriſt 1006.

ſame Time ſubjected to the Metropolitan See of *Mentz*, as appears from the Pope's Letters to the Biſhops of *Gaul* and *Germany* [b].

He re-unites the Churches of Conſtantinople *and* Rome.

Of *John* XVIII. we read nothing elſe beſides his ſending St. *Bruno* to preach the Goſpel to the *Ruſſians*, his granting ſome Privileges to Monaſteries, and receiving at *Rome*, with uncommon Marks of Diſtinction, *Elpheg*, the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gone thither, in 1006, for the Pall [c]. It is ſaid in his Epitaph, that he reunited the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, and happily put an End, we know not by what Means, to the Schiſm that ſubſiſted between them. What is ſaid there is confirmed by *Peter*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, who tells *Michael Cærularius* in a Letter, which he wrote to him in 1050, that being Forty Years before at *Conſtantinople* in the Pontificate of Pope *Sergius*, he found that the Name of Pope *John*, the Predeceſſor of *Sergius*, was commemorated at Maſs with the Names of the other Patriarchs, but was omitted, he knew not why, at the Time he wrote that Letter [d]. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel what this Rupture was owing to.

He dies. Year of Chriſt 1009.

The Pope died, according to the moſt probable Opinion, about the End of *May* 1009, having preſided in the Church Five Years and Five Months.

Basilius, Conſtantine, *Emperors of the* Eaſt.

SERGIUS IV.

Henry II. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and forty-ſecond Bishop *of* Rome.

Sergius *choſen.*

TO *John* XVIII. was ſubſtituted *Sergius* IV. a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Martin*, and at the Time of his Election Biſhop of *Albano*. His Name was *Peter*, but he is ſaid to have changed it, out of Reſpect for the Founder of his See, and to have taken that of *Sergius*. As to the Time of his Election we only know, that it happened after the Seventeenth of *June* 1009, a Charter dated that Day in 1012 being ſaid to have been granted in the Third Year of his Pontificate [a]; ſo that on the Seventeenth of *June* 1012 he had

[b] Concil. tom. ix. p. 785. [c] Oſbern. in Vit. Sancti Elphegi, apud Surium, tom. ii. Die 19 April. [d] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1009. [a] Ughell. Italia ſacra, tom. vii. p. 528.

on

not entered into his Fourth Year, and he must therefore have been chosen after that Day in 1009. Year of Christ 1009.

We find nothing recorded of this Pope besides his sending a Legate into *France* to consecrate a Monastery founded in the Diocese of *Tours*, which *Hugh*, Archbishop of that City, looked upon as an Encroachment upon his Jurisdiction; and his determining a Dispute between the Archbishop of *Hamburg* and the Bishop of *Verden* about a Parish named *Ramsola*, which the Pope adjudged to the Archbishop [b]. *Sends a Legate to consecrate a Monastery in* Tours.

Sergius died in 1012 either in the latter End of the Third, or in the Beginning of the Fourth Year of his Pontificate. For his Successor was possessed of the See on the Twenty-third of *November* of that Year, as appears from one of his Diplomas [c]. From his Epitaph it appears, that he had governed the Church of *Albano* Five Years before he was translated to that of *Rome*; that he was of a mild Disposition, kind to his Friends, generous to the Poor, and dear to all. He has been thought worthy of a Place in the *Benedictine* Monology, though he is not honoured by the Church as a Saint. This Pope was called *Os Porci*, or *Hog's Snout*, as we read in *Ditmar* a contemporary Writer, and not *Sergius* II. as is said by *Platina*, who will have that Pope to have been the First, who, disliking his own Name, took another. But that Custom did not take Place, as has been shown, till long after the Time of *Sergius* II. raised to the See in 844. *His Death and Character.* Year of Christ 1012.

BASILIUS, CONSTANTINE, *Emperors of the* East. **BENEDICT VIII.** HENRY II. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and forty-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

UPON the Death of *Sergius*, *John*, Bishop of *Porto*, the Son of *Gregory*, Count of *Tusculum*, was raised by his Family to the Chair, after the Seventeenth of *June* 1012, when *Sergius* was still living, as we have seen, and before the Twenty-third of *November* of the same Year, when *John*, under the Name of *Benedict* VIII. Benedict *chosen, driven from the See, and restored.*

[b] Adam. Bremens. l. iii. c. 13. et lib. ii. c. 38. [c] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1012.

Year of Christ 1012.

was in Poſſeſſion of the See. But he was ſoon driven from it by one *Gregory*, and obliged to fly into *Saxony*, and implore the Protection of *Henry* King of *Germany*. That Prince received him with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, promiſed to re-inſtate him in his See, and having ſettled the Affairs of his Kingdom, he ſet out with that View for *Italy* in *September* 1013, kept his Chriſtmas at *Pavia*, and from thence purſued his March, at the Head of a numerous Army, to *Rome*. But the *Romans*, in the mean time, hearing that the King had eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Benedict*, recalled him, and drove *Gregory* from the Chair and the City. The King however continued his March, and arriving at *Rome* in *February* 1014, was met by the Pope at ſome Diſtance from the City, and received at the Gate by the Clergy, the Magiſtrates, and the Nobility, and attended by them to the Church of St. *Peter*.

Crowns Henry II. *Emperor*. Year of Chriſt 1014.

The Pope, to engage the King in his Defence, had, no Doubt, promiſed to crown him Emperor; and this Ceremony he performed a few Days after his Arrival with the greateſt Pomp and Solemnity, crowning him Emperor, and at the ſame Time his Queen *Cunegunda* Empreſs. The Pope before he placed the Crown on his Head, asked him whether he would be the Protector and Defender of the Church, whether he would be faithful to him and his Succeſſors, and upon his anſwering, that he would ever protect and defend the Church to the utmoſt of his Power, and pay all due Obedience to his Holineſs and his Succeſſors in the Apoſtolic See, the Pope ſet the Crown on his Head and ſaluted him Emperor, amidſt the loud Acclamations of the Multitude. On this Occaſion the Pope preſented the Emperor with a Crown of Gold in the Shape of a Globe, enriched with precious Stones of an immenſe Value, with a Croſs of Gold at the Top, to denote, ſays *Glaber*, a contemporary Writer, that he ought to reign ſo as to deſerve the Protection of the Croſs. That Crown the Emperor ſent to the Monaſtery of *Cluny* in high Reputation, even in that degenerate Age, for the ſtrict Obſervance of the Monaſtic Rules, and the eminent Sanctity of many of thoſe Monks. When the Ceremony of the Coronation was over, the Pope gave a grand Entertainment to the Emperor and the Empreſs in the *Lateran* Palace [a]. This Ceremony was performed on the Fourteenth of *February*, in

[a] Chron. Hildeſheim. ad ann. 1014. Glaber, in fine libri 1. Ditmar, in init. l. 7.

the

the Year 1014, which was the Thirteenth of *Henry*'s Reign as King of *Germany* [b]. Year of Chriſt 1012.

The Emperor confirmed, before he left *Rome*, all the Donations of his Predeceſſors in Favour of the Apoſtolic See; *We confirm*, ſaid he in his Diploma, *all the Donations made to the bleſſed Apoſtle* Peter, *by* Pepin, *by* Charles, *and by the* Otho's. However by the ſame Diploma he confirmed the Decrees of *Eugene* II. and *Leo* IV. ordering the new Pope to be ordained or conſecrated in the Preſence of the Imperial Commiſſaries; and this Edict or Diploma was ſtill complied with in the Election of *Alexander* II. raiſed to the Chair in 1061, as appears from *Petrus Damianus*, who wrote in that Pontificate. Henry *confirms all the Donations of the preceding Emperors.*

The Emperor, who was a moſt religious Prince, and is now even honoured as a Saint, is ſaid to have asked the *Roman* Clergy, during his Stay at *Rome*, why they did not ſing at Maſs the Symbol or Creed after the Goſpel, agreeably to the Cuſtom that obtained in all other Churches. That Queſtion the *Romans* anſwered, ſaying, the *Roman* Church had never been infected with Hereſy, but had always held the Doctrine delivered to her by the Apoſtle St. *Peter*; and therefore left thoſe Churches to ſing the Creed, that had held Tenets contrary to the Doctrines which it contained. This Anſwer, reflecting on all other Churches, did not ſatisfy the Emperor, who therefore inſiſted on the Creed being ſung at *Rome* as it was everywhere elſe; and he prevailed in the End [c]. *Cauſes the Symbol to be ſung at Maſs in* Rome.

In the Year 1016 the *Saracens* made a Deſcent upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, and having made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Luna* in *Tuſcany*, they ſettled there with their Families, and made frequent Incurſions into the neighbouring Countries. Their Neighbourhood alarmed the Pope, and therefore aſſembling all the Biſhops and Defenders of the Church, he ordered them to join him with all the Men they could raiſe, in order to march jointly with him againſt the common Enemy. Having thus aſſembled a competent Army, and at the ſame Time prepared a great Number of armed Veſſels to prevent their eſcaping by Sea, his Holineſs ſet out from *Rome* at the Head of his Army. At his Approach the King of the *Saracens* had the good Luck to get off unobſerved in a ſmall Veſſel; but his People, reduced to Deſpair, held out Three whole Days, and with great Slaughter re- *The Pope drives the* Saracens *out of* Italy. Year of Chriſt 1016.

[b] Ditmar, in init. l. vii. [c] Berno. Augien. de Miſſa, c. 2.

Year of Christ 1016

pulsed the Aggressors in their repeated Attacks. But being in the End quite tired out, they abandoned the Place, hoping to find Shelter in the neighbouring Woods. But his Holiness pursued them so close, that not one out of so numerous a Multitude escaped the Edge of the Sword. We are told the Number of the Slain was so great, that the Victors could not count the dead Bodies, and that the Booty was immense. The Queen of the *Saracens* was taken, and without any Regard to her Sex, put to Death. The Ornament of Gold, enriched with precious Stones, which she wore on her Head was claimed by the Pope, who sent to the Emperor his Share of the rest of the Booty. The King of the *Saracens*, highly provoked at the Loss of his Queen, and so many of his Subjects, sent him a Sack full of Chesnuts, with this Message, that he would return next Summer with as many Men. In Answer to this Message the Pope sent him a Bag filled with Millet, and bid the Messenger let the King know, that if he was not satisfied with the Mischief which he had already done to the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, he might return, but should find as many armed Men to receive him[d].

Some Jews *executed at* Rome. Year of Christ 1017.

The following Year there happened in *Rome* a most violent Storm of Wind, by which, as it began on Good Friday after the Adoration of the Cross, and lasted, without Intermission, till Saturday Evening, many Houses were blown down, and great Numbers of People buried in the Ruins. But they found at last what had occasioned that Storm. For a *Jew* of the *Greek* Synagogue informed the Pope, that his Brethren had treated the Image of Christ with Scorn and Derision at the very Time the Christians were worshipping it. Upon this Intelligence the Pope caused the *Jews*, belonging to that Synagogue, to be strictly examined; and having found what the Informer told him to be true, he ordered all, who were any-ways concerned in that sacrilegious Insult, to be immediately executed, and the Storm ceased[e]. Many such Stories were related, and even believed by some of the best Writers of those dark Ages.

The Bishopric of Bamberg *given to the Pope.* Year of Christ 1019.

In the Year 1019 the Pope, leaving *Rome*, where a perfect Tranquility reigned, went into *Germany*, and kept his Easter at *Bamberg* with the Emperor, who had invited him thither to consecrate a Church in that City erected by him into a Bishopric. That Ceremony the Pope performed with great Solemnity, and the Emperor intailed that Bishopric upon him and his Successors for ever, with an

[d] Ditmar, l. vii. [e] Fragm. Historiæ Aquitan. ad ann. 1017.

annual

annual Tribute of a white Horſe, and an Hundred Marks of Silver [f]. This Biſhopric *Leo* IX. afterwards exchanged for that of *Beneventum*, only reſerving the Tribute of a white Horſe, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. Year of Chriſt 1019.

By this Pope Two Councils only are ſaid to have been held, during the Eleven Years of his Pontificate, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Pavia*. All we know of the former is his granting a Charter to a Monaſtery in *Italy*, containing ſeveral Privileges [g]. The Acts of the latter have reached our Times; and they conſiſt of a Speech pronounced by the Pope, wherein he loudly complains of the Incontinence of the Clergy, and of Seven Canons, whereof the Two Firſt enforce the Obſervance of the Canons forbidding Clerks to keep Concubines, or to have Women in their Houſes. By the Two next, the Children of Clerks are declared to be Slaves of the Church, which their Fathers belonged to, though born of a free Woman; and it was enacted by the Three laſt, that no Vaſſal of the Church, whether Clerk or Layman, ſhould make any Purchaſe in his own Name, or in the Name of a Freeman. The Decrees of this Council were ſigned by the Pope, by the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and Five Biſhops, and confirmed by the Emperor, who, at the Requeſt of the Pope, inſerted them in an Imperial Edict, and by that Means they became a ſtanding Law in all his Dominions [h]. This Council was held on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, but in the Acts no Mention is made of the Year. However, as it is ſaid to have aſſembled in the Reign of the glorious Emperor *Henry*, it is manifeſt, that it did not aſſemble till after the Year 1013, ſince *Henry* was not crowned Emperor till the Fourteenth of *February* 1014. *Two Councils held by the Pope.*

Benedict VIII. died, as we read in the Authors, whoſe Calculations ſeem to be the moſt exact, after a Pontificate of Eleven Years, Eleven Months, and Twenty-one Days. He is commended by the contemporary Writers for his Charity and Generoſity to the Poor, and his Zeal in ſtriving to reform the ſcandalous and diſſolute Manners of the Clergy. He was a great Friend to the Monks, held in great Eſteem and received at *Rome* with uncommon Marks of Diſtinction St. *Odilo* Abbot of *Cluny*, and St. *Romuald* Founder of the Order of *Camaldules*, and is ſaid to have enriched the Monaſtery Benedict *dies.* Year of Chriſt 1024.

[f] Chron. Hilden. ad ann. 1019. Wippo, in Vit. Cnorad. Salic. Leo Oſtienſ. l. i. c. 47. [g] Ughell Ital. Sacra, tom. ii. p. 996. [h] Concil. tom. ix. p. 819.

of

Year of Chriſt 1024.

of *Monte Caſſino* with many valuable Reliques ſent thither from the *Lateran* Church. Of theſe Reliques the Reader will find an Inventory in *Leo Oſtienſis*, by whom the following are mentioned among the reſt, *viz.* Some of the Wood of the Croſs, of the Garment, and of the Blood of our Saviour, a Splinter of one of the Stones, with which St. *Stephen* was ſtoned, and ſome Drops of his Blood, ſome of the Veil of the Virgin *Mary*, and of the Garments of moſt of the Apoſtles, and of many other Saints [i]. This Pope, for all his good Works, is ſaid to have been condemned to Purgatory, and appearing to *John*, Biſhop of *Porto*, to have told him, that he ſhould not be delivered from theſe ſcorching Flames till *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluny*, prayed him out of them. This Intelligence the Biſhop communicated to the Abbot, who falling immediately upon his Knees, continued praying till it was revealed to him that his Petition was heard [k].

His Writings.

We have One Letter of this Pope addreſſed to the Biſhops of *Burgundy*, *Aquitain* and *Provence*, to *Burchard*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and to Eighteen other Biſhops or Archbiſhops, who are all named. In that Letter the Pope excommunicates, and orders the Biſhops to excommunicate thoſe, who had uſurped the Poſſeſſions of the Monaſtery of *Cluny*, and thereby deprived the Monks of the Means of relieving the Poor, and exerciſing Hoſpitality. The Pope ſays in that Letter, that he had complained of theſe Uſurpations in the Preſence of *Robert*, King of the *Franks*, and of the Nobility, who attended him to *Rome* [l]. From theſe Words it appears, that the King undertook a Journey to *Rome*, though not the leaſt Notice is taken of that Journey by any of the contemporary Writers: And we know not when he performed it, the Pope's Letter being dated the Firſt of *September*, without any Mention of the Year.

[i] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 28. [k] Petrus Damian. vit. B. Odilon Sigebert. Chron. &c. [l] Concil. tom. ix. p. 810.

JOHN

Year of Christ 1024.

BASILIUS, CONSTANTINE, *Emperors of the* East. CONRAD II. *Emperor of the* West.

JOHN XIX.

The Hundred and forty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

John XIX. *choſen.*

UPON the Death of *Benedict*, his Brother, named *John*, was raiſed to the See by Dint of Money, ſays *Glaber*, a contemporary Writer [a], though at the Time of his Election he was but a Layman. We have ſeen *Hadrian* and the ſucceeding Popes refuſing to acknowlege *Photius* for lawful Patriarch, and declaring his Ordination to be null, becauſe he had not paſſed through the inferior Degrees. But theſe Irregularities were overlooked by the *Roman* Clergy, the beſt Bidder, whether an Eccleſiaſtic or Layman, being ſure at this time to carry his Election. All we know for certain of the Time of his Ordination is, that he was ordained before the Month of *September* 1024, one of his Bulls dated that Month, 1027, being ſaid to have been iſſued in the Fourth Year of his Pontificate [b].

He refuſes the Title of Univerſal Biſhop to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople.

Year of Chriſt 1025.

In the very Beginning of *John*'s Pontificate the Emperor *Baſilius*, and the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, to obtain of the Pope his Conſent, that the Patriarch of the Imperial City ſhould ſtile himſelf Univerſal Biſhop of the Eaſt, as the Patriarch of *Rome* was ſtiled Univerſal Biſhop of the whole World. As it was well known in the Eaſt and every-where elſe, that all things were venal at *Rome*, the Papacy itſelf not excepted, the Embaſſadors brought Preſents with them of an immenſe Value for the Pope and the reſt of the Clergy; and they would have certainly carried their Point, ſays *Hugh* Abbot of *Fleury*, had not both *Italy* and *France* taken the Alarm, and the Requeſt of the *Greeks* been ſtrongly oppoſed by ſome of the moſt eminent Men then in the Weſt for their Learning and Piety. Among theſe was *William*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *St. Benignus* in *Dijon*, who wrote a ſhort but very ſtrong Letter to the Pope, to divert him from complying, upon any Conſideration whatever, with the unjuſt and inſidious Demands of the *Greeks*. The Pope, finding he could not gratify the Emperor and the Patriarch without diſobliging thoſe,

[a] Glaber, l. i. c. 4. [b] Hiſt. Ital. Sacra, tom. v. p. 48.

who

Year of Christ 1025.

who had nothing so much at Heart as the Honour and Dignity of his See, dismissed the Embassadors, telling them, that the Title of *Universal Bishop* became none but the Successors of St. *Peter* in the Apostolic See, and that none but his Successors should wear it [c]. This is the Title, of which it was said by Pope *Gregory the Great*, that whoever assumed it was either the Antichrist or the Forerunner of the Antichrist.

Crowns Conrad *Emperor.*

Year of Christ 1027.

The Emperor *Henry* II. dying in 1024 without Issue, *Conrad*, surnamed the *Salic*, chosen King of *Germany* in his room, entered *Italy* with a powerful Army about the Beginning of Lent 1026, and having reduced all the Towns there, that had shaken off the Yoke, he went to *Rome*, no Doubt invited thither by the Pope, who had gone as far as *Como* to meet him upon his first coming into *Italy*. He was received at *Rome* with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy by all Ranks of People; and on Easter-Day the Pope crowned him Emperor with the usual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. Queen *Gisela* was at the same time crowned Empress; and this august Ceremony was performed in the Presence of *Rudolph*, King of *Burgundy*, and *Canutus*, King of *England*, who, when divine Service was ended, attended the new Emperor, says *Wolferus*, walking between them, back to his Chamber [d]. It is to be observed, that *Wippo*, who lived in the Court of *Conrad*, and was one of the Priests of his Chapel, speaking of his Promotion to the Imperial Dignity, says, that he was chosen Emperor by the *Romans* and crowned by the Pope, calling him constantly King before, and constantly Emperor after he was elected by the *Romans*, and the Ceremony of his Coronation or Consecration was performed by the Pope; which fully confutes what some have asserted, *viz.* that whoever was elected King of *Germany* became Emperor by that Election alone.

Canutus, *King of* England, *at* Rome.

Canutus or *Cnutus*, who assisted, as has been said, at the Coronation of *Conrad*, had undertaken a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, in Compliance with the fashionable Devotion of those Times. From *Rome* the King wrote a Letter to the Bishops of his Kingdom, wherein he expresses great Satisfaction at the Reception he had met with from the Pope, as well as from the Emperor and the King of *Burgundy*; and at the same time acquaints them, that he had obtained of those

[c] Hugo Flavin. in Chron. Glab. l. iv. c. 1. [d] Wippo in Vit. Cunegund. Wolfer. in Vit. Sancti Godehard apud Mabill. secul. Benedict. VI. Part. i. num. 28.

Prince

Princes an Exemption from all Tolls and Taxes for such of his Subjects as should pass through their Dominions either to trade, or to visit the holy Places at *Rome*. He adds in his Letter, that he had complained to the Pope of the immense Sums that were extorted from his Archbishops when they went to *Rome* for the Pall, and that the Pope had promised to moderate those exorbitant Charges. Whether the present Age reaped any Benefit from the Pope's Promise we know not; but it is very certain that future Ages reaped none. In the same Letter the King promises to rectify for the future whatever was amiss in his Government, to square his Conduct by the strictest Rules of Equity, and orders Justice to be administered without Distinction of Persons [e].

Year of Christ 1027.

In the Year 1030 *Peter* Bishop of *Girona* in *Spain*, coming to *Rome*, begged Leave of the Pope to wear the Pall Twelve Days in the Year, promising to redeem Thirty Slaves in Captivity among the *Saracens*, provided his Holiness granted him his Request. It was readily granted, and the Days were named, the chief Solemnities of the Year, on which he was allowed to use that Ornament. But the Pope declared, that the Privilege he granted him was only personal, and should not descend to his Successors in that See [f].

Grants the Use of the Pall to the Bishop of Girona.

John XIX. died in 1033, having held the See Nine Years and Nine Days, as we read in the most exact Catalogues. He is said to have been hated by the *Romans* on account of his uncommon Severity; nay, *Baronius* supposes him to have been driven by them from his See in 1033, and to have been restored to it by the Emperor *Conrad*. But as no Notice is taken by any contemporary Writer of *Conrad*'s going to *Rome* in that Year, and all speak of his entering *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army in 1038, and marching to *Rome* in order to restore the Pope, *(viz. Benedict* IX. the Successor of *John)* whom the *Romans* had driven from the See, what *Baronius* supposes to have happened to Pope *John* must have happened to Pope *Benedict*.

He dies.

Year of Christ 1033.

Of this Pope we have Three Letters, the One addressed to *Jordan* Bishop of *Limoges*, and to the other *Gallican* Bishops, wherein he declares *Martialis*, the First Bishop of that City, worthy of the Title of an Apostle, and allows him to be called so. For it had

His Writings.

[e] Concil. tom. ix. p. 861, et apud Baron. ad ann. 1027. [f] Baluz. Mari. Hispan. l. iv.

Year of Christ 1033.

been disputed in Two Councils, the One held at *Poitiers* in 1023, the other at *Paris* in 1031, whether that holy Bishop should be stiled an Apostle or only a Confessor; and as those wise Prelates could not settle that Point among themselves, they applied to the Pope, who decided the important Question in the Manner I have said [g]. Another Letter of *John* XIX. has reached our Times written in 1029 to *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluny*, whereby he offers him and even commands him to accept the Archbishopric of *Lyons*, vacant by the Death of *Burchard*, who had been greatly beloved by his Clergy and the People of the Diocese. But the holy Abbot withstood to the last so tempting an Offer, though threatened by the Pope with Excommunication if he did not comply [h]. The Third Letter was written by the Pope on the following Occasion. In the Council held at *Limoges* in 1031 several *Gallican* Bishops complained of the Pope's absolving those, whom they had excommunicated, upon their going as Pilgrims to *Rome*. The Bishop of *Puy* in particular remonstrated against that Abuse, as entirely subverting the Ecclesiastical Discipline, told the Fathers of the Assembly, that a few Years before the Count of *Auvergne*, upon being excommunicated by his Bishop for dismissing his lawful Wife and marrying another, had gone to *Rome*, and there obtained a general Absolution of the Pope, as he did not know that the Count was excommunicated. He added, that the Bishop having complained thereof to the Pope, his Holiness had answered, that he was not to blame, but the Bishop, who had not informed him that the Count was excommunicated as he might and ought to have done; that if he had known it, far from taking off the Excommunication, he would have confirmed it, as he thought it his Duty to second his Brethren and not to contradict or oppose them; that it was far from his Thoughts to give room to any Schism or Misunderstanding between him and them, and that he therefore revoked and annulled the Absolution obtained by Surprize, and desired them to let the Person, whom he had thus absolved, know, that instead of his Absolution and Blessing, his Curse should attend him, till he satisfied his Bishop, and by him was absolved. Another Case was related of the same Nature, said to have happened in the Diocese of *Angoulesme*, where a Person, upon being refused Absolution by his Bishop, delivered a Letter to him from the Pope, requiring him to

[g] Concil. tom. ix. [h] Dach. Spicileg. tom. ii.

absolve

Year of Christ 1033.

abſolve the Offender upon his performing the Penance enjoined him at *Rome*. But to that Letter the Biſhop paid no Kind of Regard, telling the Perſon, who brought it, that he ſhould continue under the Excommunication, which he had incurred, till he had fulfilled the Penance, that he or his Archdeacon ſhould, by his Order, impoſe on him. Upon theſe Two Inſtances the Council decreed, that the Pope might leſſen the Penance impoſed by a Biſhop, or add to it, in order to propottion it to the Crime, and likewiſe impoſe Penances on thoſe, who were ſent by their Biſhops to obtain Forgiveneſs at *Rome*, but could not preſcribe Penance, or give Abſolution to any Perſon without the Knowlege of his Biſhop, it being the Duty of the Vicar of St. *Peter* to maintain the other Biſhops in the Poſſeſſion of their juſt Rights, that they may be able to ſupport him in the Poſſeſſion of his [i].

This Pope is greatly commended by *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, *Ciaconius*, &c. and by moſt of the modern Writers. But I find no ſuch Commendations beſtowed on him by the contemporary Hiſtorians; nay *Glaber*, who lived in thoſe Days, ſays, in expreſs Terms, that he purchaſed the See with Money, as has been already obſerved. *Martinus Polonus* tells us, that the Pope cauſed all, who had robbed the Pilgrims coming to *Rome*, to be publicly executed; that the Cardinal (who perhaps ſhared the Plunder with the Robbers) provoked at his putting ſo many Perſons to Death, let him know in his laſt Ilneſs, that they did not think one, who had ſhed ſo much Chriſtian Blood, worthy of a Place, after his Death, among his holy Predeceſſors, in the Church of the Prince of the Apoſtles; that thereupon the Pope begged his Body might be laid before the Church Door, giving them Leave to diſpoſe of it as they pleaſed, if the Door, how carefully ſoever guarded, and locked, and barred, did not fly open of itſelf; and that his Body being placed after his Death as he had directed, a violent Wind aroſe that Moment, and blew the Door to the other End of the Church. This Story is gravely related by *Martinus Polonus*, and after him by *Palatius* [k].

[i] Concil. tom. ix. p. 908.

[k] Mart. Polon. in Greg. vi. et Palat. in Joan. xix.

Year of Christ 1033.

ROMANUS ARGYRUS, *Emperor of the* East. **BENEDICT IX.** CONRAD II, *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and forty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Benedict IX. *choſen.*

JOHN was ſucceeded by *Theophylact*, Nephew to the Two preceding Popes, and at the Time of his Election about Eighteen Years old. But as his Father *Alberic*, Count of *Tuſculum*, ſpared no Money, his Party prevailed, and *Benedict* IX. for he took that Name, was ordained, as we read in the beſt Writers, in the Month of *November* 1033. *Deſiderius*, afterwards Pope under the Name of *Victor* III. ſpeaking of *Benedict*, ſtiles him the Succeſſor of *Simon* the Sorcerer, and not of *Simon* the Apoſtle, and paints him as one abandoned to all Manner of Vice [a].

Viſits the Emperor. Year of Chriſt 1037.

In the Year 1037 the Emperor *Conrad* coming into *Italy* to quell a Rebellion raiſed there by the Archbiſhop of *Milan* and other diſcontented Lords, the Pope went to pay him a Viſit at *Cremona*, and being received by him with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect, he depoſed and excommunicated the Archbiſhop of *Milan*. But the Archbiſhop, paying no Sort of Regard to that Sentence, kept Poſſeſſion of the See to the Hour of his Death [b]. From *Cremona* the Pope returned to *Rome*, but the *Romans*, ſhocked at his Debaucheries, and the wicked Life he publicly led, drove him ſoon after from the See. He fled to the Emperor, who eſpouſing his Cauſe, marched ſtrait to *Rome*, as he was then in *Lombardy*, and, entering the City without Oppoſition, reſtored the Pope, viſited the holy Places there, and then returned to *Lombardy* without hearkening to the juſt Complaints brought by the *Romans* againſt him [c]. *Glaber* tells us, that this Pope was ſeveral Times driven from his See, but that he always recovered it by ſome Means or other, though univerſally hated and deſpiſed [d].

Is driven from the See and reſtored by the Emperor. Year of Chriſt 1038.

Benedict IX. is the Firſt Pope that releaſed a Monk, who had made his ſolemn Profeſſion, from his Vows; and he did it on the following Occaſion. *Miſco*, the Second of that Name, King of

The Pope abſolves Caſimir, *a Monk and Deacon, from his Vows.*

[a] Deſid. Dialog. l. iii. [b] Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 1038. [c] Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 169. Glaber. l. iv. c. 89. [d] Idem l. iii. c. 5.

Poland,

Poland, dying in 1034, and dreadful Disturbances arising after his Death in that Kingdom, his Son *Casimir*, not caring to undertake the Government in Times of such Confusion, withdrew first to *Hungary*, and afterwards to *France*. During his Stay in *France* he visited the famous Monastery of *Cluny*, and being there taken with the Conversation and exemplary Lives of the Monks, he embraced the same State of Life, and exchanging the Name of *Casimir* for that of *Charles*, made his Profession among them. But, in the mean time the *Poles*, weary of the Anarchy that prevailed, and the Disorders attending it, resolved to place the lawful Heir on the Throne, as the only Means of restoring Peace to the Kingdom. But as they knew not where he was, nor what was become of him, they applied to the Queen, his Mother, who had fled with him, and was then in *Germany*, and being informed by her, that he had embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Cluny*, they sent thither some of the chief Lords of the Kingdom to represent to him the deplorable Condition, to which his unhappy Subjects were reduced, and entreat him to return, and by taking upon him the Government, which he alone had a Right to, put an End to their intestine Divisions. The Deputies found, upon their Arrival at *Cluny*, that *Casimir* had not only made his solemn Profession, but had been ordained Deacon. However, having obtained Leave of the holy Abbot *Odilo* to speak to him, they delivered their Message, earnestly entreating him, in the Name of the whole Nation, to come and redeem them from the Calamities, with which they had been so long afflicted. *Casimir* answered, that he had vowed perpetual Obedience to his Abbot, and therefore could not dispose of himself, that he pitied their Condition, and wished they could find some other Person to rescue them from the Miseries, which they so justly complained of; but as for himself, he could lend them no other Assistance, but that of his Prayers, without a Breach of his Vow, which he was determined religiously to observe to the Hour of his Death. Hereupon the Deputies applied to the Abbot, who, thinking it exceeded the Limits of his Power to absolve a professed Monk from his Vows, referred them to the Pope. They therefore undertook a Journey to *Rome*, and having there represented to *Benedict* the distracted State of the Nation, the little Regard that was paid to Religion, and the many Enormities, that were daily committed in the different Parts of the Kingdom, for Want of a lawful Governor to

Year of Christ 1041.

Year of Christ 1041.

to puniſh the Delinquents, they obtained Permiſſion of his Holineſs for *Caſimir* to exchange the Cowl for a Crown, nay, and, though he was a Deacon, to marry. As nothing was, in thoſe Days, to be got at *Rome* without Money, the Pope granted that extraordinary Diſpenſation, upon Condition that the Nobles of *Poland* paid yearly a Penny a Man to the Apoſtolic See, ſhaved their Heads after the Manner of the Monks, and, on the chief Feſtivals of our Saviour, and the Virgin *Mary*, wore a Linnen Cloth round their Necks in the Shape of a Prieſt's Stole. With theſe Terms the Deputies readily complied, and *Caſimir*, having upon his Return aſſembled a general Diet, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome* to thank the Pope, in the Name of the whole Nation, for the Diſpenſation, and pay him the Tribute [e].

Benedict *driven anew from the See and reſtored.*

Year of Chriſt 1044.

There were in this Pope's Time Two very powerful Factions in *Rome*, that divided the City into Two oppoſite and irreconcileable Parties. At the Head of the one were the Counts of *Tuſculum*, and at that of the other the *Roman* Family of the *Ptolemies*. The latter, no longer able to bear with the daily Rapines, Murders, Abominations of the young Pope, ſtirred up the *Roman* People againſt him, and having got the better of the *Tuſculan* Party, drove *Benedict* out of *Rome*, and placed *John*, Biſhop of *Sabina*, under the Name of *Silveſter* III. in the Chair in his ſtead. But the Counts of *Tuſculum* prevailing again, *Silveſter* was driven out, in his Turn, after Three Months, and *Benedict* reſtored [f].

Sells the Pontificate.

Year of Chriſt 1045.

The Pope, though powerfully ſupported by his Family, reſolved, as he found himſelf become, by his enormous Wickedneſs, a public Object of Contempt and Abhorrence, to part with the Popedom, that he might the more freely indulge himſelf in his Debaucheries. He accordingly ſold it to *John* Archprieſt of the *Roman* Church, ſaid by Pope *Victor* III. to have been the moſt religious Man, at that Time, in the whole Body of the *Roman* Clergy [g]. What muſt the reſt of the *Roman* Clergy have been, if a Simoniac was the moſt religious among them!

[e] Joan. Languin. in Hiſt. Rerum Polonic. [f] Victor III. Dialog. iii. Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 80. [g] Idem ibid.

GREGORY

Year of Chriſt 1046.

CONSTANTINE MONOMACHUS, *Emperor of the* Eaſt. **GREGORY VI.** HENRY III. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and forty-ſixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Gregory VI. *raiſed by Simony.*

BENEDICT, having conſigned the Pontifical Enſigns to *John*, called by ſome *Gratian*, betook himſelf to a private Life, rioting, without Reſtraint or Controul, in all Manner of Debaucheries, and *John*, without any previous Election, took Poſſeſſion of the Chair he had purchaſed, under the Name of *Gregory* VI. He was a Native of *Rome*, and his Family was one of the moſt powerful and opulent then in that City. *Otto Friſingenſis*, who wrote in 1158, pretends *Gregory* to have paid a large Sum of Money to *Benedict* with no other View but to induce him by that Means to quit the Pontificate, which he ſo much diſgraced, to have been actuated therein by Zeal and not by Ambition, and upon the Reſignation of the other to have been canonically choſen by the *Roman* People and the Clergy. That Writer adds, that he made it his Study to reform the many ſcandalous Abuſes that had been introduced, or connived at by his wicked Predeceſſors; that with his Diſcretion and Prudence he reſtored good Order in the City, and was therefore deſervedly looked upon by the *Romans* as their Deliverer[a]. But *Hermannus Contractus*, *Bonizo*, Biſhop of *Sutri*, who lived at this very Time in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, *Victor* III. and *Clement* II. the immediate Succeſſor of *Gregory*, ſpeak of him as a Simoniac Intruder, as one, who had not been raiſed by Merit, but by Corruption and Bribery to the See of St. *Peter*.

Gregory, Silveſter *and* Benedict *depoſed in a Council.*

Year of Chriſt 1046.

In the mean time *Henry* III. King of *Germany*, who had ſucceeded his Father *Conrad* in that Kingdom in 1039, hearing of the dreadful Diſorders that reigned in *Rome*, of the ſcandalous Lives led by the Popes, and the entire Diſregard that was ſhewn by them, as well as their Clergy, to all Religion and Virtue, reſolved to go in Perſon and enquire, upon the Spot, into the Conduct of the Popes, and the State of the Church. He accordingly ſet out from *Germany* in 1046, and arriving at *Sutri* aſſembled a Council in that City, at which were

[a] Otto Friſingenſ. l. vi. c. 25.

Year of Chriſt 1046.

preſent almoſt all the Biſhops of *Italy*. The King invited *Gregory* to preſide at it; and he readily complied with the Invitation, flattering himſelf, that the King, by deſiring him to preſide at a Council, tacitly acknowleged him for lawful Pope. But he ſoon found, that he had been ſent for only to clear himſelf, if he could, from the Charge brought againſt him, that of having purchaſed with Money the Pontifical Dignity. He owned at once what he could not deny, the infamous Bargain being well known to every Biſhop in the Council, and quitting his Chair, he diveſted himſelf, in full Council, of the Pontifical Ornaments, gave up the Paſtoral Staff, and begging Forgiveneſs renounced all Claim to the Chair of St. *Peter*. By the ſame Council *Benedict* IX. and *Silveſter* III. were declared Uſurpers, Simoniacs, Intruders, and as ſuch depoſed, and forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, ever to attempt the Recovery of a Dignity, of which they had ſhown themſelves unworthy by their wicked Lives, as well as by the Means they had employed to attain it. Thus *Victor* III. who lived at this Time, and was choſen Pope Nine Years after this Council[b]. Though the Election of *Gregory* was certainly null, he is reckoned in all the Catalogues among the lawful Popes, for no other Reaſon, that I can ſee, but becauſe the next *Gregory* called himſelf the Seventh of that Name, and ſpeaking of *Gregory* VI. gives him the Title of Pope. He held the See Two Years and Eight Months. The Emperor, on his Return to *Germany*, took *Gregory* with him; and as for the other Two Pretenders to the See, *Silveſter* III. was ſent back to his Biſhopric; but *Benedict* IX. kept himſelf concealed ſo long as the Emperor continued in *Italy*, and we ſhall ſee him raiſing new Diſturbances upon the Death of the next Pope.

CONSTANTINE MONOMACHUS, *Emperor of the* East.

CLEMENT II.

HENRY III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and forty-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

Clement II. *choſen.*

THE See being declared vacant by the Reſignation of *Gregory*, and the Depoſition of the other Two, the King and the Biſhops of the Council repaired to *Rome* in order to chuſe there, joint-

[b] Victor Dialog. l. iii.

ly

ly with the People and Clergy, a new Pope. They met on Christmas-Day 1046 in the Church of St. *Peter*, when the *Romans* declaring, that there was not a Man in the whole *Roman* Clergy, whom they could recommend as worthy of the Pontifical Dignity, the King named *Suiger*, Bishop of *Bamberg*, then in his Retinue; and he was upon his Nomination unanimously chosen, and placed, being already a Bishop, on the Pontifical Throne [a]. *Papebroche* observes, that upon his Election he did not resign the Bishopric of *Bamberg*. For that See is said to have become, Nine Months after, vacant by his Death. He was a Native of *Saxony*, and had been preferred by the King for his eminent Virtues to the See of *Bamberg*. We are told that he declined the Pontificate as long as he could, but was in the End forced to yield to the pressing Instances of the King and the People. Upon his Installation he took the Name of *Clement* [b]. Year of Christ 1046.

Crowns Henry *Emperor and his Wife* Agnes *Empress.*

The new Pope upon the Day of his Election crowned *Henry* Emperor, and *Agnes* his Queen Empress, and walked, in solemn Procession, with both, from the Church of St. *Peter* to the *Lateran* Palace, attended by the *Roman* Nobility and vast Crowds of People flocking from all Quarters to see the new Pope and the new Emperor [c].

Dispute between the Archbishops of Ravenna *and* Milan.

As Simony prevailed, almost universally, all over the West, the Pope assembled a Council in *Rome* in order to extirpate so common an Evil; and several Canons were issued against all, who should sell, or should purchase any Ecclesiastical Dignity whatever. In this Council a warm Dispute arose between the Two Archbishops of *Milan* and *Ravenna* about Precedency, both claiming the Privilege of sitting at the Pope's Right Hand in the Absence of the Emperor, and at his Left when the Emperor was present. This importanr Point gave Occasion to a long Debate; and the Pope, after hearing both Sides, gave Sentence in Favour of the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, ordering, by Virtue of his Apostolic Authority, the said Archbishop always to sit at his Right Hand, unless the Emperor should happen to be present, and in that Case to sit at his Left [d]. Year of Christ 1047.

The Pope excommunicates the Beneventans.

The Emperor, after a short Stay at *Rome*, went from thence to *Beneventum*, but the Citizens refusing him Admittance into their

[a] Victor Dialóg. l. 3. Hermann. Contract. [b] Lambert. Schafnaburg. ad 1048. [c] Hermann. Contract. 21, et Lambert. ibid. [d] Concil. tom. ix p. 1257.

Year of Christ 1047.

City, he obliged the Pope, whom he had taken with him, to thunder out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt them. But they, in Defiance of all his Anathemas, kept their Gates ſhut [e]. From *Beneventum* the Pope repaired, with the Emperor, to *Salerno*, and there confirmed the Tranſlation of *John*, Biſhop of *Peſto*, to the Archiepiſcopal See of that City, and gave him the Pall [f]. The Pope and the Emperor kept their Eaſter, this Year 1047, at *Mantua*, and went from thence into *Germany*. But the Pope muſt have ſtayed there a very ſhort Time, as we are aſſured by the moſt credible Writers, that he died at *Rome*, or in the Neighbourhood of that City, *(in Romanis Partibus, in Romanis Finibus)* on the Ninth of *October* of the ſame Year, after a Pontificate of Nine Months and Fifteen Days [g]. From *Rome* or the Neighbourhood of *Rome* his Body was carried to *Bamberg*, and buried there with the following Epitaph, *The moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord* Suiger *of* Mayendurf, *a* Saxon, *the Second Biſhop of* Bamberg, *and afterwards High Pontiff, died at* Rome *on the Tenth of* October 1047 [h]. He is ſaid, in his Epitaph, to have died on the Tenth of *October:* But all the antient Writers place his Death on the Ninth of that Month. His being buried at *Bamberg* probably led *Leo Oſtienſis* into the Miſtake of his dying *beyond the Mountains*.

He dies.

Canonized St. Wiborada.

Clement, while in *Germany*, canonized St. *Wiborada*, Virgin and Martyr, who had been martyred by the *Hungarians* in 925, that is, being informed of the holy Life ſhe had led, and the Miracles ſhe had wrought, he ordered her to be honoured as a Saint, and the Day of her Death to be annually ſolemnized as a Feſtival [i].

His Writings.

Of this Pope we have a Bull dated the Twenty-firſt of *March* 1047, confirming the Tranſlation of *John* Biſhop of *Peſto*, to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Salerno*, and granting him Leave to wear the Pall on the ſame Day, as his Predeceſſors had done.

[e] Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 81. [f] Glaber, l. 5. [g] Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 1048. Lambert. Schaf. Structor. Vit. Sancti Henrici. [h] Papebroc. Conat. Chronic. [i] Burchard, l. vi. et Mabill. ſec. Benedict V.

Year of Chriſt 1047.

CONSTANTINE MONOMACHUS, *Emperor of the* East. HENRY III. *Emperor of the* West.

DAMASUS II.

The Hundred and forty-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE See being vacant by the Death of *Clement*, the *Romans* diſpatched immediately Meſſengers into *Germany*, to acquaint the Emperor therewith, and deſire him to appoint him a Succeſſor. But in the mean time *Benedict* IX. who had ſold and reſigned the Pontificate to *Gregory* VI. as has been ſaid, ſeized on it the Third Time, being ſupported by the Intereſt and Wealth of his Family, and held it Eight Months and Ten Days, that is, from the Eighth of *November* to the Seventeenth of *July* of the following Year 1048, when *Popponius*, whom the Emperor had nominated to the vacant See, arriving in *Rome*, he thought it adviſeable to quit the Chair, and make Room for one, who had ſo powerful a Protector. *Popponius* was a Native of *Bavaria*, and Biſhop of *Brixen*, and looked upon as a Man of great Learning in thoſe Days and no leſs Piety [a]. The *Romans* recommended *Halinard*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, to the Emperor. But he, not ſatisfied with rejecting the Dignity they offered him, privately withdrew from Court, and abſconded till another was named. *Halinard* uſed yearly to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles, was well known to the Clergy and People of *Rome*, and by all greatly beloved and eſteemed for his Affability and the Sanctity of his Life; and it was upon his declining the Pontifical Dignity that the Emperor conferred it on the Biſhop of *Brixen* [b]. But he enjoyed it a very ſhort Time, only Twenty-three Days, and died at *Præneſte* on the Eighth of *Auguſt* 1048. Cardinal *Benno* ſuppoſes him to have died of a poiſonous Draught adminiſtered to him by *Benedict*. But of that no Notice is taken by any other contemporary Writer. He was buried in the Church of St. *Lawrence* without the Walls of the City.

Damaſus *appointed Pope by the Emperor.*

Dies. Year of Chriſt 1048.

[a] Herman. Contract. Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 81. [b] Dacher. Spicileg. tom. i.

Year of Christ 1048.

CONSTANTINE MONOMACHUS, *Emperor of the* East.

LEO IX.

HENRY III. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and forty-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Leo IX. *choſen in* Germany.

UPON the Death of *Damaſus* the *Romans* applied anew to the Emperor for one, worthy of ſo high a Poſt, to ſucceed him. As they named no particular Perſon, the Emperor, upon the Arrival of their Deputies, convened at *Worms* an Aſſembly of the chief Lords and Biſhops of his Kingdom, and leaving to them the Election of the new Pope, charged them to chuſe one capable of reſtoring the See of St. *Peter* to its former Reputation and Dignity. At this Aſſembly was preſent, among the reſt, *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Toul*; and he was choſen at once with the greateſt Unanimity, that had ever been ſeen in the Election of a Pope. But he, thinking himſelf unworthy of ſo high a Dignity, and incapable of performing the Duties attending it, long withſtood the preſſing Inſtances of the whole Aſſembly, and of the Emperor himſelf. But finding that in Spite of his Tears, his Entreaties, and of all he could urge againſt his Promotion, they perſiſted, all to a Man, in the Choice they had made, he begged they would allow him, at leaſt, Three Days to deliberate with himſelf concerning an Affair of the utmoſt Importance to the whole Church as well as to him. They granted him his Requeſt; and he ſpent the whole Time that was allowed him in Prayer, abſtaining from all Manner of Food. At laſt he made a public Confeſſion of his Sins, flattering himſelf, that he ſhould thus leſſen the Opinion, which they entertained of his Sanctity. But ſuch an Inſtance of Humility ſerved only to heighten the Eſteem, in which they held him before; and he was in the End forced to comply. But it was upon Condition that the *Roman* People and Clergy approved and confirmed his Election. Thus *Wibert*, *Bruno*'s Archdeacon, and an Eye Witneſs of what he writes [a]. St. *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Segni*, who wrote in this very Century, entirely agrees with *Wibert*. For he tells us, that the Biſhop of *Toul*, finding the Emperor and the Aſſembly unalterable in their Reſolution of placing him in the Pontifical Chair, yielded at laſt, upon Condition that he was freely choſen by the People

Oppoſes his Election.

Yields upon Condition of his being freely elected by the Clergy and People of Rome.

[a] Wibert. in Vit. S. Leon. l. ii. c. 2.

and

and Clergy of *Rome*; nay, and that he acquainted the Aſſembly with his Intention of travelling to that City in order to be choſen there anew; adding, that he ſhould otherwiſe look upon his Election as null [b]. The ſame Writer informs us, that the Condition, inſiſted upon by the holy Biſhop, being agreed to by the Emperor and the Aſſembly, he returned to his Biſhopric, celebrated the Feſtival of Chriſtmas there, and then ſet out for *Rome* in the Habit of a Pilgrim. The *Romans*, informed by the Deputies they had ſent to the Emperor of what had paſſed in the Aſſembly of *Worms*, no ſooner heard of his Approach, than flocking out to meet him, they received him with Songs of Joy and loud Acclamations. He walked barefoot to the Church of St. *Peter*, and having there prayed ſome time at the Tomb of the Apoſtle, he informed the Clergy and People of his having been nominated by the Emperor to the Apoſtolic See; but added, that, as by the Canons the Election of a Biſhop was null, unleſs made by the People and Clergy, they were ſtill at full Liberty to chuſe or reject him, begged they would declare their Thoughts freely, and aſſured them, that it was againſt his own Will, and in Compliance with the Emperor's, that he offered to take upon him ſo important a Charge; and that if he was not unanimouſly elected by them, he would return to his Biſhopric as willingly as he had left it unwillingly. His Speech was received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy by the Clergy and People, and he was by them unanimouſly proclaimed Sovereign Pontiff, and placed a few Days after on the Pontifical Throne under the Name of *Leo* IX [c].

Year of Chriſt 1048.

Goes to Rome *in the Habit of a Pilgrim; is choſen there.*

Thus *Wibert*, an Eye-witneſs, as has been ſaid, of what he relates, and likewiſe the Biſhop of *Segni*, who flouriſhed in the ſame Century. We may therefore well conclude, from what we read in them, that *Otto Friſingenſis*, who lived about the Middle of the following Century, was miſinformed, when he wrote, that *Leo* IX. aſſuming the Pontifical Ornaments upon his Election at *Worms*, travelled in that Attire through *France*; but that having viſited, on his Journey, the Monaſtery of *Cluny*, the famous *Hildebrand*, then Prior, by repreſenting to him how degrading it was for the Sovereign Pontiff to owe his Dignity to a Layman, prevailed upon him to quit the Pontifical Enſigns, and purſue his Journey to *Rome* in the Habit of a Pilgrim; that the Monk, taking upon him to manage his

This not ſuggeſted to him by Hildebrand.

[b] Bruno in Vit. Leon. IX. [c] Iidem ibid.

Election,

Year of Christ 1048.

Election, attended him to *Rome*, and there got him unanimouſly elected. This Account contradicts that of the Two more unexceptionable Writers quoted above. For *Wibert*, who was then at *Toul*, tells us, that *Leo* ſet out from thence in the Garb of a Pilgrim, and takes no kind of Notice of his paſſing through *France*, of his viſiting the Monaſtery of *Cluny*, or his meeting there with *Hildebrand*; nay, the Biſhop of *Segni* ſays in expreſs Terms, that *Hildebrand* was preſent at the Aſſembly or Diet of *Worms*, and that *Leo* took him from thence to *Toul*, and from *Toul* to *Rome* [d].

His Family, &c.

Leo was deſcended of an illuſtrious Family, and nearly related to the Emperor. He was brought up under *Berthold*, Biſhop of *Toul*, and *Heriman*, who ſucceeded *Berthold* in that See. He was ordained Deacon in 1025, and Biſhop of *Toul* on the Ninth of *September* of the following Year [e]. *Ordericus* ſuppoſes him to have been preferred by his Predeceſſor *Damaſus* to the Dignity of Cardinal [f]. But of that Preferment no Notice is taken by the contemporary Writer of his Life. From *Worms*, where he was elected by the Lords and Biſhops of *Germany*, he returned to *Toul*, and ſetting out from thence on the Twenty-ſeventh of *December* 1048, he arrived at *Rome* on the Second of the following *February*, was unanimouſly elected the ſame Day, and on the Twelfth of that Month inthroned, or placed with great Solemnity on the Pontifical Throne, a Ceremony that was always performed on a Sunday; and in 1049 the Twelfth of *February* fell on a Sunday.

When inthroned.

Conſecrates the Abbot of Richenou.

The firſt Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his conſecrating *Udalric*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Richenou*, and confirming all the Privileges that his Predeceſſors had granted to that Monaſtery. This Bull is dated at *Rome* the Twenty-ſixth of *March*, which in 1049 was Eaſter-Day; whence it is plain that he did not celebrate his Eaſter, as we read in ſome Writers, in the Monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*.

Holds a Council at Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1049.

Leo, impatient to redreſs the many ſcandalous Abuſes that prevailed in the Church, more eſpecially to extirpate the Vice of Simony, that had almoſt every-where taken deep Root, aſſembled a Council at *Rome* the Second Week after Eaſter, at which were preſent all the *Italian*, and the greater Part of the *Gallican* Biſhops, with *Halinard* Archbiſhop of *Lyons*. By this Council all ſimoniacal Bargains

[d] Bruno in Vit. Leon. IX. [e] Wibert. in ejus Vit. [f] Orderic, l. ii. p. 372.

were

were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication and Depoſition, ſome Biſhops convicted of Simony were depoſed, and it was ordained, that they, who had received Ordination at the Hands of a ſimoniacal Biſhop, ſhould perform no Eccleſiaſtical Functions till they had performed a Forty Days Penance. The Pope was for having all ſimoniacal Ordinations declared null; but he was therein oppoſed by the major Part of the Biſhops, remonſtrating, that if ſuch a Decree ſhould take place, ſcarce any would be found in ſome Dioceſes capable of performing the Sacerdotal or Epiſcopal Functions. By the ſame Council it was decreed, that all Chriſtians ſhould pay Tythes, the very Name of Tythes being unheard of in *Apulia*, and in ſeveral other Places; ſome Marriages within the forbidden Degrees were annulled, and the Parties, though Perſons of Diſtinction, ſeparated; Clerks, who, apoſtatizing from the Church, had joined in Communion with Heretics, were allowed to keep their former Ranks upon their Return to the Church, but debarred from ever riſing to a higher Degree. Several other Canons were iſſued by this Council, all calculated to correct and reform the licentious Lives of the Laity as well as the Clergy g. *Wibert* writes, that the Biſhop of *Sutri*, accuſed in this Council of Simony, produced ſeveral falſe Witneſſes to confute that Charge, but that while he himſelf was upon the Point of taking the falſe Oath, that his Witneſſes had taken, he ſuddenly dropt down, and being carried out of the Council expired ſoon after. h. Year of Chriſt 1049.

The Council ended about the 12th of *April* of the preſent Year; and the Pope, having firſt obtained Leave of the *Romans*, ſays the Writer of his Life, ſet out ſoon after for *France*, in order to conſecrate the new-built Church of *St. Remigius* at *Reims*, purſuant to the Promiſe he had made to the Abbot *Herimar*, and at the ſame time to redreſs, if by any means he could, the many Abuſes, that prevailed in moſt of the Churches of that Kingdom. On his Arrival at *Pavia*, he there aſſembled a Council in Whitſun-Week, which Feſtival fell this Year on the Fourteenth of *May*. The Council conſiſted of the neighbouring Biſhops, and thoſe, who attended the Pope. But none of the Acts of that Aſſembly have been tranſmitted to us. From *Pavia* the Pope went firſt to pay the Emperor a Viſit in *Saxony*, celebrated with him the Feſtival of St. *Peter* and St. *The Pope goes to* France. *Holds a Council at* Pavia.

g Concil. tom. ix. p. 1093. Wibert. in Vit. Leon. c. 4. h Iidem ibid.

Year of Christ 1049.

Paul at *Cologne*, and from thence repairing to *Toul*, wrote to the *Gallican* Biſhops and Abbots, requiring them to meet him at *Reims*, where he intended to hold a Council on the Firſt of *October*.

Council of Reims.

The Pope arrived at *Reims* in the latter End of *September* attended by the Archbiſhops of *Treves*, of *Lyons*, of *Beſançon*, and the Biſhop of *Porto*, and having conſecrated with great Solemnity the new Church of St. *Remigius*, and tranſlated thither the Body of the Saint, he appointed the Council to meet there the next Day, the Firſt of *October*. It was compoſed of Four Archbiſhops, of Fifteen Biſhops, among whom was an *Engliſh* Biſhop named *Dudocus*, ſent by *Edward* the Confeſſor, and of a great Number of Abbots and other Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks. As a Diſpute aroſe, at their firſt Meeting, between the Archbiſhops of *Treves* and *Reims*, about Precedency, the Pope, leaving that Controverſy to be ſettled at a more proper Seaſon, cauſed the Seats of the Biſhops to be placed in a Circle, and his own in the Middle. When they were all thus ſeated, *Peter*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, riſing up, told them, in the Pope's Name, that his Holineſs had aſſembled them in order to adviſe with them about the moſt effectual Means of ſuppreſſing the many Abuſes that prevailed in their Churches; that in many Places the Church Lands had been uſurped, and were held by Laymen; that Simony was publicly practiſed, and both Abbies and Biſhoprics publicly ſold; that inceſtuous Marriages were contracted without any Regard to the Canons, ſtrictly forbidding them, as if no ſuch Canons had ever been iſſued; that Monks, apoſtatizing from their Order, returned with Impunity to the World, which they had ſolemnly renounced; that Clerks, neglecting the Functions of their Office, and abandoning their Churches, bore Arms and ſerved in War, *&c.*; and that it was to redreſs theſe Abuſes that his Holineſs was come into *France*, and had called them together. In the next place the Deacon, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhops, ordered them, in the Pope's Name, and on Pain of Excommunication, to declare whether they had been ſimoniacally ordained. All the Biſhops but Four, *viz.* thoſe of *Langres*, *Nevers*, *Coutances*, and *Nantes*, readily declared, that no Simony had intervened in their Ordination. The Examination of the Four Biſhops was put off to another Day; and the Abbots being, in the mean time, required to make the ſame Declaration, ſome of them with their Silence owned themſelves guilty. In this Seſſion the Abbot of *Poitiers*, arraigned by the Biſhop

Some Biſhops accuſed of Simony.

of

of *Langres*, and convicted of Incontinence, was depoſed; and the Teſtimonies of the Fathers in favour of the Primacy of the Apoſtolic See being read, they were anathemized, who ſhould give the Title of *Univerſal Primate* to any but the Biſhop of *Rome*. Year of Chriſt 1049.

In the next Seſſion the Biſhop of *Langres* was charged with Simony, with having borne Arms, committed Murder, tyrannized over his Clergy, *&c.* One of his Clerks depoſed, that he had taken his Wife from him by Force, while he was yet a Layman; that he had debauched her, and afterwards cauſed her to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery: One of his Prieſts atteſted, that he had delivered him up to ſome Ruffians, who had uſed him moſt cruelly, in order to extort from him a Sum of Money by that means. The Archbiſhops of *Lyons* and *Beſançon* undertook his Defence; but the latter was ſuddenly ſtruck dumb, and the former could not help owning, that the Biſhop had exacted Money for his Ordinations, and compelled the Prieſts to pay him the Sum of Money he mentioned, but denied his having ever put him to the Torture, or having committed any of the other Crimes that were laid to his Charge. As the Day was far ſpent, the Pope cauſed the Canons forbidding Simony to be read, and put off the Trial of the other Biſhops charged with that Crime to the next Seſſion. *Crimes laid to the Charge of the Biſhop of* Langres.

In the mean time the Biſhop of *Langres* privately withdrew, and not appearing after he had been thrice ſummoned, was depoſed in the Third Seſſion, and declared incapable of ever performing any Eccleſiaſtical Function whatever. In the ſame Seſſion the Biſhop of *Nevers* owned, that his Relations had paid a conſiderable Sum of Money for that Biſhopric, but unknown to him; that he had not lived up to the Purity that was required of one in his Station; and was therefore ready to reſign a Dignity, of which he thought himſelf altogether unworthy. When he had done ſpeaking, he laid down his Croſier at the Pope's Feet, and began to diveſt himſelf of his Epiſcopal Ornaments. But the Pope, touched with Compaſſion, ſtopt him, and upon his taking a ſolemn Oath that the Bargain was made and the Money paid without his Knowledge, he reſtored to him his Croſier, and confirmed him in his Dignity, with full Power to exerciſe all Epiſcopal Functions. The Biſhop of *Conſtance* owned that his Brother had purchaſed his Biſhopric for him; but as he declared upon Oath that it was done without his Privity, nay, that he oppoſed his Ordination to the utmoſt of his Power as ſoon as he *Withdraws from the Council, and is depoſed.* *Other Biſhops forgiven or cleared.*

Year of Christ 1049.

was informed of it, he was not only cleared from all Simony, but commended by the Pope and the Council. The Biſhop of *Nantes* had ſucceeded his Father in that See, and he ingenuouſly owned that it was not without Money he had been allowed to ſucceed him. He was therefore diveſted of the Epiſcopal Dignity, but ſuffered, in Conſideration of his voluntary Confeſſion, to retain his Prieſthood, and perform the Functions of a Prieſt. The Archbiſhop of *Reims* was likewiſe arraigned of Simony; but the examining of his Cauſe was referred to a Council to be held at *Rome* about the Middle of the enſuing *April*. In this Seſſion the Biſhops, who had been ſummoned to the Council, and had neither appeared nor excuſed, in Writing, their Non-appearance, were ſuſpended from all Eccleſiaſtical Functions whatever, the Abbot of *St. Medard* was excommunicated for privately withdrawing from the Council, and the ſame Sentence was pronounced againſt the Archbiſhop of *St. James* in *Galicia* for ſtiling himſelf *Apoſtolical*, a Title which none but the Pope had a Right to.

Canons of this Council.

The Twelve Canons iſſued by this Council, were chiefly calculated to baniſh Simony out of the Church; to reſtrain the Clergy from bearing Arms or ſerving in War; to prevent Marriages within the forbidden Degrees; to reſtore to the People and Clergy the Right of chuſing their own Paſtors. By the Fifth Canon the Clergy were ſtrictly forbidden to demand or receive any Fee or Reward whatever for burying the Dead, for viſiting the Sick, or for adminiſtring Baptiſm and the Euchariſt [i].

The Body of St. Remigius *tranſlated.*

The Day after the Council the Pope aſſiſted at Maſs in the Church of *St. Remigius* attended by moſt of the Biſhops, and the Service being ended took the Body of the Saint from the Altar, where it had been laid, and carried it on his Shoulders to the Place that was prepared for it in the ſame Church.

Council of Mentz.

From *Reims* the Pope returned to *Germany*, and paſſing through *Metz*, conſecrated the Church of St. *Arnulphus* in that City. On his Arrival at *Mentz* he held another Council, at which were preſent Five Archbiſhops, and about Forty Biſhops. The Emperor himſelf aſſiſted at this Council, and with him the chief Lords and Princes of *Germany*. All we know of it is, that all ſimoniacal Bargains or Contracts were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication,

[i] Anſel. Itinerar. apud Lalbeum, tom. ix. Concil. Joan. Papien. in Spec. Radulph de Dicet. p. 475.

and

and Marriages of Prieſts not only prohibited but declared null. *Wibert* writes, that *Sibicho*, Biſhop of *Spire*, charged in this Council with Adultery, denied the Charge, and took the Sacrament as a Proof of his Innocence; but that his Mouth was ſuddenly diſtorted, and ſo remained to the Hour of his Death [k]. Year of Chriſt 1049.

The Pope, during his Stay in *Germany*, ordered Divine Service to be daily performed at the Altar of St. *Peter* in the Cathedral of *Cologne*; and to diſtinguiſh the Seven Prieſts, whom the Archbiſhop ſhould appoint to perform it, he granted them the Privilege of wearing Sandals, then an Epiſcopal Ornament, during the Service [l]. To the Canons of *Bamberg* he allowed the Uſe of the Mitre on the chief Feſtivals, and on the Anniverſary of the Emperor St. *Henry*, the Founder of that Church [m]. The ſame Mark of Diſtinction was afterwards granted by the Popes to the Canons of other Churches, who enjoy it to this Day. The Pope, before he left *Cologne*, appointed *Herman*, Archbiſhop of that Place, Chancellor of the Holy Apoſtolic See; and he thenceforth conſtantly ſigned himſelf S. A. S. (that is, *Sacræ Apoſtolicæ Sedis) Archicancellarius et Colonienſis Archiep.* That was, it ſeems, a new Dignity, no Mention being any-where made of it till the preſent Year 1049, when *Leo* conferred it upon *Herman* and his Suceſſors in the See of *Cologne* for ever [n]. *Privileges granted to ſome Churches.* *The Archbiſhop of* Cologne *made Chancellor of the* Roman *Church.*

From *Mentz* the Pope ſet out, ſoon after the breaking up of the Council, on his Return to *Rome*, celebrated the Feſtival of St. *Clement*, and kept the Firſt Sunday in Advent, which in 1049 fell on the 26th of *November*, in the Monaſtery of *Richenou*, not far from the City of *Conſtance*, and from thence purſuing his Journey to *Rome*, was met at a great Diſtance from the City by the Nobility and the Clergy, and attended by them, in a Kind of Triumph, to the Church of St. *Peter*, and from thence to the *Lateran* Palace [o]. The preciſe Time of his Arrival at *Rome* is no-where mentioned. But he muſt have ſtaid there a very ſhort Time. For we find him at *Monte Gargano* in the Beginning of the following Year 1050, and on Palm-Sunday at *Monte Caſſino*. He viſited ſeveral Cities in thoſe Parts, reſtoring every-where the decayed Diſcipline, and inquiring, upon the Spot, into the Lives led by the Clergy. At *Sipontum*, a City that ſtood at the Foot of *Monte Gargano*, but is no more, he held a *The Pope returns to* Rome, *viſits* Monte Gargano, &c. Year of Chriſt 1050. *Council of* Sipontum.

[k] Wibert. c. 5. [l] Idem, l. ii. c. 4. [m] Vit. Sancti Henrici apud Surium 14 Julii. [n] Cardinalis Raſpon. in Baſilic. Lateran. Wibert. ubi ſup. [o] Wibert. l. ii. c. 6. Herman. Contract. ad ann. 1050.

Year of Christ 1050.

Council, and depoſed Two Archbiſhops convicted of Simony; which is all we know of that Council [p]. We are told, that at *Beneventum* a Woman, who for Fifteen Years had been confined to her Bed by Illneſs, was ſuddenly cured by drinking the Water, with which the holy Pontif had waſhed his Hands [q]. During his Stay at *Monte Caſſino* he dined with the Monks in the common Refectory, conformed to the Rules of the Monaſtery, and would ſuffer no particular Marks of Diſtinction to be ſhewn him. Being well pleaſed with the regular and exemplary Lives of the Monks, he granted to the Abbot and his Succeſſors the Privilege of wearing, on the great Feſtivals, Sandals, Gloves, and the Dalmatic, all Enſigns of the Epiſcopal Dignity [r].

Gerard *of* Toul *canonized.*

From *Sipontum* the Pope returned to *Rome*, and there canonized, in a Council which he held ſoon after Eaſter, *Gerard*, Biſhop of *Toul*, who had governed that Church Thirty-one Years, and died in 994 with the Reputation of a great Saint; nay, and had lately appeared to a Monk, and told him, that as he reigned in Heaven with the Saints, he ought to be honoured upon Earth as a Saint [s].

Some Account of Berengarius *and his Doctrine.*

In the ſame Council was condemned the Doctrine of the famous *Berengarius* concerning the Euchariſt, contained in a Letter, which he had written to *Lanfranc*, a Monk of the Monaſtery of *Bec* in *Normandy*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Berengarius*, of whom I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel, was born at *Tours* about the Beginning of the Tenth Century, ſtudied under *Fulbert*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, and upon his Death returned to *Tours*, where he was employed to teach in the public Schools of St. *Martin*. In that Employment he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was admitted into the Chapter, and made Treaſurer of that Church. However he left *Tours*, Hiſtory does not inform us on what Account, and removed to *Angers*, was preferred by *Bruno*, called alſo *Euſebius*, Biſhop of the Place, to the Dignity of Archdeacon of that Church. It was there, and about the Year 1047, that he firſt began to teach his Doctrine concerning the Euchariſt, *viz.* that Chriſt was not really but only figuratively preſent in that Sacrament, or that it was not the real Body and Blood of our Lord, but only a Type or Figure of his Body and Blood. Two of the moſt learned Writers of the preceding Century had handled this Subject before him, and

[p] Wibert. ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Mabill. ſec. v. Benedict. p. 894.

maintained

maintained quite contrary Opinions concerning it, *viz. Paſchaſius Radbertus*, a Monk of *Corby*, and the famous *Johannes Scotus*. Year of Chriſt 1050.

The Doctrine of Paſchaſius.

In the Year 831 *Paſchaſius* wrote a Treatiſe *upon the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord*, for the Inſtruction of the *Saxon* Youth, who had been lately converted to the Faith, and were educated in the new Monaſtery of *Corby* in *Saxony*. That Treatiſe he afterwards reviſed, and ſent it improved with Additions to *Charles the Bald* of *France*, when he was Abbot of *Old Corby*, and conſequently after the Year 844, the Year in which he was made Abbot. In that Piece he plainly maintains the real Preſence, and what has been ſince called *Tranſubſtantiation*, as appears from the following Words; "Though there be ſtill the Figure of Bread and Wine, yet we are "to believe, that after Conſecration nothing remains but the Body "and Blood of Chriſt our Lord, and he therefore ſaid, *this is my* "*Fleſh for the Life of the World*; and to ſay what is ſtill more "wonderful, no other Fleſh than that, which was born of the "Virgin *Mary*, which ſuffered on the Croſs, and roſe from the "Grave. This the whole World holds and confeſſes, and no Man "openly contradicts."

Of Johannes Scotus.

On the other Hand *Johannes Scotus*, ſo called becauſe a Native of *Scotland* or *Ireland*, that Name being then common to thoſe of both Nations, held the quite contrary Opinion. He came into *France* about the Beginning of the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, that is, about the Year 829, and having ſoon gained great Reputation there by his Erudition and Learning, he was diſtinguiſhed with an honourable Place in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and conſulted by the King concerning the Euchariſt. For it was by the King's expreſs Order that he wrote the Treatiſe *of the Body and Blood of our Lord*, wherein he as plainly impugned the real Preſence as the other maintained it, declaring, that *the Body of our Lord is by the Faithful received figuratively, myſtically, ſacramentally, ſpiritually*, and not *really* or *corporally*. That Treatiſe he publiſhed under the feigned Name of *Bertram*, which induced *Sigebert* and *Trithemius* to aſcribe it to *Ratram*, a Monk of *Corby*, who flouriſhed at this Time, and wrote by Order of *Charles the Bald* Two Books upon Predeſtination. For in the Diſputes that aroſe in after Days about the Euchariſt, the Treatiſe in Queſtion is conſtantly quoted as the Work, not of *Bertram* or *Ratram*, but of *Scotus*, and no Mention is ever made of any Writer upon that Subject under either of thoſe Names. *Scotus* having taught

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ſome Doctrines in *France* diſpleaſing to *Rome*, Pope *Nicholas* complained of him to the King; and he thereupon left *France*, and came into *England* in the Reign of King *Alfred*. Being employed here to inſtruct the Youth, it is ſaid that at *Malmsbury* the Boys committed to his Care ſtabbed him to Death with their Penknives. Thus *William* of *Malmsbury* [t]. But he ſpeaks doubtfully of what he relates, as if it had no better Foundation than a Report or Tradition; *ut fertur*, ſays he, and all the reſt have copied the Story from him.

His Treatiſe on the Euchariſt.

That Chriſt is preſent in the Euchariſt was the ancient Doctrine and Belief of the Catholic Church. But as to the Manner of his Preſence, *Paſchaſius* was the firſt, who explained it in the Terms which I have mentioned above, as is owned by the learned *Sirmundus*, and many other Roman Catholic Writers [u]. Till that Monk's Time all had underſtood our Saviour calling the Elements of Bread and Wine his *Body* and *Blood*, as they had underſtood him calling himſelf the *Shepherd*, the *Vine*, the *Way*, the *Truth*, the *Bread* that came from Heaven, *&c.* that is, in a figurative Senſe, as has been proved by many Proteſtant Writers with innumerable Paſſages out of the Fathers. This new Doctrine gave great Offence to the *Gallican* Church; and it was on that Occaſion that *Charles the Bald* put the following Queſtion to *Scotus*, and deſired him to ſolve it; *Whether the Body and Blood of Chriſt be myſteriouſly received by the Faithful in the Euchariſt, or in Truth*, and *whether it be the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin* Mary, *that ſuffered on the Croſs, that roſe from the Dead, aſcended into Heaven, and ſits at the right Hand of the Father?* In Anſwer to that Queſtion *Scotus* wrote his Treatiſe *on the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, wherein he maintained the Bread and the Wine in the Euchariſt to be only the Sign, Figure, Type, or Image of Chriſt's Body and Blood. *Scotus* had his Followers, and ſo had *Paſchaſius*; and both pleaded Antiquity and the Authority of the Fathers, plainly eſtabliſhing the Reality of Chriſt's Preſence, according to one Party, and plainly denying it, according to the other. However, the Opinion of *Paſchaſius*, as veſting in the Prieſthood a moſt extraordinary Power, that of *making the God that made them*, prevailed in the End. For when *Berengarius* revived, about 200 Years after, the Opinion of *Scotus*, it was combated as a *new Doctrine* by almoſt all Men of any Learning or

[t] Malmſb. de reg. l. ii. c. 4.

[u] See Uſher's Anſwer to the Jeſuits Challenge, p. 74.

Knowledge

Knowledge in *France* and in *Italy*. Among theſe *Adelman* of *Liege*, who had been his School-fellow, and was afterwards preferred, for his Learning, to the See of *Breſcia*, no ſooner heard of his holding and propagating an Opinion, repugnant, as he ſaid, to the Belief of the Church, than he wrote a long Letter to him, exhorting him to walk in the beaten Path, and not diſturb, with new Opinions, the Peace of the Church; that is, blindly to believe what others believed, and ſacrifice Truth to the Peace of the Church. In the ſame Letter he undertook to prove, that in the Euchariſt Chriſt was *truly* and *ſubſtantially* preſent [w]. Many others, and ſome of them the ableſt Men of that Age, engaged in the ſame Diſpute, all declaring for the *real* and *corporeal* Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, a Myſtery, they ſaid, which all were to believe, though none could explain it. Among the reſt *Lanfranc*, who taught then in the public Schools at *Bec* in *Normandy*, cenſured the Opinion, denying or queſtioning the *Reality* of Chriſt's Body in the Euchariſt, as repugnant to the Belief of the Church and the Fathers. Of this *Berengarius* was no ſooner informed, than he wrote to *Lanfranc* the following Letter. Year of Chriſt 1050.

Letter of Berengarius *to* Lanfranc.

" My Brother, You hold as heretical the
" Sentiments of *Johannes Scotus* concerning the Sacrament of the
" Altar, as diſagreeing with thoſe of *Paſchaſius*, which you receive.
" If that be true, you have, my Brother, decided too haſtily, and
" acted in a manner unworthy of a Man of your Talents. You
" have not ſtudied the holy Scripture with thoſe, who are the beſt
" verſed in it. I ſhould therefore be glad, unlearned as I am, to
" reaſon with you upon that Subject in the Preſence of ſuch Judges
" or Hearers as you ſhall think fit. Till that happens deſpiſe not
" what I ſay, *viz.* that if you hold *John*, whoſe Sentiments con-
" cerning the Euchariſt I adopt, for a Heretic, you muſt likewiſe
" hold St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Jerom*, and St. *Auſtin* for Heretics, not to
" mention the reſt of the Fathers."

The Letter ſent to Rome.

The Meſſenger, whom *Berengarius* ſent with this Letter, not finding *Lanfranc* in *Normandy*, for he was gone to *Rome*, delivered it to ſome Clerks, who read it, and gave it to others to read. And thus was the Doctrine it contained made public, and *Lanfranc*, to whom it was addreſſed, ſuſpected of approving the Sentiments of his Friend. The Letter was even ſent to *Rome*, and after being peruſed

[w] Bibliothec. Patrum, tom. xviii.

by

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by many of the *Roman* Clergy, ſhewn to the Pope, who ordered it to be read in the Council that had been aſſembled for the Canonization of the Biſhop *Gerard*, as has been ſaid above, and was ſtill ſitting. The Fathers of the Council, upon hearing it read, pronounced at once the Doctrine heretical, repugnant to the Belief of the whole Catholic Church, and inconſiſtent with that of the Scriptures and Fathers. At the ſame time the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out againſt *Berengarius*, and all, who ſhould countenance either him or his Doctrine. As *Lanfranc*, to whom the Letter was written, happened to be preſent at the Council, the Pope ordered him to make a public Confeſſion of his Faith, eſpecially with reſpect to the Article of the Euchariſt, that no Room might be left for the leaſt Suſpicion of his approving the ſame Doctrine. *Lanfranc*, in Compliance with the Pope's Order, roſe up, declared his Belief, and explained it to the full Satisfaction of the Pope and all who were preſent. The Pope, before he diſmiſſed the Biſhops, who aſſiſted at the Council, appointed another to meet at *Vercelli* in the Month of *September* of the preſent Year 1050, and invited them to it [x]. Thus was *Berengarius*, with the utmoſt Injuſtice, condemned without being heard, or ſo much as ſummoned to the Council that condemned him, and for diſapproving a Doctrine, which, how generally ſoever received, had not yet been defined, or propoſed by the Church as an Article of the Catholic Faith.

And the Doctrine it contained condemned at Rome;

and in Normandy.

Berengarius, informed of what had paſſed in the Council of *Rome*, withdrew into *Normandy*, and being there kindly received by *Ansfred*, Abbot of *Preaux*, he endeavoured to gain *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, over to his Party. But that Prince, though then but a Youth, ſuſpending his Judgment, ordered a Conference to be held at *Brienne*, conſiſting of all the Prelates and learned Men in the Country; and by all the *new Doctrine*, as they ſtiled it, was, with one Voice, condemned and rejected [y]. *Berengarius* therefore, leaving *Normandy*, retired to *Chartres*, but there kept his Opinion to himſelf, telling thoſe, who were deſirous to know it, that he would acquaint them with it at a more proper Seaſon, that is, when he ſhould have convinced the Pope of the Truth of his Doctrine, which he did not deſpair of effecting at the Council appointed to meet at *Vercelli*. In the mean time he wrote a Letter, ſtrongly

[x] Lanfranc in Comment. contra Bereng. Herman. Contract. Troarn, de Corpore et Sang. Chriſti.

[y] Durand.

reflecting

reflecting on the Conduct of the Pope, condemning him as a Heretic, and cutting him off from the Communion of the Church, without hearing what he had to offer in Defence of his Doctrine. This Letter has not reached our Times, but *Durandus*, Abbot of *Troarn*, who read it, tells us, that the *Roman* Church, and the holy Pope *Leo*, Head of the Church Universal, were there taxed with Heresy, and blasphemously called Heretics [z]. Year of Christ 1050.

The Council of *Vercelli* met at the Time appointed, in the Beginning of *September* of the present Year 1050. It was composed of Bishops from different Countries, especially from *France*, and *Germany*, and of most of the learned Men then in the West. The Pope presided in Person, and such of the Nobility, as chose it, were allowed to be present. To this Council *Berengarius* had been summoned at the breaking up of the Council of *Rome*. But not thinking it safe for him to comply with that Summons, he appointed Two Clerks, his Disciples, to maintain his and their Doctrine in his room. *Lanfranc*, who was present, informs us, in a very few Words, of what was transacted in that Assembly. The Book of *Johannes Scotus*, says he, was read and condemned, and the Two Clerks, sent by *Berengarius* to maintain his Doctrine, confounded and silenced [a]. The Doctrine of *Berengarius* was the same with that of *Scotus*, and the Council by condemning *Scotus* condemned *Berengarius*. *Council of* Vercelli *condemns the Doctrine of* Berengarius.

The Opinion of *Scotus* being thus condemned, *Anelin*, Monk of St. *Evrou* in *Normandy*, wrote to *Berengarius*, with whom he had formerly had a Conference about the Doctrine in Dispute, exhorting him to condemn an Opinion, that was maintained by One Man, but condemned by Two full Councils. He declared in that Letter, that he firmly believed the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist to be changed, by the Ministry of the Priest, into the real Body and real Blood of our Lord, it being impossible, he said, to understand the Words of our Saviour in any other Sense, than that he held in his Hands and gave them to eat of the very Body, which was sitting at Table with them; that such an Opinion was neither contrary to the Laws of Nature, which depended upon the Will of the Author of Nature, nor to any Thing revealed in the Gospel; that he would therefore ever adhere to the Doctrine of *Paschasius*, and believe with him, and the Catholic Church, that the Faithful receive the Anelin's *Letter to* Berengarius.

[z] Durand. ibid. part ix. p. 106.

[a] Lanf. in Comment. contra Bereng.

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true and real Body and Blood of Christ under the Appearance of Bread and of Wine[b]. In Answer to this, and many other Letters of the same Kind from others, *Berengarius* appealed to the Fathers. especially to St. *Ambrose*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Jerom*, who had held, as he said he was ready to prove, the very Doctrine, that *Scotus* had taught; and from thence he concluded *Paschasius*, and not *Scotus*, to have introduced a new Doctrine.

His Answer.

His Doctrine condemned in a Council at Paris.

As this Dispute made a great Noise in *France*, the King, *Henry* I. summoned all the Bishops and learned Men of his Kingdom to meet at *Paris*, on the Sixteenth of *October* 1050, in order to examine it and *Berengarius* among the rest. But as he did not appear, *Isambardus*, Bishop of *Orleans*, produced a Letter, which he had written to one named *Paul*, and the Bishop had intercepted. This Letter being read in the Council, the Bishops with one Voice pronounced the Doctrine it contained heretical. For in that Letter *Berengarius* had opened his Mind to his Friend, without Reserve, condemning, in plain Terms, the Opinion of *Paschasius* as repugnant, and extolling that of *Scotus* as entirely agreeable to the Belief of the Church in the primitive Times, and the Doctrine of the Fathers. At the same Time the Book of *Scotus*, whom they stiled the Author of the *New Heresy*, was condemned; and it was enacted, that *Berengarius* and his Followers should be sought for, should be apprehended, and where-ever found even put to Death, if they did not publicly retract their impious Doctrine[c]. Who can but admire the Christian Spirit of those good Bishops! This Decree sufficiently justified the Conduct of *Berengarius* in not venturing to appear at that Council. Of this cruel and unjust Sentence he complained in a Letter to an Abbot named *Richardus*, One of the King's chief Favourites, entreating him to undeceive that Prince, whom the Enemies of Truth had found Means to prejudice so strongly against him, and let him know, that he was ready to defend, in his Presence, the Doctrine, that had been so rashly condemned by the Bishops of his Kingdom. He added, that the King ought to be informed, that *Scotus* wrote his Book, at the Request of *Charles the Great* (meaning *Charles the Bald*, who was sometimes distinguished with the Title of *Great)* in order to undeceive the Ignorant, and confute the many gross Errors, relating to the Eucharist, that had been introduced, chiefly by

[b] Dacher. in Not. ad Vit. Lanfran.

[c] Dunrand. Abbot. Troarn, par. ix.

Paschasius,

Paſchaſius, into the Church; and that ſo deſerving a Man ſhould, on that Account, be protected after his Death by the Succeſſors of the Prince, in Obedience to whoſe Commands he had undertaken ſo uſeful a Work [d]. But the Monk either did not apply to the King, or his Application proved ineffectual. Year of Chriſt 1050.

That the Doctrine of Chriſt's real Preſence in the Euchariſt was utterly unknown to the *Engliſh* Church, and conſequently was not *held and confeſſed by the whole World*, as was boldly aſſerted by *Paſchaſius*, undeniably appears from an antient *Saxon* Sermon or Homily, appointed to be read in the Churches of *England* on Eaſter-Day. It is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been written by *Ælfric*, who ſucceeded *Sigeric* in the See of *Canterbury* about the Year 995, but by others aſcribed to *Ælfrick* the younger raiſed to the See of *York* in 1028. It is ſtill in Manuſcript in the public Library at *Oxford*, and in that of *Bennet* College in *Cambridge*, has been long ago publiſhed in the *Saxon* with an *Engliſh* Tranſlation, and ſince by the learned *Wheelock*, both in *Saxon* and in *Latin*, in his Edition of *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory [e]. I ſhall tranſcribe here out of that invaluable Piece ſome Paſſages, that will put it out of all Doubt, that in the latter End of the Tenth, or in the Beginning of the Eleventh Century, the Doctrine of Chriſt's real or corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt was not the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church. The Homily begins thus: *The Doctrine of* Paſchaſius *unknown at this Time to the* Engliſh Church.

" Men beloved, you have been often diſcourſed to concerning " our Saviour's Reſurrection, *&c.* Now we ſhall, by God's Grace, " explain ſomething to you about the holy Euchariſt, which this " Day we are bound to frequent, and inſtruct your Underſtandings " about this Myſtery, both according to the Old and New Teſtament, " that no Doubt may diſturb you concerning this Life-giving Ban- " quet.——Chriſt before his Suffering conſecrated Bread, and diſ- " tributed it to his Diſciples, ſaying, *eat this Bread, it is my Body*, " *and do this in Remembrance of me.* He likewiſe conſecrated " Wine in a Cup, and ſaid, *drink ye all of this, this is my Blood*, " *which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.* The Apoſtles " did as Chriſt commanded, they conſecrated Bread and Wine for " the Euchariſt——Now Men have often diſputed, and ſtill do diſ-

[d] Dacher. Specileg. tom. ii. et Concil. tom. ix. p. 1062. [e] Bed. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 462.

Year of Chriſt 1050.

" pute, how that Bread, which is prepared of Corn, can be changed
" into Chriſt's Body, and how that Wine, by any Bleſſing of it,
" can be changed into Chriſt's Blood? To ſuch Men I anſwer, that
" ſome Things are ſpoken of Chriſt by *Signification*, ſome others
" by a *known Thing*. It is a true Thing and known, that Chriſt
" was born of a Virgin, that he voluntarily ſuffered Death, was
" buried, and this Day roſe from the Dead. He is called Bread,
" and a Lamb, and a Lion *by Signification*. He is called *Bread*,
" becauſe he is our Life, a *Lamb* for his Innocence, a *Lion* for his
" Strength. Yet according to true Nature Chriſt is neither Bread,
" nor a Lamb, nor a Lion. Why then is the holy Euchariſt called,
" Chriſt's Body, or his Blood, if it be not truly what it is called?
" Truly the Bread and Wine, which are conſecrated, ſhew one
" Thing outwardly to Mens Senſes, and another Thing they de-
" clare inwardly to believing Minds. Outwardly Bread and Wine
" are ſeen both in Appearance and in Taſte; yet they are truly, after
" Conſecration, Chriſt's Body and Blood by a *ſpiritual Sacrament*.
" So the holy Font-water, called the Well-ſpring of Life, is like in
" Nature to other Waters, and is ſubject to Corruption; but the
" Power of the Holy Ghoſt, by the Prieſt's Bleſſing, comes upon that
" corruptible Water; and after that it can waſh both Body and Soul
" from all Sin by ſpiritual Virtue. We ſee now Two Things in this
" One Creature; that, whereby it is, according to Nature, cor-
" ruptible Water, and that, whereby it has, according to the ſpi-
" ritual Myſtery, a ſaving Power. In like Manner, if we look upon
" the holy Euchariſt according to a corporeal Senſe, we ſee that it is
" a Creature corruptible and changeable. But if we own a ſpiri-
" tual Power therein, then we underſtand that Life is in it, and that
" it confers Immortality on thoſe, who taſte it by Faith. There is
" much Difference between the inviſible Power of the holy Eucha-
" riſt, and the viſible Appearance of its proper Nature. By Nature
" it is corruptible Bread, and corruptible Wine, but by Virtue of
" the divine Word, it is *truly* the Body and Blood of Chriſt, *yet*
" *not corporally ſo, but ſpiritually*. There is a great Difference be-
" tween the Body that Chriſt ſuffered in, and that Body, which is
" conſecrated for the Euchariſt. The Body, that Chriſt ſuffered in,
" was born of the Fleſh of *Mary*, with Blood and Bones, with Skin
" and Nerves, animated with a rational Spirit in human Members.
" But his ſpiritual Body, which we call the Euchariſt, is collected

" from

" from many Grains of Corn, without Blood and Bone, without Member or Soul: *and therefore there is nothing in it to be understood corporally, but all is to be understood ſpiritually.*— This Sacrament is a *Pledge* and a *Type*, the Body of Chriſt is the Truth. We keep the *Pledge* ſacramentally till we come to the Truth itſelf; and then is the Pledge at an End. *It is indeed Chriſt's Body and his Blood, not corporally but ſpiritually.* Do not diſpute how this can be effected, but believe it firmly.— *Paul*, the Apoſtle, ſpeaking of the *Iſraelites*, ſays, *they all drank of the ſpiritual Rock, and that Rock was Chriſt.* That Rock was not Chriſt in a corporal Senſe, but it ſignified Chriſt.—The heavenly Food, that fed them for Forty Years, and the Water, that flowed from the Rock, ſignified Chriſt's Body and Blood, which are now daily offered in the Church. It was the ſame which we offer to Day, *not corporally, but ſpiritually.* Chriſt conſecrated Bread and Wine for the Euchariſt, and ſaid, this is my Body and Blood; he had not yet ſuffered, and yet he changed the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood, as he did before in the Wilderneſs, when he changed the heavenly Food into his Fleſh, and the Water flowing from the Rock into his Blood.—They ſaw, that the heavenly Food was viſible and corruptible; but they underſtood that Thing *ſpiritually. Jeſus* ſaid, *whoever eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life. He did not command them to eat that Body, which he had aſſumed, nor to drink that Blood, which he ſhed for us; but by that Speech he meant the holy Euchariſt, which is ſpiritually his Body and his Blood.*" Year of Chriſt 1050.

We have two other Pieces written by *Ælfric*, that contain the very ſame Doctrine; the one an Epiſtle to *Wulfſine*, Biſhop of *Shirburne*, where he ſpeaks thus: " The Euchariſt is not the Body of Chriſt corporally, but ſpiritually; not the Body in which he ſuffered, but the Body of which he ſpoke when he bleſſed Bread and Wine for the Euchariſt, ſaying, *this is my Body*, &c." The other is an Epiſtle to *Wulſtane*, Archbiſhop of *York*; and he there expreſſes himſelf, with reſpect to the Euchariſt, in the following Terms: " Chriſt himſelf conſecrated the Euchariſt before his Paſſion; he bleſſed Bread and broke it, ſaying, *eat this Bread, it is my Body:* and again he bleſſed the Cup, ſaying, *drink ye all of this, it is my Blood of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many*

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" *many for the Remiſſion of Sins.* The Lord, who conſecrated " the Euchariſt before his Paſſion, and ſaid that Bread was his Body " and Wine truly his Blood, daily conſecrates, by the Prieſt's Hands, " Bread for his Body, and Wine for his Blood, in a ſpiritual My- " ſtery. *However, that Life-giving Bread is not the ſame Body,* " *in which Chriſt ſuffered, nor that holy Wine the Blood of our* " *Saviour, that was ſhed for us, in bodily Thing, but in a ſpi-* " *ritual Senſe. That Bread indeed was his Body, and that Wine* " *his Blood, juſt as that heavenly Bread, which we call Manna,* " *was his Body, and the clear Water, that flowed from the* " *Rock in the Wilderneſs, was his Blood. The Apoſtle, who* " *ſays they all did eat,* &c. *does not ſay corporally, but ſpiritu-* " *ally* [f]."

Some Obſervations on the foregoing Doctrine.

I ſhall conclude on this Head with a few Obſervations. And 1. The Doctrine, denying Chriſt's *real* or *corporeal* Preſence in the Euchariſt, is here aſſerted in ſuch plain Terms, as leave not the leaſt room to queſtion the Meaning of the Writer. 2. As the Sermon, containing that Doctrine, was appointed to be read on Eaſter-day, for the Inſtruction of the Faithful, before they received the Euchariſt, it was not the private Opinion of *Ælfric*, but the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church. 3. The ſame Doctrine muſt have been once taught by the *Roman* Church, ſince the *Engliſh* Church was inſtructed in the chief Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion by the *Roman*. 4. What *Paſchaſius* wrote, *viz.* that *no Man openly contradicted his Doctrine*, was certainly true, as no Man had ever heard of it till he publiſhed his famous Treatiſe. But it was no ſooner known than contradicted by ſome of the moſt learned Men of that Age, and among the reſt by *Raban* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, as appears from an Epiſtle of his to *Heribald*, wherein he ſpeaks thus, alluding, no Doubt, to the Treatiſe of *Paſchaſius*; " Some of late, not thinking rightly " of the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood, have ſaid, that " the very Body and Blood of our Lord, which was born of the " Virgin *Mary*, and in which he ſuffered on the Croſs, and roſe " again out of the Grave, is the ſame that is taken at the Altar, " which *Error* we have oppoſed as we are able [g]". Laſtly, From what has been ſaid it is evident, that the preſent Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Euchariſt was, ſo late as the Ninth

[f] Not. ad Bed. p. 332, 333, 334. & Uſher's Anſwer to the Jeſuits, p. 79. [g] Baluz. in Append. ad Reginon. p. 516.

Century,

Century, unkown to the *Engliſh* Church, and even looked upon, as an *Error* by ſome of the moſt learned Men of that Age, and conſequently, that it was not taught, from the earlieſt times, by the Catholic Church. And now to return from this Digreſſion to *Leo*. Year of Chriſt 1050.

From *Vercelli* the Pope, inſtead of returning to *Rome* after the Council, paid a ſecond Viſit to his Flock at *Toul*, for he never reſigned that Biſhopric, and there tranſlated with great Pomp and Solemnity the Body of St. *Gerard*, whom he had lately canonized. He was ſtill in that City on the 30th of *October*, as appears from a Charter granted at *Toul*, bearing that Date [h]. But he kept the Feaſt of the Purification at *Augsburg* with the Emperor, and from thence returning to *Rome* held a Council ſoon after Eaſter, in which he excommunicated *Gregory* Biſhop of *Vercelli* for committing Adultery with a Widow betrothed to his Uncle. The Biſhop was abſent when this Sentence was given, but he flew to *Rome* as ſoon as he heard of it; and upon his promiſing to perform the Penance, that his Holineſs impoſed upon him, he was abſolved from the Excommunication, and reſtored to the Functions of his Office. On that Occaſion the Canons iſſued by other Councils againſt the Incontinence of the Clergy were confirmed, ſome new ones were added to them, and in order to check more effectually the ſcandalous Irregularities of the *Roman* Clergy in particular, it was decreed, at the Requeſt of the Pope, that all Women, who ſhould, for the future, proſtitute themſelves to Prieſts within the Walls of *Rome*, ſhould be condemned to ſerve as Slaves in the *Lateran* Palace [i]. *Council of* Rome. Year of Chriſt 1051.

It was probably in this Council that the Pope abſolved *Edward the Confeſſor* from a Vow he had made to viſit the holy Places at *Rome*. The King ſhewed a great Inclination to undertake that Pilgrimage, the viſiting the Tombs of the Apoſtles being ſtill in Reputation, and thought highly meritorious. But his Council, apprehending the evil Conſequences of his being abſent at a Time when the State was divided into oppoſite Parties, as it happened then, perſuaded him to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with the Vow he had made, and laying before him the Evils that would inevitably attend his performing ſuch a Journey, to beg his Holineſs would abſolve him from it. The Embaſſadors were kindly *The Pope abſolves* Edward the Confeſſor *from a Vow.*

[h] Wibert in Vit. Cunibert.

[i] Herman. ad an. 1051. Petrus Damian. in ep. ad Cu-

received

Year of Christ 1051.

received by the Pope, and he very readily granted their Requeſt, but upon Condition, that the King beſtowed upon the Poor the Money, which he had reſerved to defray the Expences of his Journey, and beſides, either repaired or built anew and enlarged the Monaſtery, dedicated to the Prince of the Apoſtles St. *Peter*. The King, in Compliance with theſe Terms, immediately undertook the rebuilding of St. *Peter's* at *Weſtminſter*; which Work was completed, and the new Church conſecrated, on the 28th of *December* 1065.[k]

He returns to Germany.

Upon the breaking up of this Council, the Pope took a third Journey into *Germany*, to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and *Andrew*, King of *Hungary*, refuſing to pay the Tribute that his Predeceſſors had annually paid to the Emperor, as a Token of their Subjection to the Empire. The Emperor had thereupon beſieged a Strong-hold, called *Berziburg*, that belonged to the King, who apprehending he would reduce it, and open himſelf a Way into the Heart of his Kingdom, wrote to the Pope, offering to pay the uſual Tribute, and begging his Holineſs to interpoſe with the Emperor in his Behalf. *Leo* complied with his Requeſt, and having other Affairs to tranſact with the Emperor, he had no ſooner diſmiſſed the Council, than he ſet out for *Germany*. But the vigorous Reſiſtance, which the Emperor met with from the Garriſon of *Berziburg*, having, in the mean time, obliged him to raiſe the Siege, the King would no longer ſtand to the Terms, which the Pope had propoſed, at his Deſire, to the Emperor. *Leo*, highly provoked at the Conduct of the King, threatened him with Excommunication[l]; but what was the Iſſue of that Affair Hiſtory does not inform us.

Canonizes Two Saints at Ratiſbon. Year of Chriſt 1052.

The following Year 1052 *Leo* being ſtill in *Germany*, canonized at *Ratisbon* Two Biſhops of that City, *viz. Wolfangus*, who was made Biſhop in 972, and died on the 21ſt of *October* 994, and *Erhard*, who governed the ſame Church with great Reputation of Sanctity, and was believed to have wrought many Miracles in his Life-time and after his Death[m]. From *Ratisbon* the Pope went to meet the Emperor at *Worms*, and there they both celebrated the Chriſtmas Feſtival. It was in that City, and in the preſent Year 1052, that *Leo* exchanged the Biſhopric of *Bamberg*, the Monaſtery of *Fulda*, and ſeveral other Places, for the City of *Beneventum* in

[k] Concil. tom. ix. p. 1186. [l] Herman. ad an. 1051. [m] Mabil. Sec. Benedict V. Bolland ad diem 8 Jan.

Apulia [n]. But this Exchange did not take place till the Year 1076. A late Hiſtorian ſuppoſes the whole Principality of *Beneventum*, compriſing at this time ſeveral Provinces, and many great Cities, to have been yielded to the Pope [o]. But *Leo Oſtienſis*, the moſt antient Writer who mentions this Exchange, and *Petrus Diaconus*, who wrote ſoon after him [p], ſay in expreſs Terms, that the Emperor gave the City of *Beneventum* in Exchange for the Biſhopric of *Bamberg*, and no Man can think, that if he had given the whole Principality, as well as the City, they would only have mentioned the City. Year of Chriſt 1052.

The following Year 1053 the Pope, having celebrated the Feſtival of the Purification at *Augsburg*, ſet out from thence on his Return to *Italy*, and arriving at *Mantua* about Shrove-Sunday, aſſembled a Council in that City. But the Domeſtics of the Biſhops quarrelling, at the Inſtigation of their Maſters, with thoſe of the Pope's Retinue, raiſed ſuch Diſturbances, as obliged the Pope to diſmiſs the Aſſembly, after he had attempted in vain, and not without endangering his Life, to appeaſe the Tumult. For thinking the Rioters would be awed by his Preſence, he quitted his Seat in the Council, and ſhewed himſelf at the Church Doors in his Pontifical Robes. But they ſtill continued to purſue his Servants with Showers of Darts and Stones, that flew thick about the Pope himſelf, and even wounded one of his Domeſtics, who had taken Shelter under his Mantle. Thus did the Biſhops prevent the Pope from enquiring into their Conduct, which they knew would deſervedly draw upon them the ſevereſt Cenſures. The Authors of theſe Diſturbances were diſcovered the next Day; but the Pope forgave them, leſt he ſhould be thought, as the Affront was offered to him, to have been actuated, in puniſhing them, with the Spirit of Revenge [q]. I have obſerved elſewhere, that at *Mantua* was kept a Spunge, ſteeped, as was believed, in the Blood of our Saviour [r]. That Relique the Pope attempted to carry with him to *Rome:* But the whole City taking the Alarm, he was obliged to content himſelf with a ſmall Portion of the holy Spunge, which he depoſited in the *Lateran* Church, where it is ſhewn to this Day [s]. *Council at* Mantua. Year of Chriſt 1053. *Diſturbances on occaſion of that Council.*

[n] Herman. ad an. 1053. Leo Oſtien. l. ii. c. 84. [o] Giannetaſ. Hiſt. Neap. l. ix. [p] Leo Oſtienſ. ubi ſupra. & Petr. Diacon. ad Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 84. [q] Herman. Wibert. in Vit. Leon. l. ii. c. 8. [r] See Vol. iv. p. 173. [s] Hyppolit. Doneſmund. Hiſt. Mant. l. iii. p. 203.

Year of Christ 1053. *Council of* Rome.

Leo returned to *Rome* in the Beginning of Lent, and in a Council, which was held there after Easter, he declared *Dominic* of *Grado* Metropolitan or Primate of the Provinces of *Venetia* and *Istria* gave him the Pall, subjected all the Bishops of those Two Provinces to his See, and confined to *Lombardy* the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Friuli*, who had long disputed the Metropolitan Dignity with the Bishop of *Grado*. The Patriarchal See was transferred from *Aquileia* to *Grado* in 579 [t], which City was therefore called *New Aquileia*, and in 1450 it was removed from *Grado* to *Venice*.

Some Opinions of the Greeks *condemned.*

It was, probably, in this Council, that the Pope condemned the Opinion of the *Greeks*, teaching, that the Eucharist ought to be administered with leavened Bread, which alone they pretended to be true Bread, and therefore censured the *Roman* Church, as deviating from the Practice, introduced by our Saviour himself, in solemnizing that Sacrament with unleavened Bread. That was the Subject of a Letter, written by *Michael Cerularius*, at this Time Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Leo* Metropolitan of *Achris* in *Bulgaria*, to *John* Bishop of *Trani* in *Apulia*. *John* shewed the Letter to *Humbertus*, Bishop of the *White Forest*, who translated it into *Latin*, and communicated it to the Pope. *Leo*, finding the *Roman* Church strongly attacked in that Piece, and arraigned of adopting both Doctrines and Practices inconsistent with those of the primitive Church, wrote a long Answer to it, reproaching the *Greeks*, especially the Bishops of *Constantinople*, with the many Heresies they had taught or countenanced, and extolling the *Roman* Church, as having been instructed by St. *Peter* himself, and ever preserved by him free from all Heresy. He speaks of the famous Donation of *Constantine*, long since universally exploded, as a Thing that in his Time no Man questioned; blames the *Greeks* for admitting Eunuchs even to the Episcopal Dignity; and supposes the Report of a Woman having been promoted to the Patriarchal See of the Imperial City, to have been owing to that Report, which, however, he says, he cannot believe. In the End of his Letter, he tells the Patriarch and the Bishop of *Achris*, for to them his Letter was addressed, that he had sent some Passages out of the Fathers to the Bishops of *Apulia*, as an Antidote against the Venom, with which they were striving to poison their

[t] See Vol. ii. of this Hist. p. 448.

Minds

Minds [u]. But the Practice that *Leo* condemned, *viz.* that of consecrating in leavened Bread, is now thought, even by many learned Divines of the Church of *Rome*, to have been the Practice of the whole Primitive Church [w]. Our Saviour, it is true, celebrated his last Supper with unleavened Bread, but that was, as those Writers observe, at the Time of the Passover, when no other Bread could be used (A). Year of Christ 1053.

As *Michael Cerularius*, the present Patriarch, was the first who reproached the *Roman* Church with the Use of unleavened Bread, and wrote against it to the Bishops, who were subject to his See in *Italy*, some conclude from thence that Custom to have been adopted by the *Roman* Church about this Time. It did not, at least, prevail in the Time of *Photius*, else he would have taken Notice of it, as he did of every other Rite or Practice, wherein the *Roman* Church differed from that of *Constantinople*, and the other Churches in the East.

The Pope makes War upon the Normans.

We have hitherto seen this good Pope exerting his Zeal, as Sovereign Pontiff, and not unsuccessfully, in reforming the many Abuses that prevailed in the Church, and assembling for that Purpose frequent Councils in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*. We shall now view him acting in a very different Capacity, that of a Commander, heading an Army, and leading it in Person, not against the Infidels, as Two of his Predecessors had done, but against a Christian People, remarkable for their Piety and Religion; not in Defence of the

[u] Wibert. in Vit. Leon. l. ii. c. 9. [w] Bona Rer. Liturg. l. i. c. 23. Schelstrat. Disciplin. Arcanic. c. 7. Pagi. Critic. Baron. ad ann. 313. n. 15.

(A) That the Church has always used common Bread they prove with the following Reasons: 1. Because the Bread and Wine for the Use of the Eucharist were taken out of the Oblations of the People, who, no Doubt, offered common Bread and Wine, so long as they continued to make Oblations. 2. *Epiphanius*, speaking of the *Ebionites*, takes Notice of their consecrating in unleavened Bread and Water only, as a peculiar Rite of those Heretics (1); which plainly shews, that they did not use the same Bread as was used by the Church. 3. The Antients all speak of the Bread for the Eucharist as common Bread, such as they used upon other Occasions (2); and that such it really was, appears from a Story we read in the Life of *Gregory the Great*, of a Woman, who smiling when he administered the Eucharist to her with the usual Words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy Soul*, and being asked why she smiled, answered, because he called the Bread, which she had made with her own Hands, the Body of Christ (3). It was therefore common Bread.

(1) Epiph. Hæres. 30. (2) Ambros. de Sacram. l. iv. c. 4. (3) Greg. Vit. l. ii. c. 41.

Year of Christ 1053.

Faith, but of the temporal Dominions and Wealth of the Church. The People, upon whom he made War, were the *Normans*, who coming from that Part of *Neuſtria*, which from them was called *Normandy*, had eſtabliſhed themſelves, by their Valour, in *Apulia*, and gave great Umbrage to the Pope, by the Acquiſitions they made in that Country. Of their firſt coming into *Italy*, and their warlike Exploits there, we read the following Account in *Guillelmus Apulienſis*, who wrote it in Verſe, but more like an Hiſtorian than a Poet, and publiſhed it at the Requeſt of Pope *Urban* II. preferred to the Pontificate in 1088. That ſmall Piece containing a ſuccinct Relation of the Adventures of the *Normans*, from their Arrival in *Italy* in 1016, to the Death of the famous *Robert Guiſcard* in 1085, is inſcribed to *Roger*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Robert*. The Subſtance of that Relation is as follows:

On what Occaſion the Normans *came firſt into* Italy.

One *Melus*, a Man of great Power and Authority in the City of *Bari* in *Apulia*, not able to bear with the tyrannical Government of the *Greeks*, to whom that City was ſubject, conſpired with ſeveral of his Fellow-Citizens to drive them out, and reſcue themſelves and their Country from the Oppreſſion they groaned under. But the Conſpiracy being diſcovered before it was ripe for Execution, *Melus* made his Eſcape, firſt to *Aſcoli*, and from thence to *Monte Gargano*. There he found ſome *Normans*, come from *Neuſtria*, their native Country, to viſit that Sanctuary, according to the Devotion that was then in Vogue; and upon his learning who they were, he gave them an Account of himſelf, aſſuring them, that with a ſmall Number of their Countrymen he would drive out the daſtardly *Greeks*, and put their Nation in Poſſeſſion of the moſt fertile Country of all *Italy*. There wanted no more for thoſe bold Adventurers. They went home, and returned the next Year with a choice Band of their Countrymen, who, being ſupplied with Arms at *Rome*, marched from thence in a Body into *Apulia*, where *Melus* put himſelf at their Head. They had ſeveral Encounters with the *Greeks*, whom they always defeated. But in a Battle fought in 1019 near *Cannæ*, a Place famous for the Defeat of the *Romans*, the *Greeks* gained a complete Victory over them, cut moſt of them in Pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitate Flight. In this Battle the *Normans* behaved with unparallelled Bravery. But the Troops that *Melus* had hired of the *Italian* Princes gave way, which occaſioned the Rout. *Melus* finding his

Are defeated with great Slaughter by the Greeks.

Army

Army greatly reduced by the Loſs he had ſuſtained, and no longer in a Condition to withſtand the numerous Forces of the *Greeks*, recommended his *Normans* to *Pandulphus* Prince of *Capua*, and *Guaimarus* Prince of *Salerno*, and went himſelf into *Germany* to ſollicit Succours of the Emperor. *Benedict* VIII. then Pope, apprehending that the *Greeks*, if not timely oppoſed by a ſuperior Force, would ſoon make themſelves Maſters of all *Italy*, undertook a Journey into *Germany*, for the ſame Purpoſe. But the Emperor, *Henry* I. could ſpare them no Troops at that Juncture, being engaged in other Wars, and in the mean time *Melus* died. His Death happened in 1021, while he was with the Emperor, who cauſed him to be buried in a Royal Manner, *ut regius eſt mos*, ſays the Hiſtorian, and attended his Funeral in Perſon. Year of Chriſt 1053.

Serve under the Emperor;

The *Normans* choſe, upon the Death of *Melus*, one of their own Countrymen, named *Ranulphus*, for their Leader, and under his Conduct diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the War, which the Emperor made, in the following Year 1022, upon the *Greeks* in *Italy*. But the Emperor being obliged to return to *Germany*, they kept in a Body, ſerving under the Banners of ſuch of the *Italian* Princes as happened to engage them the firſt in the Wars they waged with each other. In 1028 they joined *Sergius* Duke of *Naples* againſt *Pandulphus* Prince of *Capua*, who had made himſelf Maſter of that City, drove him from it, after he had held it Three Years, and reſtored *Sergius*. To reward this important Service, *Sergius* granted ſome Lands in the Neighbourhood of *Naples* to *Ranulphus* and his *Normans*, with Leave to build a City in that Place for their Habitation, which might ſerve as a Barrier againſt the Princes of *Capua*, as it lay between that City and *Naples*. They built a City accordingly, and called it, if ſome Writers are to be credited, *Averſa*, to ſhew their Averſion to the Prince of *Capua*, by whom they had been very ill uſed, though they had ſerved him with the greateſt Fidelity. In 1038 they were prevailed upon by *Guaimarius*, Prince of *Salerno*, and their great Friend, to croſs over into *Sicily*, and aſſiſt the *Greeks* againſt the *Saracens*, who had made themſelves Maſters of the greater Part of that Iſland; and it was chiefly by their Valour and Bravery that the *Greeks* recovered the City of *Syracuſe*, and ſeveral other Places poſſeſſed by the *Saracens*. Upon their Return home, the Emperor *Conrad*, who had ſucceeded *Henry* I. granted,

and under the Italian *Princes and the* Greek.

Build the City of Averſa.

Ranulphus *made Count of* Averſa.

Year of Christ 1053.

granted, at the Requeſt of the Prince of *Salerno*, the Title of Count to *Ranulphus*, and gave him the Inveſtiture of that ſmall County.

Ill uſed by the Greeks, *they make themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Places belonging to them in* Apulia.

The *Greeks*, though indebted to the *Normans* for all the Advantages they had gained over the *Saracens*, had not allowed them the leaſt Share of the Plunder, pretending they had acquired it, not by the Valour of the *Normans* but their own, nay they commanded *Arduinus*, a noble *Lombard*, who ſerved with the *Normans*, to reſtore a fine Horſe he had taken from a *Saracen*, whom he had killed, and ordered him, becauſe he refuſed to comply with that unjuſt Command, to be ignominiouſly whipt round the Camp. To revenge this Affront the *Normans* reſolved to fall upon the Dominions of the Eaſtern Empire in *Italy*, and eſtabliſh themſelves there at the Expence of the *Greeks*. They marched accordingly, ſoon after their Return from *Sicily*, againſt the City of *Melfi*, and being reinforced with great Numbers of new Adventurers from *Normandy*, they laid Siege to that Place, and in a very few Days obliged the Inhabitants to open their Gates, and receive them into their City. This ſame Year 1041 they made themſelves Maſters of *Venoſa*, *Aſcoli*, and *Lavelli*, and fortified the City of *Melfi*, ſtrong by its Situation, with ſuch Works as baffled all the Attempts the *Greek* Emperors afterwards made to recover it.

Gain ſeveral remarkable Victories over the Greeks.

Conſtantine Monomachus, at this Time Emperor of the Eaſt, alarmed at the Conqueſts the *Normans* made with ſo much Rapidity in *Apulia*, ſent a powerful Fleet and a very numerous Army into *Italy*, under the Command of *Duclius*, ordering him to give no Quarter to the *Normans*, but to extirpate the whole Race. But *Duclius*, though a brave and experienced Commander, had the Mortification to ſee Three numerous Armies, headed by him, put to the Rout by a Handful of *Normans*. The firſt Battle was fought near the *Olivento*, the other at *Cannæ*, and the third on the Banks of the *Ofanto*, and the *Normans*, though they had, in theſe Three Engagements, freſh Troops to encounter, made dreadful Havock of the Enemy, while the Loſs was very inconſiderable on their Side. The Emperor, therefore, recalling *Duclius*, ſent *Anno* with a new and more numerous Army than any of the other Three, to ſucceed him. But he was attended with no better Succeſs than his Predeceſſor. For having engaged the *Normans* near *Monte Peloſo*, his Army was almoſt intirely cut to Pieces, and he himſelf taken Priſoner.

The *Normans*, to avoid giving Umbrage to the neighbouring *Lombard* Princes, and to gain the Affections of their People, had hitherto choſen One of that Nation for their Leader in the Wars they waged with the *Greeks*. But being now under no Apprehenſion of the *Greeks* ever prevailing over them, they reſolved to have no other Leader but One of their own Nation; and they accordingly put themſelves under the Command of *William Bras-de-fer*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt in the late Engagements. He was the eldeſt Son of *Tancred* of *Hauteville*, and came into *Italy* ſoon after the building of the City of *Averſa*, with Two of his Brothers, *viz. Drago* and *Humbert* or *Umfred*, and ſeveral other *Normans*. As he was a Man of uncommon Strength, and thence called *Bras-de-fer*, or *Iron-arm*, of great Skill in War, and of Prudence equal to his Bravery, the *Normans* choſe him for their Leader in 1043, diſtinguiſhing him, on that Occaſion, with the Title of Count of *Apulia*, which was but an honorary Title. For they divided the whole Country into Twelve Counties, and appointed ſo many Counts over them, but left the City of *Melfi* common to all; and there they met to conſult about the important Affairs of the Nation. *William*, the Firſt Count of *Apulia*, called by *Guillelmus Apulienſis*, a Lion in Battle, and Lamb in Converſation, died in 1046, and his Brother *Drago*, to whoſe Share the City of *Venoſa* had fallen in the abovementioned Diviſion, was in an Aſſembly of the *Normans*, that met at *Melfi*, appointed Count of *Apulia* in his room. In *Drago*'s Time many more *Normans*, leaving their native Country, came to try their Fortune in *Italy*, and among the reſt *Robert*, ſurnamed afterwards *Guiſcard*, Half-Brother to *Drago*, being *Tancred*'s eldeſt Son by his Second Wife. *Drago*, knowing him to be a Man of great Reſolution and Intrepidity, ſent him, ſoon after his Arrival, with a choſen Body of Men againſt a Strong hold, poſſeſſed by the *Greeks*, on the Borders of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which he reduced, and made from thence frequent Incurſions into *Calabria*, which ſtill belonged to the *Greeks*.

Year of Chriſt 1053. *Chuſe* William Bras-de-fer *for their Leader.*

Divide Apulia *into Twelve Counties.*

The Conqueſts, made by the *Normans* in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, gave not the leaſt Umbrage to the Emperors of the Weſt, who wiſhed to ſee the *Greeks* driven quite out of *Italy*, and only wanted the *Normans* to hold thoſe Provinces of them as Fiefs of the Empire. To this the *Normans* readily agreed, and *Drago* was thereupon in 1046 inveſted by *Henry* II. who came that Year into *Italy*, in all the Countries,

The Emperor grants them the Inveſtiture of the Countries they had conquered.

Year of Christ 1053.

Countries, that he and his *Normans* had taken from the *Greeks*. Thus were the *Normans* put upon the ſame Footing with the Princes or Dukes of *Benevento*, *Capua*, *Salerno*, and the other *Lombard* Princes, who acknowledged the Emperor, as King of the *Lombards*, for their Sovereign, and held, as Feudatories, their Dominions of him.

Snare laid for them by the Greek *Emperor.*

In the mean time *Conſtantine Monomachus*, Emperor of the Eaſt, deſpairing of ever being able to recover, by Force, the Countries which the *Normans* had ſeized, reſolved to employ other Means, which he flattered himſelf would prove more ſucceſsful. He pretended to be upon the Point of undertaking an Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and under that Pretence ſent One of his chief Officers, named *Argyrus*, with a great Sum of Money and many rich Preſents, to engage the *Normans* to paſs over into *Greece*, in order to ſerve under his Banner in that Undertaking. But they had already learned by Experience how little *Greek* Faith was to be relied on; and therefore rejected, with Scorn, the Emperor's Preſents, and laughed at the great Promiſes that were made them in his Name.

The Apulians *bribed to conſpire againſt them.*

Argyrus, finding they were aware of the Snare that was laid for them, reſolved to employ the Treaſure he had brought from *Conſtantinople*, for a ſtill more wicked Purpoſe; which was to bribe ſeveral of the Citizens, in the different Cities of *Apulia* held by the *Normans*, to conſpire againſt them, and riſing at an appointed Time, murder them all without Diſtinction. This Conſpiracy was carried on with the greateſt Secrecy, and executed with ſuch Barbarity, that the *Normans* are ſaid to have loſt, on this Occaſion, a greater Number of their brave Countrymen, than they had done in all their Wars with the *Greeks*. They loſt among the reſt *Drago*, the Second Count of *Apulia*, who was ſtabbed, as he was going to Prayers in the Caſtle of *Montoglio*, by One of the Conſpirators, who had concealed himſelf behind the Door of the Chapel. The other Conſpirators fell upon thoſe, who attended the Count, maſſacred ſuch of them as had not the good Luck to make their Eſcape, and ſeized on the Caſtle. But *Umfred*, who was but at a ſmall Diſtance, hearing of the barbarous Murder of his Brother, flew with a ſmall Body of *Normans*, aſſembled in great Haſte, to the Caſtle, and having made himſelf Maſter of it, in Spite of the vigorous Reſiſtance he met with, he cauſed the Conſpirators to be all put to moſt cruel Deaths. This Inſtance of Treachery and Barbarity in the *Greeks* provoked the *Normans*

Many of them murdered and Drago *among the reſt.*

mans to ſuch a Degree, that they reſolved, by Way of Revenge, to drive them out of *Calabria* as well as *Apulia* [x]. How they executed this Reſolution, I ſhall relate in the Courſe of the preſent Hiſtory, and in the mean time return to the Expedition of Pope *Leo* againſt that People, which gave Occaſion to this Digreſſion. Year of Chriſt 1053.

The *Normans*, finding that the *Apulians* were no more to be truſted than the *Greeks*, began from this Time forward to keep a watchful Eye over them, and to treat them with the Severity they deſerved. Of this Treatment they complained firſt to the Emperor, and afterwards to the Pope, repreſenting the Government of the *Normans* as cruel and tyrannical, charging them with many Crimes, and painting them as Barbarians, without either Laws or Religion. Theſe Calumnies were all credited by the Pope, as appears from One of his Letters to *Conſtantine Monomachus* Emperor of the Eaſt, wherein he taxes the *Normans* with plundering and burning Churches and Monaſteries, with racking and putting to Death, by the moſt exquiſite Torments, ſuch of the *Apulians* as gave them the leaſt Offence, with extending their ſavage Fury even to Women and innocent Children, and turning the Countries, which they conquered, into Deſarts [y]. No Wonder therefore that *Leo*, thus prejudiced againſt them, and at the ſame Time jealous of their growing Power, ſhould have exerted all his Intereſt with both Emperors to get them driven out of *Italy*, with that View he took a Journey into *Germany* in 1052. But all he could obtain of the Emperor, engaged at that Juncture in other Wars, was a ſmall Body of *German* Troops to keep the *Normans* in Awe, till he was at Leiſure to march with his whole Army againſt them; which he promiſed to do as ſoon as he had ſettled his Affairs at Home. *The* Apulians *prejudice the Pope againſt them, and the Pope the Emperor.*

But the Pope, impatient to ſee *Italy* delivered from thoſe public Robbers, as he ſtiled them, reſolved to undertake ſo meritorious a Work himſelf. Having therefore, upon his Return to *Rome*, aſſembled a very numerous Army, he marched with all poſſible Expedition to the Borders of *Apulia*, not doubting but he ſhould ſurpriſe the *Normans*, and make himſelf Maſter of the Country, before they could aſſemble their Forces and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. They were indeed not a little alarmed at the unexpected *The Pope marches in Perſon againſt them.*

[x] Guill. Apul. l. i. et ii. Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 58, 65, 67, 72, 85. [y] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1054.

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Approach of ſo numerous an Army, and could ſcarce believe, that it had been raiſed, and was commanded by the Pope, to whom they were conſcious to themſelves they had never given the leaſt Provocation. They therefore deputed ſome of the chief Men among them to wait on his Holineſs, to learn what was his true Deſign, what he complained of, and to offer him, if he had taken any Thing amiſs of them, all the Satisfaction he could wiſh for. The Pope received the Deputies with great Haughtineſs, reproached them with cruelly oppreſſing the People they had conquered, with ſeizing and holding a Country, to which they had no Kind of Right, with trampling under Foot all Laws human and divine, *&c.* *Leo* added, that he was come with a powerful Army to reſcue the unhappy Inhabitants of *Apulia* from the Yoke they groaned under; that he would allow the *Normans* to march unmoleſted out of *Italy*, but would grant them Quarter upon no other Terms. The Deputies ſtrove to clear their Nation from the Crimes, with which they were charged; ſhewed the Neceſſity of treating the *Apulians*, who had treacherouſly murdered ſo many of their Countrymen, with the Severity they ſo loudly complained of; expreſſed the greateſt Veneration and Reſpect for the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and offered themſelves ready to ſerve againſt the Enemies of the Apoſtolic See, when or wherever his Holineſs ſhould think fit to employ them. But as to their tamely quitting a Country, which they had purchaſed with the Blood of ſo many brave Men, it was a Condition they could not comply with, and were therefore unalterably determined to defend it to the laſt Drop of their Blood, and repel Force by Force, by whomſoever attacked.

Strive to divert the Pope from the intended War but in vain.

They gain a complete Victory.

With theſe Words the Deputies took Leave of the Pope, and returned to their Countrymen, who, finding that the Pope would hearken to no other Terms but thoſe which they could not agree to, flew to Arms, and marching out, without Loſs of Time, againſt the Enemy, under the Command of *Umfred* Count of *Apulia*, of *Richard* Count of *Averſa*, and of the brave *Robert Guiſcard*, fell upon them with incredible Fury in the Neighbourhood of *Civitade*. The Count of *Averſa* put the *Italians* to Flight at the Firſt Onſet, and purſued them with great Slaughter. But the *Germans* withſtood all the Efforts of Count *Umfred*, and many fell on both Sides. But *Robert*, who commanded a Body of Reſerve, coming ſeaſonably to the Aſſiſtance of his Brother, and falling Sword-in-hand upon the *Germans*, they were forced to give Ground, and betake themſelves,

in

in the End, to a precipitate Flight. *Robert* purſued them ſo cloſe, that not One of them eſcaped the Slaughter of that Day [z]. Year of Chriſt 1053.

The Pope, who beheld the Fight from a riſing Ground at a ſmall Diſtance, ſeeing his Army thus put to Flight, and the Flower of his Troops cut to Pieces, flew to *Civitade*, and there ſhut himſelf up with ſuch of his Men as he had been able to ſtop in their Flight. But the Place was ſoon inveſted by the *Normans*, and forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion. *The Pope taken Priſoner.*

The Pope, who looked upon the *Normans* as a barbarous People, expected to be treated by them, as their avowed Enemy, with the utmoſt Severity. But the Treatment he met with, was very different from that which he expected, and had Reaſon to expect. Count *Umfred*, hearing that the Pope was in the City, and his Priſoner, went immediately to wait upon him, accoſted him with all the Reſpect that was due to his Character, and conducted him, attended by all the chief Officers of the Army, to his Camp. There he entertained him for a few Days with the greateſt Magnificence, and then not only ſet him at Liberty, but, upon his chuſing to be conducted to *Beenvento*, attended him thither in Perſon. *Leo*, no leſs ſupriſed at, than pleaſed with the polite and extremely obliging Behaviour of the *Normans*, abſolved them from the Cenſures which they had incurred, bleſſed their Arms, approved of the Conqueſts they had made, and encouraged them to purſue the Advantages they had already gained, and add the Reduction of *Calabria* to that of *Apulia* [a]. This memorable Battle was fought on the Eighteenth of *June* 1053; and thoſe, who fell in it on the Pope's Side, being looked upon as Martyrs, though they died in fighting againſt as good Chriſtians as themſelves, a Church was built to their Memory upon the Field of Battle [b]. *But uſed by the* Normans *with the greateſt Reſpect and Politeneſs.*

The Pope arrived at *Benevento* on the Twenty-third of *June* of the preſent Year 1053, and continued there to the Twelfth of *March* 1054. During his Stay in that City he received a very reſpectful Letter from the Emperor *Conſtantine Monomachus*, wherein he expreſſed a great Deſire to ſee the ancient, but long interrupted, Union reſtored between the Sees of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*, and offered himſelf ready to contribute, ſo far as in him lay, to ſo good a Work; nay he obliged the Patriarch, *Michael Cerularius*, to write to the Pope at the ſame Time, entreating his Holineſs to concur with him in reeſtabliſhing the ſo much wiſhed-for Harmony between the Two *Letters to the Pope from the Emperor of the Eaſt and the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople *for reſtoring the Union between the Two Churches.*

[z] Malater. l. ii. c. 14. Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 87. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Wibert. Vit. Leon.

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Churches. The Emperor flattered himself, that by thus writing to the Pope he should gain him, and by his Means procure Assistance from the Emperor *Henry* to drive the *Normans* out of *Italy*. For that *Constantine* had in his View, little solicitous about the Union between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches.

The Pope sends Legates into the East.

The Pope, upon the Receipt of these Letters, dispatched Three Legates into the East, *viz. Humbert*, Cardinal Bishop of the *White Forest*, *Peter*, Bishop of *Amalfi*, and *Frederic*, then Chancellor of the *Roman* Church, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Stephen* IX. or X. They were charged with Two Letters in Answer to those which the Pope had received from the Emperor and the Patriarch. *Leo* declared in both his earnest Desire of seeing the perfect Harmony restored, that had once subsisted between the East and the West, assured the Emperor that nothing should be wanting on his Side to revive it, but complained, in very strong Terms, of the Patriarch, for presuming to condemn the Practice of consecrating in unleavened Bread, a Practice, which, he said, the *Roman* Church had adopted, and constantly followed ever since the Passion of our Saviour, or the Institution of the Sacrament [b].

The Legates well received by the Emperor.

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The Legates set out in the Month of *January* 1054 for the East, and being, upon their Arrival at *Constantinople*, received by the Emperor with extraordinary Marks of Distinction, they told him, that they were sent, at his Request, by the Holy Pope *Leo*, to renew the ancient Correspondence and good Understanding between *Constantinople* and *Rome*, and begged his Concurrence in an Undertaking, that would no less redound to the Honour of the See of the Imperial City than to his. The Emperor promised to assist them to the utmost of his Power.

But the Patriarch declines all Conferences with them.

But the Patriarch could by no Means be prevailed upon to confer with the Legates, or so much as to see them. *Humbert* therefore thought it necessary to answer, in Writing, the Letter he wrote to the Bishop of *Trani* against the Use of unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, as well as some other Practices, wherein the *Greek* Church differed from the *Roman*. That Letter he answered accordingly in a Dialogue between a Member of the Church of *Constantinople*, and One of the *Roman*, the former objecting and the latter solving the Objections. The *Roman* lays great Stress on our Saviour's having consecrated in unleavened Bread, (which does not prove that no other

[b] Wibert. Vit. Leon.

ſhould be uſed, as has been ſhewn above) and on the Indecency of uſing Bread, bought in the common Market, and kneaded with impure Hands: whereas the Bread, conſecrated in the *Roman* Church, was kneaded by the Prieſts, the Deacons, and the Subdeacons in their ſacred Garments, and ſinging all the While Pſalms. The *Roman* finds Fault with ſeveral other Practices, which, it ſeems, prevailed, at that Time among the *Greeks*, ſuch as their crumbling the conſecrated Bread into the Chalice, and taking it with a Spoon, their burning or burying the Remains of the Euchariſt, their refuſing the Communion to Women in Childbirth, though in Danger of their Lives, and not baptizing Infants till the Eighth Day. This Piece was written in *Latin*, but tranſlated into *Greek* by the Emperor's Order, and ſent to the Patriarch, and to all the Biſhops under the Juriſdiction of his See.

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They publiſh a Treatiſe in Defence of unleavened Bread.

Humbert likewiſe anſwered a Piece, that had been publiſhed by a Monk of the Monaſtery of *Studium*, named *Nicetas*, who was deemed One of the moſt learned Men at that Time in the Eaſt. In that Piece the Monk undertook to prove, that leavened Bread only ſhould be uſed in the Euchariſt, that the Sabbath ought to be kept holy, and that Prieſts ſhould be allowed to marry. But the Emperor, who wanted by all Means to gain the Pope, for the Reaſons mentioned above, was, or rather pretended to be, ſo fully convinced with the Arguments of the Legate confuting thoſe alledged by *Nicetas*, that he obliged the Monk publicly to recant, and anathematize all, who held the Opinion, that he had endeavoured to eſtabliſh, with Reſpect to unleavened Bread, the Sabbath, and the Marriage of Prieſts. At the ſame Time *Nicetas*, in Compliance with the Command of the Emperor, anathematized all, who ſhould queſtion the Primacy of the *Roman* Church with Reſpect to all other Chriſtian Churches, or ſhould preſume to cenſure her ever orthodox Faith. The Monk having thus retracted all he had writ againſt the Holy See, his Book was burnt by the Emperor's Order, and he abſolved by the Legates from the Cenſures he had incurred [c].

Nicetas *obliged by the Emperor to condemn his Treatiſe againſt unleavened Bread.*

Conſtantine ſpared no Pains, no Threats, nor Promiſes, to get the Patriarch to retract, after the Example of *Nicetas*, what he had writ againſt the *Roman* Church in his Letter to the Biſhop of *Trani*. But his Endeavours were all to no Purpoſe, the Patriarch declaring, with unſhaken Conſtancy, that the Emperor might, if he

The Legates excommunicate the Patriarch.

[c] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1054.

pleaſed,

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pleaſed, remove him, but that no Power upon Earth ſhould ever make him betray his Truſt by ſubjecting the See of the Imperial City to that of *Rome*. The Legates therefore, finding him thus unalterable, went on the Sixteenth of *July* to the Church of St. *Sophia*, attended by their Retinue and ſome of the chief Officers of the Empire, and there, after complaining of the Obſtinacy of the Patriarch in the Preſence of the Clergy and a great Multitude of People come to aſſiſt at divine Service, they laid the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Patriarch in Writing upon the high Altar, and then leaving the Church, ſhook off the Duſt from their Feet, ſaying, let God look down and judge him.

Leave Conſtantinople.

The Legates left *Conſtantinople* Two Days after, pronouncing, upon their Departure, Sentence of Excommunication againſt all, who ſhould thenceforth receive the Sacrament adminiſtered by any *Greek*, who found Fault with the Sacrifice or Maſs of the *Latins*. The Emperor loaded them, at their ſetting out, with Preſents for St. *Peter*, the Pope, and themſelves. But Two Days after their Departure the Patriarch, applying to the Emperor, declared that he was willing to confer with them, and begged they might be recalled. The Emperor thereupon immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger after them, who overtook them at *Selimbria*; and they returned with him the next Day to *Conſtantinople*.

Snare laid for them by the Patriarch.

The Patriarch, hearing of their Return, invited them to meet him the following Day in a Council, which he had appointed to aſſemble in the great Church of St. *Sophia*. But the Emperor, apprehending that the Patriarch had laid ſome Snare for the Legates, declared that no Council ſhould meet unleſs he was preſent at it in Perſon. This put the Patriarch into ſome Confuſion, which greatly encreaſed the Emperor's Suſpicion, who thereupon adviſed the Legates to depart without Delay; and they did ſo accordingly. It was afterwards found that the Patriarch had falſified the Sentence of Excommunication, left by the Legates on the Altar, and filled it with ſuch ſevere Reflections on the *Greeks* in general, as would have incenſed the Multitude, and, in all Likelihood, proved fatal to the Legates. The Patriarch, finding his Deſign thus defeated by the Emperor, ſtirred up the People againſt him, as acting in Concert with the Legates, and ſacrificing the undoubted Rights of the Church of *Conſtantinople* to the Ambition of the Pope and his Legates. The Diſcontent this occaſioned among the People, as well as the Clergy, became ſo general, that the Emperor, to ſatisfy them,

was

was obliged to cauſe the Two *Latin* Interpreters, *Paul* and his Son *Smaragdus*, to be publicly whipped and delivered up to the Patriarch. Year of Chriſt 1054.

The Patriarch guilty of Forgery.

In the mean time the Emperor, ſuſpecting the Sentence of Excommunication, left by the Legates, to have been falſified by the Patriarch, diſpatched a Meſſenger after them for a true Copy of that Sentence. The Meſſenger overtook the Legates in the Country of the *Ruſſians*, and from thence brought back with him a Copy of that Sentence, which he ſolemnly atteſted to be genuine. That Copy the Emperor cauſed to be immediately made public, to the no ſmall Mortification of the Patriarch: but not thinking it ſafe to remove him, as he was a great Favourite of the Populace, he contented himſelf with depriving his Friends and Relations of their Employments, and baniſhing them all from the Court.

The Sentence againſt the Patriarch left by the Legates at their Departure.

The Subſtance of the true Sentence, as publiſhed by the Emperor, was as follows: "We *Humbert*, by the Grace of God, Cardinal Biſhop of the holy *Roman* Church, *Peter* Archbiſhop of *Amalfi*, *Frederic* Deacon and Chancellor, to all the Sons of the Catholic Church. The Holy *Roman* and Apoſtolic See, the Firſt of all Sees, and charged, as ſuch, with the Care of all Churches, has ſent us to this Imperial City, to enquire, upon the Spot, into the Truth of what is reported concerning it. Indeed we have found what affords us great Matter of Joy, and likewiſe what gives us great Grief and Concern. For as to the Pillars of the Empire, thoſe, who are diſtinguiſhed with Dignities in the Government, and the Citizens of any Rank in the City, are moſt chriſtian and orthodox. But as to *Michael*, improperly called Patriarch, and his Adherents, the Tares of numberleſs Hereſies are ſowed daily by them. They are Simoniacs, and ſell the Gift of God; they not only ordain Eunuchs, but prefer them, in Defiance of the Canons, to the Epiſcopal Dignity; like the *Arians* they rebaptize thoſe, who have been baptized in the Name of the Trinity, eſpecially the *Latins*; they maintain, that beſides the *Greek* Church there is no true Church in the World, and no true Sacrifice, no true Baptiſm out of that Church; like the *Nicolaites*, they permit the Miniſters of the Altar to marry; like the *Severians*, they call the Law of *Moſes* an accurſed Law; like the *Pneumatomachi*, they have left out of the Symbol the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son; like the *Manichees*, they maintain, among other Things, that whatever is leavened is animated;

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" mated; like the *Nazarenes*, they obſerve the Purifications of the
" *Jews*; will not ſuffer Children, even in imminent Danger, to
" be baptized before the Eighth Day, nor Women in Childbed to
" receive the Euchariſt, or Baptiſm, if they are Pagans; they deny
" their Communion to thoſe, who cut their Hair, or ſhave their
" Beards, as is practiſed in the *Roman* Church. Of theſe Errors
" and many wicked Deeds *Michael* has been admoniſhed by our
" Lord Pope *Leo*, but has not hearkened to his Admonitions; nay
" he would not ſo much as ſee us, or converſe with us, though
" deſirous of curing theſe Evils jointly with him, nor would he al-
" low us Churches for the Celebration of Maſs. He had before
" ſhut up the Churches of the *Latins*, calling them, by way of Con-
" tempt, *Azimites*, perſecuting them as Heretics, and in them the
" holy Apoſtolic See; in Oppoſition to which he aſſumes the Title
" of Univerſal Patriarch. We therefore, by the Authority of the
" holy and undivided Trinity, of the holy Apoſtolic See, of all the
" Orthodox Fathers, of the Seven General Councils, and of the
" whole Catholic Church, ſubſcribe the Anathema, that our moſt
" Reverend Lord the Pope has pronounced againſt *Michael* and his
" Followers unleſs they repent, and ſay; may *Michael*, the falſe
" Patriarch, the Neophyte, who took the Monaſtic Habit out of
" Fear of Men, and is even now charged by many with the worſt
" of Crimes, and with him *Leo*, called Biſhop of *Acris*, and *Con-
" ſtantine*, *Michael*'s Treaſurer, who has profanely trodden upon
" the Sacrifice of the *Latins*, may they and all their Follow-
" ers be anathematized with the above-mentioned and all other
" Heretics, nay with the Devil and his Angels, unleſs they repent.
" *Amen*, *Amen*, *Amen*." Another Excommunication was thundered out by the Legates, in the Preſence of the Emperor and the Nobles of his Court, in the following Words: " Whoever ſhall find Fault
" with the Faith of the holy See of *Rome*, and its Sacrifice, let
" him be anathematized, and not looked upon as a Chriſtian Ca-
" tholic, but as a *Prozimite* Heretic. *Fiat*, *fiat*, *fiat*."

Letter of the Patriarch to the Patriarch of Antioch.

The Patriarch, highly provoked at the Inſolence of the Legates, wrote a long Letter to *Peter*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, calculated to perſuade him to break off all Communication with the *Roman* Church. In that Letter he pretended that the Three Legates were Impoſtors, not ſent by the Pope, but by *Argyrus*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Italy*, with a Deſign to promote the Opinions of the *Latins*,

Latins, and engage them, by that means, to assist him in his Wars with the *Normans*. He tells the Patriarch of *Antioch*, that the Emperor, and he at the Emperor's Request, wrote to the Pope, expressing, in their Letters, a most sincere Desire of seeing the Two Churches happily re-united, but that *Argyrus*, applying to his own Use the Presents which the Emperor had sent to the Pope, and keeping the Letters, forged Answers to them in the Pope's Name, and sent them by Three Impostors to *Constantinople*, *viz.* by one, who had been Bishop of *Amalfi*, but was driven from that See, and deposed for his Wickedness, by another who stiled himself Chancellor, and a third who assumed the Title of Archbishop, but Nobody could tell where his Bishopric lay. In the next Place the Patriarch describes the haughty Behaviour of the Three pretended Legates to the Emperor as well as to him, and then enumerates the many Abuses that prevailed in the *Roman* Church, and most other Churches in the West, such as their using unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, their shaving their Beards, eating unclean and suffocated Meats, forbidding Priests to marry, eating Flesh on Wednesdays, and Cheese and Eggs on Fridays, and adding to the Symbol that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. He closes his Letter with exhorting the Patriarch of *Antioch* to renounce the Communion of a Church infected with so many Errors in Faith, as well as Practices repugnant to those of the Primitive Church [c].

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This Letter the Patriarch of *Antioch* answered, expressing great Surprize, in his Letter, at the Boldness of *Argyrus*, in presuming to impose forged Letters upon the Emperor, as written by the Pope; and he seems to question the Truth of the Fact. As to the Errors charged upon the *Latins*, he was of Opinion that most of them might be connived at, for what matters it, said he, whether they shave their Beards, or let them grow; whether they eat certain Meats, or abstain from them, as no Meats are forbidden; whether on certain Days they fast or they feast: They are our Brethren, and as we can only look upon them as Barbarians, it behoves us to wink at their less gross Errors, and content ourselves with their holding the true Doctrine concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. With respect to leavened or unleavened Bread, the Patriarch will have the different Churches to retain their different Cus-

The Patriarch of Antioch's *Answer.*

[c] Baron. ubi supra.

Year of Christ 1054.

toms, and not to quarrel about a Point of ſo little Moment, but thinks that the *Greeks* ſhould all inſiſt upon the *Latins* allowing their Prieſts to marry, and altering the Symbol, where the Holy Ghoſt is ſaid to proceed from the Father and the Son. He cloſed his Letter with exhorting his Brother the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to uſe Moderation, and bear with the Cuſtoms of the *Latins*, though different from thoſe of the *Greeks*, rather than break the Union, as ſuch a Breach would be attended with the worſt of Evils. But the Patriarch, provoked beyond Meaſure at the haughty Behaviour of the Legates, inſtead of following the more moderate Counſels of his Brother of *Antioch*, ſowed ſuch Seeds of Diviſion between the Eaſt and the Weſt, as keep them divided to this Day, notwithſtanding the frequent Attempts that have been made, at different Times, to heal that Diviſion.

Leo *returns to* Rome, *and dies.*

Leo died before the Legates returned to *Rome*. He ſtaid at *Benevento* till the 12th of *March* 1054, when being taken ill he deſired Count *Humfrid* to eſcort him to *Capua*, which the Count did very readily, attended by moſt of the chief Officers of his Army. At *Capua* the Pope ſtaid Twelve Days, and from thence returned to *Rome* a little before Eaſter, which in 1054 fell on the 3d of *April*. He remained a few Days in the *Lateran* Palace, and it being revealed to him there, as we are told, that his End was at hand, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a Litter to the Oratory of St. *Peter*. There he received the Sacrament, and being removed from thence to an adjoining Houſe that belonged to his See, he died the next Day, the 19th of *April*, in the 50th Year of his Age, having governed the Church of *Toul* 28 Years, and that of *Rome* Five Years Two Months and Seven Days.

His Character.

He ſpared no Pains during the whole Time of his Pontificate to reform the many ſcandalous Abuſes that had been tolerated, and even encouraged, by his wicked Predeceſſors. Simony, that prevailed all over *France* as well as *Italy*, he entirely extirpated, puniſhing, with the utmoſt Severity, all whom he found guilty of that Crime. He conſtantly lay on the Ground, wore a Hair-cloth next to his Skin, practiſed many other Auſterities, and, while he was at *Rome*, walked bare-footed, Three Days in the Week, from the *Lateran* Palace to St. *Peter's*. His Generoſity to the Poor knew no Bounds; and we are told, that ſeeing one Day a Leper at the Door of his Palace, he carried him upon his Shoulders and put him into

into his own Bed, but that though the Doors were kept ſhut, he could not be found the next Day, whence it was concluded, that Chriſt himſelf had taken that Shape. In Ambition he equalled the moſt ambitious of his Predeceſſors, letting no Opportunity of aggrandizing his See paſs unimproved. His crediting the falſe Reports that were ſpread of the *Normans* by their Enemies, his painting them to both Emperors as a moſt barbarous and ſavage Race, his making War upon them, and heading his Army in Perſon, are Actions, that even thoſe have highly condemned, who ſpeak the moſt favourably of him. However, he has been honoured with a Place in the Calendar, and his Remains are ſtill worſhipped under the Altar in St. *Peter's* Church, that *Paul* V. erected, in 1606, to his Memory. *Leo* was the firſt Pope that marked in his Bulls the Years of our Lord, the preceding Popes uſing no other Date but that of the Indictions.

Year of Chriſt 1054.

THEODORA PORPHYROGENITA, MICHAEL STRATIOTICUS, ISAACIUS COMNENUS, *Emperors of the* Eaſt.

VICTOR II.

HENRY III. HENRY IV. *Emperors of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and fiftieth BISHOP *of* Rome.

AS, upon the Death of *Leo*, no Perſon was to be found in the *Roman* Church fit to be raiſed to the Pontifical Chair, the People and Clergy of *Rome* diſpatched the Monk *Hildebrand*, a Man of great Cunning and Addreſs, into *Germany*, empowering him to chuſe there one, in their Name, whom he ſhould think equal to ſo great a Truſt. This Commiſſion *Hildebrand* readily undertook, and the Perſon he choſe was *Gebehard*, Biſhop of *Eichſted*, a near Relation of the Emperor, and the moſt wealthy and powerful Lord in the whole Empire. As he was a Man of uncommon Parts, of great Experience in the Management of public Affairs, and the Emperor was entirely governed by his Counſels, he could not, for a long Time, be prevailed upon to conſent to his Election, and deprive himſelf of ſo able and ſo faithful a Counſellor; the rather as *Gebehard* himſelf ſtrongly oppoſed his own Election, being as unwilling to part with the Emperor, as the Emperor was to part with him.

Victor II. *choſen.* Year of Chriſt 1055.

Year of Christ 1055.

him. But *Hildebrand* obstinately persisting in the Election he had made, though many others were named to him, all Men of unexceptionable Characters, they were both in the End forced to yield. *Gebehard* therefore, taking his Leave of the Emperor, repaired with *Hildebrand* to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy both by the People and the Clergy, and inthroned, under the Name of *Victor* II. with the usual Solemnity, on Maunday-Thursday, which in 1055 fell on the 13th of *April*, when the See had been vacant ever since the 19th of the same Month 1054 [a].

Holds a Council at Florence.

Victor, a few Days after his Inauguration, went to meet the Emperor at *Florence*, and held there a General Council, that is a Council consisting of most of the *Italian*, and such of the *German* Bishops as attended the Emperor. By this Council several Abuses were redressed, the alienating the Goods of the Church was strictly forbidden [b], and the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was anew condemned [c]. At the same time the Pope sent *Hildebrand*, though then only a Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, into *France*, with the Character of his Legate, to correct the Abuses that prevailed in those Parts, especially simoniacal Ordinations.

Council of Lyons.

Hildebrand convened a great Council at *Lyons*, and proceeding, with the utmost Severity, against the Delinquents, deposed no fewer than Six Bishops accused and convicted of different Crimes. Among these was one arraigned of Simony; but the Charge not being fully proved on the Day when it was first brought against him, he found Means, in the Night, to buy off the Accusers, as well as the Witnesses, and appearing the next Day undaunted before the Council, he pleaded Not Guilty, challenging those, who had accused him, to produce their Witnesses and prove the Charge to the Satisfaction of the Council. As Nobody appeared, the Bishops were all of Opinion, that Judgment should be given in his Favour.

A Bishop miraculously convicted of Simony.

But *Hildebrand*, addressing him with a deep Sigh, do you believe, said he, that the Holy Ghost is of the same divine Substance with the Father and the Son? I do believe it, answered the Bishop. If you do, replied *Hildebrand*, say, *Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.* The Bishop named, without the least Hesitation, the Father and the Son, but could never utter the Name of the Holy Ghost, though

[a] Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 90. [b] Petrus Damian. l. xii. ep. 4. [c] Lanfranc.

he

he attempted it ſeveral Times; which ſtruck the Biſhop with ſuch Terror, that being conſcious to himſelf of his Guilt, he threw himſelf at *Hildebrand*'s Feet, confeſſed his Crime, and being thereupon diveſted of the Epiſcopal Dignity, he immediately pronounced the Name of the Holy Ghoſt with the ſame Eaſe as he did the Names of the Two other Divine Perſons. Strange! that any of the Popes ſhould have been able, for a whole Century, to utter that Divine Name. This Story is related by *Petrus Damianus*, who lived at this Time, in a Letter to Pope *Nicholas* [d], by *Deſiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, who declares, in his Dialogues, that he had it from *Hildebrand* himſelf, and by *Malmsbury*, upon the Authority of St. *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny*, a contemporary Writer [e]. Year of Chriſt 1055.

In the ſame Year another Council was held by *Hildebrand* at *Tours*, in which the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was again condemned; for it had taken deep Root in *France*, and begun to ſpread there. An anonymous Author, who wrote in 1088, tells us, that in this Council Leave was given to *Berengarius* to defend his Doctrine; but not being able to maintain it, he abjured his Hereſy, and promiſed upon Oath to hold thenceforth no other Doctrine but that of the Church, with reſpect to the Euchariſt [f]. *Lanfranc*, who was preſent at this Council, reproaches his Antagoniſt *Berengarius* in the following Words: "In the Council of *Tours*, at which "aſſiſted the Legates of Pope *Victor*, you was permitted to defend "your Opinion, but not daring to do it, you confeſſed, in the Pre"ſence of all, the common Faith of the Church, and ſwore that "you would thenceforth hold no other." But though he thus publicly retracted his Opinion out of Fear, he was not convinced of its being erroneous, and therefore ſtill continued to hold and even to teach it with good Succeſs. Berengarius *condemned in a Council held at* Tours.

To this Council the Emperor *Henry* ſent Embaſſadors to complain of *Ferdinand the Great*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, for aſſuming the Title of Emperor, and refuſing to obey the Emperor of the *Romans*. *Henry* begged that *Ferdinand* might be excommunicated, and his Kingdoms put under an Interdict, if he did not obey him, and relinquiſh the Title of Emperor. *Hildebrand* did not let ſo Ferdinand *King of* Caſtile *ordered by the Pope not to take upon him the Title of Emperor.*

[d] Petrus Damian. Opuſcul. 19. c. 6. [e] Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 3.
[f] Anonymus. Chifflet de multiplici Bereng. Damnatione. Malmſb. ubi ſup. p. 113.

favourable

Year of Chriſt 1055. favourable an Opportunity of extending the papal Power and Authority over Princes paſs unimproved. He immediately acquainted *Victor* with the Requeſt of the Emperor, and having prevailed upon him to comply with it, he diſpatched Legates into *Spain* to let *Ferdinand* know, that if he did not renounce the Title of Emperor, to which he had no Kind of Right, and ſubmit to *Henry*, the only true Emperor, purſuant to the Decree of the Sovereign Pontiff, and the Council aſſembled by his Order at *Tours*, the Sentence of Excommunication and Interdict would be thundered out againſt him and his Subjects. This haughty Meſſage occaſioned the aſſembling of a Council, at which were preſent moſt of the chief Biſhops and Lords of the Two Kingdoms; and it was determined, after a long and warm Debate, that the King ſhould, for the Sake of Peace, comply with the Command of the Pope and the Council; and he complied with it accordingly [g].

Council of Toulouſe. Year of Chriſt 1056. The following Year 1056 another Council was held by the Pope's Order at *Toulouſe*, under *Rambald*, *Pontius*, and *Wilfrid*, Archbiſhops of *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Narbonne*, appointed to preſide at it with the Character of Legates of the Apoſtolic See. The Council met on the 13th of *September*, conſiſted of Seventeen Biſhops, and Thirteen Canons were made by it againſt Simony, and the Incontinence of the Clergy [h]. The Council was yet ſitting, when the Pope, at the Requeſt of the Emperor, who was taken dangerouſly ill, went into *Germany*, and finding him, upon his Arrival at *Goſlar*, near his End, he attended him in his laſt Hours. *Henry* died on the 5th of *October* of the preſent Year, having cauſed his Son *Henry*, the Fourth of that Name, then about Seven Years old, to be acknowleged by the Pope for his Succeſſor; and it was chiefly for that Purpoſe he had ſent for him. The Pope aſſembled a general Diet at *Cologne*, before he left *Germany*, in order to reconcile the Malecontents, among whom were ſome Lords of great Power, with the Empreſs *Agnes*, appointed to govern during the Minority of her Son.

The Pope goes into Germany, *and attends the Emperor in his laſt Hours.*

Victor *dies.* Year of Chriſt 1057. The Pope celebrated the Chriſtmas Feſtival at *Ratisbon* with the young Prince, and from thence returned to *Rome*. But leaving that City ſoon after, he went into *Tuſcany*, and died there in *June* 1057, having held the See Two Years Three Months and ſome Days.

[g] Mariana in Ferdinand. & apud Baron. ad hunc ann. p. 1084.

[h] Concil. tom. ix.

Of

Of this Pope we have but One Letter, whereby he confirms all the Privileges granted by his Predeceſſors to the Biſhops of the *White Foreſt*. He is ſaid to have been preſerved from an imminent Danger by the following Miracle. A Subdeacon put a Doſe of Poiſon, upon what Provocation we know not, into the Chalice, while the Pope was celebrating Maſs, which would have ſoon put an End to his Life; but he could not, with all his Might, lift up the Chalice to drink the conſecrated Wine. Such an extraordinary Event ſurprized him and the whole Congregation, and they all fell upon their Knees, beſeeching the Almighty to diſcover the Cauſe of ſo miraculous an Effect. While they were praying, the Subdeacon was ſuddenly ſeized with the Devil; and he thereupon publicly confeſſed his Crime, begging the Pope and the Congregation to forgive him, which the holy Pontiff not only did very readily, but continued praying for him with all who were preſent, till the evil Spirit left him. As for the poiſoned Chalice, and the conſecrated Wine, he cauſed them to be ſhut up in an Altar, and to be kept there for ever with other Reliques [i]. Year of Chriſt 1057.

ISAACIUS COMNENUS *Emperor of the* East. **STEPHEN IX. *or* X.** HENRY IV. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-firſt BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE unexpected News of *Victor*'s Death was brought to *Rome* by *Boniface*, Biſhop of *Albano*; and *Frederic*, Cardinal of St. *Chryſogonus*, and Chancellor of the *Roman* Church, happening then to be there, the leading Men of the People and Clergy went immediately to the Palace *Pallaria*, where he was lodged, to adviſe with him about the Election of a new Pope. The Cardinal named Five to them, whom he thought the moſt worthy of, and all alike equal to the Pontifical Dignity. Theſe were *Humbert*, Biſhop of the *White Foreſt* or St. *Rufina*, the Biſhops of *Veletri*, of *Perugia*, of *Tuſculum*, and *Hildebrand*, Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church. But the *Romans*, thinking none better qualified for ſo high a Station than *Frederic* himſelf, declared they would chuſe him and no other. Stephen IX. *choſen.*

[i] Lambert Schaffnaburg. ad an. 1054. Uſpergenſ. Abb. ad eundem ann.

Year of Christ 1057.

other. He answered, *God's Will be done; you can neither bestow that Dignity upon me, nor take it from me against his Will.* Some were for putting off the Election till *Hildebrand* returned, who had attended the late Pope into *Tuscany*. But the greater Part, thinking no Time was to be lost, went early the next Day to the Palace of *Pallaria*, and carrying *Frederic* from thence to the Church of St. *Peter ad Vincula*, they there unanimously elected him, under the Name of *Stephen* IX. his Election happening on the 2d of *August*, the Festival of the Pope of that Name. He was at the same time inthroned in the *Lateran* Basilic, and the next Day solemnly consecrated in the Church of St. *Peter*, where that Ceremony was constantly performed, sometimes after, but commonly before the Inthronation [a].

His Family, Employments, &c.

Frederic was Brother to *Godfrey*, Duke of *Lorrain*, in those Days a very powerful Prince. In the Time of *Leo* IX. he was Archdeacon of the Church of *Liege*; but having attended that Pope while in *Germany*, and accompanied him from thence to *Rome*, he was by him made Chancellor of the *Roman* Church, and sent with *Humbert* and *Peter* of *Amalfi* into the East, to negotiate an Union between the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*. On his Return to *Rome* he was created Cardinal Deacon of St. *Chrysogonus*, and embracing soon after a monastic Life at *Monte Cassino*, he was by the Intrigues of Cardinal *Humbert* made Abbot of that Monastery; and it was on his Return from *Tuscany*, whither he had gone to be consecrated Abbot by the Pope, that he received the unexpected News of his Death.

Councils held at Rome.

The new Pope stayed Four Months at *Rome* after his Election, during which Time he held several Councils against incestuous Marriages, and the Marriages of Priests; and in one of these Councils it was decreed, that such Priests as had married, since the Prohibition of *Leo* IX. should be degraded, and for ever expelled the Order, and that even those among them, who sincerely repented of their Crime, and had done Penance for it of their own Accord, should nevertheless quit the Ecclesiastical Order for a Time, and be for ever debarred from saying Mass [b].

The Pope at Monte Cassino.

The Pope continued at *Rome* till the Festival of St. *Andrew*, and then repairing to *Monte Cassino*, he staid there till the Feast of St.

[a] Leo Ostien. l. ii. c. 98. [b] Petrus Damian. Epist. ad Epis. Taurin.

Scholastica,

Scholaſtica, that is, till the Twentieth of *February* 1058, ſtriving to reform ſome Abuſes, eſpecially that of private Property, which had crept into that Monaſtery. During his Stay at *Monte Caſſino* he fell dangerouſly ill, and thinking himſelf near his End, he deſired the Monks to chuſe themſelves another Abbot in his room; and they accordingly choſe, with one Conſent, *Deſiderius*, Monk of that Monaſtery, who was afterwards created Cardinal by Pope *Nicholas* II. and raiſed, upon the Death of *Gregory* VII. to the Pontifical Dignity under the Name of *Victor* III. The Pope approved and confirmed the Election of *Deſiderius*, but upon Condition that it ſhould not take Place till after his Death, and he ſtill ſhould be Abbot if he recovered [c]. He is ſaid to have followed therein the Example of his Two immediate Predeceſſors, who kept, after their Promotion, what they held before it, the One the Biſhopric of *Toul*, and the other that of *Eichſted*.

Year of Chriſt 1057.

Stephen upon his Return to *Rome* conferred the Dignity of Cardinal on *Petrus Damianus*, and at the ſame time preferred him to the Biſhopric of *Oſtia*. He was One of the moſt learned as well as the beſt Men of his Age, had embraced a monaſtic Life, and was ſo fond of Retirement, that he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept either of thoſe Dignities, till the Pope threatened him with Excommunication if he did not comply [d]. *Ciaconius* ſuppoſes, upon what Authority I know not, Six other Cardinals to have been created at the ſame time, and will have this to have been the firſt ſolemn Creation of Cardinals that we meet with in Hiſtory. Be that as it will, *Damianus*, upon the Death of *Stephen*, whom he ſtiled his Perſecutor, applied to *Nicholas*, his Succeſſor, for Leave to reſign, but could not obtain it [e].

Petrus Damianus *made Cardinal and Biſhop of* Oſtia. Year of Chriſt 1058.

From *Rome* the Pope ſent an Order, ſoon after his Return to that City, to the Treaſurer of the Monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, enjoining him to convey to *Rome* without Delay, and as ſecretly as he poſſibly could, all the Silver and Gold belonging to that Sanctuary. The Monks were greatly alarmed at ſo unprecedented an Order; but not daring to diſobey it, the whole Treaſure of the Church was privately brought to *Rome* and delivered to the Pope. The Holy Pontiff propoſed to confer the Imperial Dignity upon *Godfrey*, his Brother, who

The Pope ſeizes on the Wealth of Monte Caſſino.

[c] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 8. [d] Joann. Lacedenſ. in ejus Vit. c. 6. [e] Epiſt. apud Baron. ad ann. 1057.

Year of Chriſt 1058.

had lately married *Beatrix*, the Widow of *Boniface* Duke of *Tuſcany*, and had by that Marriage added that Dukedom to *Lorrain*. But as he wanted Money to defray the Expences of that Ceremony, and to maintain his Brother on the Imperial Throne againſt the Empreſs *Agnes*, who governed, during the Minority of her Son, he thought it no Crime to rob the Churches of their Wealth for ſo pious a Purpoſe, and began with that of *Monte Caſſino*. But he ſoon changed his Mind, being greatly affected with the Tears the Monks ſhed in parting with their Treaſures, and ordered them all to be carried back, nay and terrified with a Viſion or Dream, he added to them many rich Preſents, whereof the Reader will find an Inventory in *Leo Oſtienſis* [f].

But reſtores it.

The Pope iſſues a Decree concerning the Election of his Succeſſor.

The Pope, after a ſhort Stay at *Rome*, repaired to *Florence*, to confer there with his Brother *Godfrey*, whom he was very deſirous of promoting to the Imperial Dignity, flattering himſelf that he ſhould with the Aſſiſtance his Brother would lend him, were he placed upon the Imperial Throne, be able to drive the *Normans*, of whoſe growing Power he entertained great Jealouſy, quite out of *Italy*. While he was upon the Point of ſetting out for *Florence*, he diſpatched *Hildebrand* into *Germany*, to tranſact with the Empreſs *Agnes* ſome Affairs relating to the Apoſtolic See, and on that Occaſion, he iſſued à Decree, ſtrictly forbidding the People and the Clergy to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, if he ſhould die in the mean time, before *Hildebrand* returned to *Rome*, and at the ſame time exhorting them to acquieſce in his Councils whenever the See became vacant. *Stephen* was, it ſeems, ſenſible of the Approach of Death: and he died on the Twenty-ninth of *March* 1058, ſoon after his Arrival at *Florence*, having held the See from the Second of *Auguſt* 1057 to that Time. He was attended on his Death-bed by St. *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny*; and we are told that the Devil appeared to him ſeveral Times in his laſt Illneſs, but conſtantly left the Room as ſoon as the holy Abbot entered it [g]. He was buried at *Florence*, where he died, and is ſaid to have wrought many Miracles after his Death, but has not nevertheleſs been canonized by the Church, though his Name is to be met with in ſome Martyrologies of the *Benedictine* Order with the Epithet of *Saint*. A Monument was erected to his Memory by his Brother *Godfrey*, Duke of *Tuſcany*, in a more elegant Stile than we commonly meet with in Compoſitions of that

He dies at Florence.

[f] Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 100, 103.

[g] Ap. Surium, Die 19 April.

Century

Century (A). He was concerned in the Writings that Cardinal *Humbert* publiſhed at *Conſtantinople*, in Anſwer to the Patriarch *Michael Cerularius*, and the *Monk Nicetas*; and we have beſides Two Letters of his, the one to the Archbiſhop of *Reims*, wherein he invites him to a Council, which he had appointed to meet at *Rome* Fourteen Days after Eaſter. By the other, addreſſed to *Pandulphus*, Biſhop of *Marſi*, he reſtores that Biſhopric, which had been divided into Two, to its former Condition. He reſolved, a little before he died, to attempt a Reconciliation between the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*, and named *Deſiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, with Cardinal *Stephen*, and *Mainard*, afterwards Biſhop of the *White Foreſt*, to go into the Eaſt with the Character of his Legates, and they had got as far as *Bari*, intending to embark for *Conſtantinople*. But being there informed of the Pope's Death, and thinking it adviſeable not to proceed, *Deſiderius* returned to his Monaſtery, and the other Two to *Rome* [h].

Year of Chriſt 1058. *His Writings.*

Isaacius Comnenus, *Emperor of the* Eaſt. **BENEDICT X.** Henry IV. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-ſecond Bishop *of* Rome.

THE deceaſed Pope had, as has been ſaid, iſſued a Decree, forbidding a new Pope to be choſen, if he ſhould die, till *Hildebrand* returned from *Germany*. But though the Decree was made with the Conſent and Approbation of the Clergy and the People, News of *Stephen*'s Death was no ſooner brought to *Rome*, than a ſtrong Party, headed by the Counts of *Tuſculum*, choſe *John Mincius*, Biſhop of *Veletri*, and placing him upon the Pontifical Throne,

Benedict X. *ſimoniacally elected.*

[h] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 8.

(A) It is as follows:

D. O. M.

Stephano Papæ Nono, olim Juniano Friderico, Gozelonis Lotharingiæ Ducis Filio, Apoſtolicæ Sedis Cancellario, Monacho et Abbati Caſinenſi, Cardinali tit. S. Chryſogoni, Pontifici opt. max. pio, felici, Sanctitate et Miraculorum Gloria illuſtri, Gothifredus Hetruſcorum Dux, ut defuncto Fratri Domi ſuæ et inter proprios Amplexus, quas poteſt Charitatis ſuæ Vices rependat, non ſine Lacrymis parentat. Monachi Abbatiæ Florentinæ in Ædibus ad divi Joannis Baptiſtæ offerunt, et juſta ſolvunt. IV. *Kalendas Aprilis* M.LVIII. This Monument is ſtill to be ſeen at *Florence* in the Palace of the Grand Duke.

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gave him the Name of *Benedict* X. A contemporary Writer gives us the following Account of his Election: *Stephen*, says he, dying, one *Benedict* immediately invaded the Apostolic See without the Knowledge or the Approbation of the King, being supported in that Attempt by a Party, that he had gained with Money [a]. And the Continuator of *Hermannus Contractus*; Pope *Stephen*, says he, died, and the *Romans*, bribed by one *John*, chose him contrary to the Canons, and placed him by Force upon the Apostolic Throne [b]. *Petrus Damianus* with the other Cardinals and leading Men of the *Roman* Church, being determined to adhere to the Decree of the late Pope, and wait for the Return of *Hildebrand*, as if he were to bring the Holy Ghost along with him, opposed the simoniacal Election of *John*, nay and solemnly anathematized all, who were anyways concerned in it. But they were thereupon obliged to quit the City, and leave *Benedict* and his Party Masters of *Rome*. *Petrus Damianus*, by whom, as Bishop of *Ostia*, the new Pope was to be consecrated, being fled, they seized upon a Priest belonging to that Church, and obliged him, with a Dagger at his Throat, to perform the Ceremony on the Thirtieth of *March* 1058. *Benedict*, thus intruded and consecrated, held the See Nine Months and Twenty Days [c]; but we find nothing recorded of him, during that Time, besides his sending the Pall to *Stigand*, who in the Year 1047 had been translated from the See of *Helmham* to that of *Winchester*, and was about the Year 1052 preferred to the See of *Canterbury*. We are told that as he still retained the Bishopric of *Canterbury*, and none of the preceding Popes would, upon that Account, grant him the Pall, he acknowledged *Benedict* in order to obtain it of him; and he obtained it accordingly [d]. Thus *Malmsbury*. But I can hardly believe, that all the preceding Popes would have refused him the Pall merely because he held Two Bishoprics, since Two of them were, in his Time, guilty of the same Fault, *viz.* *Leo* IX. and *Victor* II. who held the Bishoprics of *Toul* and *Eichsted* with that of *Rome*, I have placed this Antipope among the lawful Popes under the Name of *Benedict* X. the next Pope of that Name, chosen in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century, being called, in all the Catalogues, *Benedict* XI.

Said to have sent the Pall to Stigand *of* Canterbury.

[a] Lambert. Schafnab. [b] Ad ann. 1058. [c] Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 1058. [d] Malmf. Pontif. l. i.

NICHOLAS

Year of Christ 1058.

ISAACIUS COMNENUS, *Emperor of the* East. **NICHOLAS II.** HENRY IV. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

Nicholas II. *named by the King of* Germany.

AS *Benedict* had been choſen without the Knowledge of the King, and conſecrated without his Approbation or Conſent, the chief Citizens of *Rome*, and ſuch of the Clergy as had remained there, apprehending that the Empreſs *Agnes* would reſent ſuch an open Violation of the Rights of her Son, diſpatched ſome of their Body into *Germany* to aſſure her that they had no Share in ſo uncanonical an Election, that they did not look upon the Biſhop of *Velletri* as lawful Pope, but were ready to receive, and place upon the Pontifical Throne the Perſon, whom it ſhould pleaſe the King to name. The *Roman* Envoys were well received at Court; and the King, or rather the Empreſs, nominated *Gerard*, then Biſhop of *Florence*, a Native of *Burgundy*, and one equally acceptable to the *Italians* and the *Germans*[a]. In the mean time *Hildebrand* returned from *Germany*, and ſtopping at *Florence* upon the News of the Election of *Benedict*, he wrote from thence to the *Romans*, finding great Fault with their Conduct, and exhorting them to proceed, without Delay, to a new Election. As this could not be done in *Rome*, where the Party of *Benedict* prevailed, the Cardinals and the reſt of the *Roman* Clergy, who had retired from the City leſt they ſhould be forced to acknowledge *Benedict*, met at *Siena*, and there choſe unanimouſly, with the Conſent of the *Roman* People, the Perſon, whom the King had named. This happened on the Twenty-eighth of *October* 1058.

Is unanimouſly choſen.

The Pope immediately after his Election appointed a Council to meet at *Sutri*, in order to conſult with the Cardinals and the other Biſhops about the moſt proper Means of driving *Benedict* from the See. At this Council aſſiſted moſt of the *Italian* Biſhops, and with them Duke *Godfrey*, whom the King had ordered to attend the new Pope to *Rome*, and ſee him placed on the Pontifical Throne. The Biſhops declared, all with one Voice, *Gerard* lawfully elected, and the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out againſt *Be-*

Benedict *depoſed in the Council of* Sutri.

[a] Lambert. Schafnaburg. ad ann. 1059.

nedict,

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nedict, if he did not forthwith relinquish the See, and retire. He retired accordingly as soon as he was informed of the Sentence pronounced against him, sensible that his Friends were not able to support him against the King, and the Duke of *Tuscany*. Upon his Retreat *Gerard* repaired to *Rome* with the Bishops of the Council and Duke *Godfrey*, and being there received with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem,

And Nicholas *inthroned.* Year of Christ 1059.

he was solemnly inthroned in the Beginning of *January* 1059, under the Name of *Nicholas* II. [b]. A few Days after his Inthronation the Antipope *Benedict*, being admitted to his Presence, threw himself at his Feet, owned himself an Usurper, and begged Forgiveness, protesting that he never had aspired at the Pontifical Dignity, but that it was offered him, and he was forced to accept the Offer. *Nicholas* absolved him from the Excommunication, which he had incurred, but divesting him at the same time of the Episcopacy and the Priesthood, he obliged him to spend the rest of his Days at St. *Mary the Greater* in *Rome* [c]. He lived there accordingly, being admitted by the Pope to Lay Communion, and was buried in that Church between the Altar of the Manger and that of St. *Jerom* [d].

Desiderius *made Cardinal.*

The first Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his sending for *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, his ordaining him Priest, consecrating him Abbot, creating him Cardinal of St. *Cecilia*, and appointing him his Vicar in the Provinces of *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria* [e].

Berengarius *condemned in a Council at* Rome.

As *Berengarius* continued, notwithstanding his repeared Recantations, to teach the same Doctrine concerning the Eucharist, and daily gained many Followers, the Pope, to put a Stop to the spreading Evil, resolved to condemn it again, and to assemble for that Purpose the Bishops of different Nations at *Rome*. He accordingly appointed a Council to meet there in the *Lateran* Palace, invited to it all the Bishops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and summoned *Berengarius* himself to appear and maintain his Opinion, assuring him that no Violence should be offered him. The Council met in the Month of *April* of the present Year, consisted of 113 Bishops, of a great Number of Abbots, Priests, and Deacons, the Pope presiding at it in Person. *Berengarius* appeared, and is said to have, for some Time, defended his Opinion against *Alberic*, Monk of *Monte Cassino*, but to have yielded in the End, convinced by that Monk of his

[b] Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 12. Descript. Basilicæ, &c. p. 157. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Paulus de Angelis in [e] Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 14.

Error,

Error, nay and to have declared, that he was ready to ſign, hold, and believe the Confeſſion of Faith, that the Pope and the Council ſhould think fit to dictate to him. The Council, pleaſed with his Submiſſion, ordered Cardinal *Humbert* to draw up a Formulary to be ſigned by him; and the Cardinal drew it up in the following Words. Year of Chriſt 1059.

Confeſſion of Faith preſcribed to him.

" I *Berengarius*, unworthy Deacon of the Church of St. *Maurice* " of *Angers*, knowing the true Catholic and Apoſtolic Faith, do " anathematize all Hereſies, eſpecially that, of which I have been ac- " cuſed, endeavouring to maintain, that the Bread and Wine, placed " upon the Altar after Conſecration, are only a Sacrament, and not " the true Body and Blood of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and cannot, " ſave only in the Sign, be handled or broken by the Prieſt's Hands, " or be ground by the Teeth of the Faithful. But I agree with the " Holy *Roman* Church, and the Apoſtolic See, and do with my " Mouth, and from my Heart profeſs, that I hold the ſame Faith " concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Table, which our Lord " the venerable Pope *Nicholas*, and this holy Synod, by Evangelical " and Apoſtolical Authority, has delivered to me to hold, and con- " firmed to me, *viz.* that the Bread and Wine, which are placed on " the Altar, after Conſecration are not only a Sacrament, but alſo the " true Body of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, which are ſenſibly, not only as " a Sacrament, but verily and in Truth, handled and broken by the " Prieſt's Hands, and ground by the Teeth of the Faithful. This " I ſwear by the holy and conſubſtantial Trinity, and by theſe holy " Goſpels, declaring thoſe, who ſhall oppoſe this Faith, as well as " their Followers, worthy of an eternal Anathema; and if I myſelf " ſhall dare to hold or to teach any thing repugnant to this Faith, " I will readily ſubmit to the Rigor of the Canons. I have volun- " tarily ſigned this Writing after it was twice read over to me." *Berengarius*, after ſigning this Formulary, threw his own Writings, and with them thoſe of *Scotus* containing the ſame Doctrine, into a Fire kindled for that Purpoſe in the Midſt of the Conncil[f]. The Pope believing the Converſion of *Berengarius* to be ſincere, ſent Copies of his Recantation into all the Countries where his Doctrine had been heard of, that they, who had been ſcandalized by his Hereſy, might be edified by his Repentance[g]. But that his Repentance was

[f] Alger. de Sacram. l. i. c. 19. Lanfranc. de Corp. Dom. l. i. c. 2. [g] Lanf. ibid.

only

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only pretended will appear in the History of the following Pontificate.

The Belief of the Church of Rome *different from what it was in the Time of* Berengarius.

From the Confession of Faith before us, approved by the Pope and a Council of 113 Bishops, it is manifest, that the Doctrine it contains was the Doctrine or Belief of the Church at that Time. But it would now be Heresy to say, that *the true Body and Blood of our Lord are, not only as a Sacrament, but verily and in Truth, handled and broken by the Priest's Hands, and ground by the Teeth of the Faithful*; the *Species* only, or the *Accidents*, being, according to the present Doctrine of that Church, *handled, broken,* and *ground with the Teeth*. *Peter Lombard*, Master of the Sentences, says, in express Terms, and in direct Opposition to *Berengarius*'s Recantation, that Christ's Body is handled, *&c. only in Sacrament*, that is, in the *visible Species* [h]. *Joannes Semeca*, Author of the Gloss upon the Canon Law, speaks much to the same Purpose: *Unless you understand the Words of* Berengarius *in a sound Sense*, says he, *you will fall into a greater Heresy than that which he was guilty of*; *and therefore you must refer all to the Species* [i]; which is directly contradicting the Pope and the Council defining, that the Body of Christ, not only as a Sacrament, but verily and in Truth, is handled, broken, *&c.* *Joannes Parisiensis* was of the same Opinion, as has been shewn by Dr. *Allix*, in a Dissertation prefixed to that learned Writer's *Determination concerning the Manner of the Existence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar* [k]. Thus has the Church of *Rome*, for all her Infallibility, evidently changed her Belief, with respect to the Manner in which Christ's Body is eaten in the Eucharist.

Decree concerning the Election of the Pope.

By the same Council a Decree was issued concerning the Election of the Pope; and it was ordained, that the Cardinal Bishops should elect the first, the Cardinal Priests after them, the Clergy and the People in the third Place, and that the King should, in the last Place, be applied to for his Approbation and Consent. They were to chuse out of the Bosom of the *Roman* Church, if a proper Person was to be found there; if not, out of any other Church, *save the Honour and Respect* (these are the Words of the Decree) *that are due to our beloved Son* Henry, *who is at present King, and will,*

[h] Lombard. Sent. l. iv. dist. 12. dist. 2. c. Ego Berengarius, &c.

[i] Gloss. apud Grat. de Consecratione,

[k] Determinatio Johan Paris. Lond. 1686.

if God pleaſe, be Emperor. The ſame Honour and Reſpect ſhall be paid to ſuch of his Succeſſors as ſhall have perſonally obtained the ſame Right of the Apoſtolic See. *Nicholas* here ſuppoſes the Emperor's Right of confirming the Election of the Pope to be a perſonal Privilege, granted to the Emperors by the Holy See, tho' we have ſeen them exerciſing that Right, for many Ages, quite independent of the Popes. By the ſame Decree it was enacted, that if a free Election could not be made in *Rome*, the Cardinals, with the Clergy and Laity, ſhould have a Right to proceed to the Election in what Place ſoever they ſhould think the moſt convenient, and that, if the Elect could not be conveniently inthroned, he ſhould nevertheleſs, by virtue of his Election, be acknowledged by all for true Pope, and as ſuch have full Power and Authority to govern the *Roman* Church, and diſpoſe of the Goods of the Holy See[l]. Till this Pope's Time, the Popedom was not thought to be conferred by Election only, but by Election and Conſecration; ſo that if the Elect died before Conſecration, he was not placed in the Catalogue of Popes, as has been ſhewn elſewhere[m]. This Decree, as it is related by *Petrus Damianus*, confined the Election to the Cardinals, and only left to the People, to the Clergy, and to the Emperor, the Power of confirming the Election, which they alone had made[n]. Year of Chriſt 1059.

By this Council ſeveral Canons were made againſt Simony, inceſtuous Marriages, the Marriages of Prieſts, and other Abuſes, that the preceding Popes had endeavoured, but in vain, to extirpate. They who had been ordained by Simoniac Biſhops, but had not paid for their Ordination, were allowed to continue in the Orders they had received; but were all forbidden, on pain of Degradation, to take any Orders, for the future, at the Hands of a Simoniac, though he ſhould not require any Fee or Reward for conferring them. By another Canon Prieſts, who kept Concubines, were ſuſpended from the Functions of their Office, excluded from ſharing with the reſt the Income of the Church, and ordered to live without the Precincts of the Church, till they ſhould have attoned for their Crime. By the Eleventh Canon Relations were forbidden to intermarry, and that Prohibition was extended to the Seventh Generation. It is to be obſerved, that till the Time of the Emperor *Theodoſius* there *Other Decrees of this Council.*

[l] Chronograph. Virdun. Gratian. Diſt. 23. [m] See Vol. ii. of this Hiſtory, p. 342. [n] Petrus Damian. l. 1. ep. 20.

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was no Law, civil or eccleſiaſtic, forbidding even the Marriage of Couſin-Germans. Such Marriages were indeed forbidden by that Emperor; but *Arcadius* revoked his Law, declaring the Marriage of Couſin-Germans to be lawful, and their Children legitimate; and *Juſtinian* made this the ſtanding Law of the Empire [o]. Theſe Marriages however were forbidden by the Church before the Time of Pope *Gregory the Great*, as appears from his Anſwer to the Monk *Auſtin*, in the following Words; *The Civil Law of the* Roman *Empire allows the Marriage of Couſin-Germans, but the Sacred Law forbids it* [p].

Legates ſent to reform the Church of Milan.

The ſame Year the Pope ſent *Peter Damian*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Anſelm*, Biſhop of *Lucca*, with the Character of Legates to *Milan*, in order to redreſs, jointly with *Guido*, Archbiſhop of that City, ſeveral Abuſes that prevailed there, eſpecially Simony and the Marriages of Prieſts. The Legates were, upon their Arrival, well received both by the People and Clergy: But the next Day, when they acquainted them with the Subject of their Legation, the Clergy, loth to part with their Wives, ſtirred up the Populace againſt them, giving out that they were come to ſubject the Church of *Milan* to that of *Rome*; which ſo incenſed the Multitude, that ſurrounding the Epiſcopal Palace, where the Legates were lodged, they threatened them with Death, if they offered to ſubject the Church, that had been ever free, to any other. But *Damian* aſſuring them, that they had been ſent by the holy Pope *Nicholas* for no other Purpoſe but to correct the Abuſes that had crept into their Church, and that they were not impowered to meddle with their Privileges, the Multitude acquieſced, and the Clergy were obliged to ſubmit to the intended Reformation. Several Conferences were held, in the Preſence of the Legates and the Archbiſhop, and after the moſt diligent Enquiries it appeared, that in ſo numerous a Clergy as that of *Milan*, ſcarce one had been ordained, for ſome Years paſt, without paying for his Ordination. This greatly embarraſſed the Legates, thinking it, on the one hand, unjuſt to puniſh ſome and pardon others, when they were all alike guilty; and on the other not adviſeable to puniſh all. They therefore agreed to overlook what was paſt, and by new Regulations obviate ſuch Diſorders for the future. They accordingly obliged the Archbiſhops and the reſt of the Clergy

[o] Cod. Juſtin. l. v. tit. 4. de Nuptiis. leg. 19. [p] Greg. l. i. ep. 31.

to promiſe upon Oath, that in Time to come they would avoid all Simony, and forthwith diſmiſs their Concubines [q]. Year of Chriſt 1059.

The ſame Diſorders prevailed in the lower Part of *Italy*, now called *the Kingdom of Naples*; nay, the Incontinence of the Clergy was ſo notorious there, that ſcarce a Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon was to be found in thoſe Provinces, who kept not publicly his Concubine; and their Concubines, ſtiling themſelves their lawful Wives, had the Aſſurance to claim the ſame Privileges and Exemptions as were enjoyed by the Clergy, to whom they belonged. The Pope, therefore, a few Days after the breaking up of the Council at *Rome*, ſet out for *Apulia*, to aſſiſt in Perſon at a Council, which he appointed to meet at *Melfi*, the Capital of that Province. The Council met in the Month of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1059, conſiſted of an Hundred Biſhops, and a great Number of Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons, by whom many ſevere Laws were iſſued againſt the incontinent or married Clergy. *Council of Melfi.*

While the Pope was at *Melfi*, he received a ſolemn Embaſſy from the famous *Robert Guiſcard* the *Norman*, who had by this Time reduced all *Apulia*, and extended his Conqueſts over the greater Part of *Calabria*. He was ſenſible that it was his Intereſt, and that of his Nation, to have the Popes for their Friends; and being therefore determined to purchaſe their Friendſhip at any Rate, he ſent ſome of his chief Lords to wait upon his Holineſs in his Name, and beg an Interview, in order to ſettle with him ſome Matters of the utmoſt Importance to both. *Nicholas* readily agreed to the Propoſal, being as deſirous as the *Normans* themſelves to eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding between ſo warlike a Nation and the Apoſtolic See. *Robert* therefore, leaving his Generals to carry on the Siege of *Curiato*, a City in *Calabria*, which he had inveſted, haſtened to *Melfi*, attended by *Richard*, Count of *Averſa*, and the Flower of the *Norman* Nobility. They were all received by the Pope with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and in a few Conferences the following Agreement was concluded between *Robert* and the Pope, *viz.* that the Pope ſhould abſolve the *Normans* from the Excommunication which they had incurred; that he ſhould confirm to *Robert*, to his Heirs and Succeſſors, the Dukedoms of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which he had taken from the *Greeks*, and like- *The Pope comes to an Agreement with the Normans.*

[q] Petrus Damian. Opuſcul. 5.

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wise *Sicily*, when he should drive the *Greeks* and *Saracens* out of that Island. As *Richard* of *Aversa* had lately made himself Master of the City of *Capua*, and driven out *Landulphus* V. the lawful Prince, it was added in the Agreement, that the Pope should acknowledge *Richard* for lawful Prince, and confirm to him and his Heirs the Possession of that Principality. On the other hand *Robert* and *Richard* were to own themselves Vassals of the Apostolic See, were to swear Fealty to Pope *Nicholas* and his Successors, and *Robert* was to pay yearly at Easter Twelve Deniers Money of *Pavia*, for each Yoke of Oxen [r]. The Oath *Robert* took on this Occasion was couched in the following Terms, as we read in *Baronius*, who transcribed it from a Book lodged in the *Vatican* Library, under the Title of *Liber Censuum*: "I *Robert*, by the Grace of God and "St. *Peter*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and future Duke of "*Sicily*, promise to pay to St. *Peter*, to you, Pope *Nicholas*, my "Lord, to your Successors, or to your and their Nuncios, Twelve "Deniers, Money of *Pavia*, for each Yoke of Oxen, as an Ac-"knowledgment for all the Lands that I myself hold and possess, "or have given to be held and possessed by any of the Ultramon-"tanes; and this Sum shall be yearly paid on Easter-Sunday by me, "my Heirs and Successors, to you, Pope *Nicholas*, my Lord, and "to your Successors. So help me God, and these his holy Gospels."

Conditions of this Agreement.

Investitures granted by the Pope to the Normans.

When *Robert* had taken this Oath, the Pope acknowledged him for lawful Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, confirmed to him and his Successors for ever the Possession of those Provinces, promised to confirm to him in like manner the Possession of *Sicily*, as soon as he should reduce that Island, and putting a Standard in his Right Hand, declared him Vassal of the Apostolic See, and Standard-bearer of the Holy Church. From this time *Robert* stiled himself *Dux Apuliæ & Calabriæ, & futurus Siciliæ* [s]. Thus did the Popes begin to dispose of Provinces and Kingdoms, as their own, to which they had no Kind of Right; and it is upon Duke *Robert*'s having declared himself and his Successors Vassals of the Apostolic See, that the Popes to this Day look upon the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* as Fiefs of the Church, and claim the Power of transferring them, at Pleasure, from one Nation to another.

[r] Leo Ostienf. l. iii. c. 15. [s] Idem, l. ii. c. 16.

The Pope, well pleaſed with the Agreement between him and the *Normans*, left *Melfi*, and after holding another Council at *Beneventum*, ſet out on his Return to *Rome*, attended by a numerous Body of *Normans*, who by his Order laid waſte the Territories of *Præneſte*, *Tuſculum*, and *Nomentum*, obliged the Inhabitants to ſubmit to the Pope, from whom they had revolted, and croſſing the *Tyber*, deſtroyed all the Strong-holds of *Gerard* Count of *Galera*, who lived chiefly upon Plunder. Thus was *Rome* delivered by the brave *Normans* from the many petty Tyrants that ſurrounded it on all Sides. From *Rome* the Pope, in the Beginning of the following Year 1060, took a Journey to *Florence*, and from thence went to *Monte Caſſino*, where he conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *Oderiſius*, the Son of the Count of *Marſi*, who was a Monk in that Monaſtery, and raiſed another Monk, named *Martin*, to the Epiſcopal See of *Aquino*, in the room of *Angelus*, whom he depoſed, becauſe he had been made Biſhop without paſſing through the inferior Degrees, and had by his Conduct ſhewn himſelf unworthy of that Dignity [t].

Year of Chriſt 1059.

The Pope returns to Rome *attended by the* Normans.

Goes to Monte Caſſino.

Year of Chriſt 1060.

The Pope on his Return to *Rome* ſent *Stephen*, Cardinal Prieſt, into *France*, with the Character of his Legate, to reform the Abuſes that prevailed in the *Gallican* Church, and were connived at by the Biſhops in thoſe Parts. The Cardinal aſſembled a Council at *Tours*, and by the Ten Biſhops who compoſed it, ſeveral Canons were made againſt Simony, the alienating of Church Lands, and the Incontinence of the Clergy, there being as few of that Order to be found in *France* as in *Italy* that did not keep Concubines, and even appear in public with them as their lawful Wives [u].

Council of Tours.

The following Year 1061 the Pope aſſembled a Council in the *Lateran* Palace, at which were preſent, beſides the *Italian* Biſhops, *Aldred*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Guiſo* and *Walter*, both Biſhops elect, the former of *Wells* and the latter of *Hereford*. *Aldred* had been tranſlated from *Worceſter* to *York*, and it was to receive the Pall at the Pope's Hands that he undertook a Journey to *Rome*. The Two other Biſhops accompanied him, in order to be ordained by the Pope himſelf. *Nicholas* ordained them accordingly, in the Preſence of the Biſhops of the Council, but would not grant the Pall to *Aldred*, on account of his having been tranſlated from a leſſer

Council of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1061.

[t] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 14. [u] Concil. tom. ix. p. 1109.

See

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See to a greater without his Knowledge, and his not having yet quitted the See from which he was tranſlated. *Aldred*, finding the Pope inflexible, ſet out with the other Two Biſhops on his Return home, but the Highways leading to *Rome* being then greatly infeſted by Robbers, they were by them ſtript of all they had, ſome of their Attendants, who perhaps offered to defend them, being grievouſly wounded, and uſed with great Barbarity. In this miſerable Condition they returned to *Rome*, and acquainted the Pope with their Misfortune, who was ſo affected with it, that to comfort *Aldred* he granted him the Pall, but upon Condition that he reſigned the See of *Worceſter* [w]. *Malmsbury* writes, that *Aldred* was arraigned of Simony, that the Pope refuſed him the Pall on that Account, and that *Toſtin* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had accompanied *Aldred* to *Rome*, told the Pope, that unleſs he complied with the Requeſt of the Archbiſhop, the King would withdraw the Contribution, which he paid yearly to St. *Peter* [x]. But no Notice is taken by any other Writer of the Charge of Simony, or the Threats of *Toſtin*; nay *Malmsbury* himſelf clears *Aldred* from that Imputation, in his Life of *Wulſtan*, the Succeſſor of *Aldred* in the See of *Worceſter* [y]. *Aldred* in his Return to *England* brought Letters from the Pope to King *Edward*, containing a Confirmation of all the Privileges granted by his Predeceſſors to the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*.

Nicholas *grants the Pall to* Aldred *of* York.

Death of Pope Nicholas.

Nicholas did not long ſurvive the holding of this Council; for going ſoon after it broke up to *Florence*, he died there on the 22d of *July* of the preſent Year 1061, having governed the *Roman* Church Two Years Six Months and Twenty-five Days, that is, from the 28th of *December* 1058, to the 22d of *July* 1061. But it is to be obſerved, that the Pope himſelf reckoned the Time of his Pontificate from the Day of his Inthronation and not of his Election. *Peter Damian*, in One of his Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, paints this Pope as a Man of Learning, of a ſprightly Genius, and of great Reſolution in purſuing what he undertook. He was chaſte, ſays that Writer, beyond Suſpicion, and his Generoſity to the Poor knew no Bounds [z]. *Damian* adds, upon the Authority of *Mainard*, who had ſucceeded the famous Cardinal *Humbert* in the See of the *White*

[w] Decem Scriptores, p. 386. Stubbs in Act. Pont. Ebor. [x] Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. Angl. l. iii. p. 271. [y] See Warton Angliæ Sacræ, part. xi. p. 20.
[z] Petrus Damian. ep. 14.

Foreſt

Foreſt or *St. Rufina*, that the good Pope waſhed daily the Feet of Twelve poor People, and that if his other Occupations did not allow him to finiſh that charitable Task in the Day-time, he completed it at Night [a]. We have ſeveral Letters of this Pope, moſt of them addreſſed to the Biſhops of *France*, whom he exhorts to reform the many Abuſes that his Predeceſſors had laboured to root out, eſpecially Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy. Year of Chriſt 1061.

CONSTANTINE DUCAS,
ROMANUS DIOGENES,
MICHAEL DUCAS,
Emperors of the East.

ALEXANDER II.

HENRY IV.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Death of *Nicholas* was attended with great Diſturbances, the whole City being divided into Two powerful and irreconcileable Factions about the Choice of a new Pope. The One, headed by *Hildebrand*, was for chuſing a Pope, as *Henry* was a Minor, without conſulting him, and thus excluding him from having any Share in the Election, which belonged, as he pretended, to the Clergy and People of *Rome* alone. With him were almoſt all the Cardinals, and the far greater Part of the Clergy, thinking the Minority of the King too favourable an Opportunity of ſhaking off the Yoke to be let paſs unimproved. On the other hand the Counts of *Tuſculum* and *Galera*, and with them moſt of the *Roman* Nobility, determined to maintain the juſt Rights of the King, proteſted againſt the iniquitous Proceedings of *Hildebrand* and thoſe of his Party, and ſent Deputies to acquaint the King with them. The Deputies carried with them a Crown of Gold for the young King, and were impowered to confer upon him the Dignity of Patrician, in the ſame manner as it had been conferred on *Charlemagne*; which was inveſting him with an unlimited Power in *Rome*. Hereupon *Hildebrand*, finding he could not carry his Deſign into Execution, ſent Cardinal *Stephen*, a Monk of *Cluny*, to acquaint the King and the Empreſs *Agnes* with the Death of *Nicholas*, and beg Leave to proceed to the Election of a new Pope. This Letter was written in the Name

Diſturbances in Rome *about the Election of a Pope.*

[a] Dam. Opuſc. ix. c. 7.

of

Year of Christ 1061.

of the Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. But the Empress, provoked at the Proceedings of that Party, would not so much as see the Cardinal Legate; and he returned with the Letter unopened. Upon his Return to *Rome* the Cardinals, resolved to wait no longer, chose *Anselm*, a Native of *Milan*, and at that Time Bishop of *Lucca*, flattering themselves that the Empress would approve the Election they had made, as the Elect was well known, and even a Favourite at Court. He was chosen on the First of *October* 1061, and took the Name of *Alexander* II. [a]. But on what Day he was inthroned we are no where told. *Robert Guiscard* assisted at this Election, having promised upon Oath to the deceased Pope to second the Cardinals in the Election of his Successor.

Alexander II. *chosen by one Party*;

and Cadalus *by another*;

The Empress *Agnes*, looking upon the Election of *Alexander* as an Incroachment upon the Rights of her Son, not only refused to confirm it, but by the Advice of *Gibert*, Great Chancellor of *Italy*, appointed a Council to meet at *Basil*, in order to declare the Election, made by the Cardinals without the Knowledge of the King, to be null, and to chuse another in his room. This Council consisted of the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and some *German* Bishops; and by them the Election of *Alexander* was annulled, as an open Violation of the Rights of the King, and *Cadolus*, or *Cadolous*, was chosen, with one Consent, on the 28th of *October* of the present Year 1061. He was at the Time of his Election Bishop of *Parma*, but a Man of a most infamous Character, if *Peter Damian* is to be credited: For he not only kept publicly a Concubine, stiling her his Wife, but maintained that it was as lawful for a Priest to marry, as for any other Man; and we are told, that it was to get the Laws concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy revoked, that the *Lombard* Bishops so unanimously chose him. He had been arraigned and convicted of Simony in Three different Councils, *viz.* of *Pavia*, *Mantua*, and *Milan*, but had been forgiven upon owning himself guilty of the Charge, and submitting to the Penance that was enjoined him [b]. His Election being approved of by *Agnes* and the young Prince her Son, the *Lombard* Bishops, those especially of *Placentia* and *Vercelli*, took care to supply him both with Men and Money to drive his Antagonist from the Papal Throne. With that View he marched at the Head of a considerable Army from *Basil* strait to

who marches to Rome *with an Army.*

[a] Herman. Contract. Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 20. [b] Petrus Damian. Opusc. ix. c. 8.

Rome,

Rome, and having, by Dint of Money, gained ſome of *Alexander's* Friends over to his Party, he would have made himſelf Maſter of the City, had not *Godfrey*, Duke of *Tuſcany*, eſpouſing the Cauſe of *Alexander*, fallen with a more numerous Army upon his Troops, and obliged him with great Slaughter to raiſe the Siege, and return to *Parma*. *Cadolus* himſelf would have been taken Priſoner, had not an Officer of the Duke's Army, whom he bribed with a large Sum of Money, aſſiſted him in making his Eſcape[c]. Upon his Retreat, *Alexander*, who had fled at his Approach, returned to *Rome*, and was there received, with great Demonſtrations of Joy, by the Cardinals, and the reſt of the *Roman* Clergy.

Year of Chriſt 1062. *But is defeated and* Alexander *eſtabliſhed.*

Cadolus was preparing to return to *Rome* with a more numerous Army, being ſtrongly ſupported by the Empreſs *Agnes*, by the Chancellor *Gibert*, and by all who had any Zeal for the Maintenance of the Imperial Rights. But in the mean time *Anno*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, declaring for *Alexander*, ſeized on the King, who was then but Twelve Years old, and carrying him to *Cologne*, where he was treated with all the Reſpect that was due to his high Rank, he aſſembled a Council at a Place in *Germany* called *Osborium*, and there cauſed the Election of *Cadolus* to be declared an Intruſion, and that of *Alexander* a lawful Election. As this Council was held in the Preſence of the King, *Alexander* was ſaid to have been acknowledged by him for lawful Pope. *Anno* held another Council or Diet, by which he got himſelf declared Regent and Guardian of the King during his Minority. *Agnes*, finding the Tutelage of her Son, and with it all Power, thus wreſted from her by the ambitious Archbiſhop, retired to *Rome*, and there acknowledging *Alexander*, was abſolved by him from the Cenſures ſhe had incurred by adhering to *Cadolus*. She ſpent the Reſt of her Days in that City, leading a moſt exemplary Life, and died there in 1077.

Anno *of* Cologne *wreſts from the Empreſs the Tutelage of the young King.*

Alexander, having now nothing to fear from *Cadolus*, ſent *Peter Damian* to *Florence*, with the Character of his Legate, upon the following Occaſion. The Biſhop of that City, named *Peter*, was arraigned of Simony, and his Father, One of the principal Citizens of *Pavia*, coming to viſit his Son at *Florence*, owned, as he was a very ſimple Man, that he had paid the King a very large Sum for the Promotion of his Son. Hereupon the Monks, headed by the famous

The Monks at Florence *quarrel with the Biſhop.*

Year of Chriſt 1063.

[c] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 20.

Year of Chriſt 1063.

St. *John Gualbert*, Founder of the Order of *Vollumbroſa*, began publicly to inveigh againſt the Biſhop, as a Simoniac and a Heretic, pretending that the Sacraments adminiſtered by him were null. This occaſioned great Diſturbances, and even a Kind of civil War among the Citizens, ſome ſiding with the Biſhop againſt the Monks, and ſome with the Monks againſt the Biſhop. Several Frays happened, and in One ſome of the Monks were killed; which obliged the Pope to ſend *Peter Damian* to *Florence*, with full Power to employ what Means he ſhould think the moſt proper to reconcile the contending Parties. But the Monks, inſiſting upon the Nullity of the Sacraments adminiſtered by the Biſhop, as well as by thoſe whom he had ordained, would hearken to no Terms; ſo that *Damian*, finding them bent upon the Depoſition of the Biſhop, left Matters as he found them and returned to *Rome*. He was ſoon followed by ſeveral Monks ſent by their Brethren to accuſe the Biſhop to the Pope, and beg his Holineſs would remove him, as ſeveral Perſons choſe rather to die without receiving the Viaticum, than to receive it at his Hands, or at the Hands of any whom he had ordained. As the Pope had appointed a Council to meet in the *Lateran* Palace, he told the Monks, that the Cauſe of their Biſhop ſhould be examined by the Biſhops of that Aſſembly, and that if he was found guilty of the Charge, which they brought againſt him, he ſhould be puniſhed as was preſcribed by the Canons. The Monks acquieſced, and upon their Return to *Florence*, One of them, by Name *Peter*, to convince the Citizens that their Biſhop was guilty of the Crime they charged him with, offered to undergo a new Kind of fiery Trial, and underwent it accordingly, walking bare-footed and quite unhurt upon a very narrow Path, covered with burning Coals, between Two huge Piles of dry Wood ſet on fire. We are told, that having dropt his Handkerchief as he thus walked between the Two burning Piles, he returned with great Compoſure, and took it up from amidſt the Flames quite entire. The Reader will find a minute Account of this wonderful Performance in the Letter, which the Clergy and People of *Florence*, who were all Eye-witneſſes of it, wrote to the Pope on the Occaſion[d]. *Deſiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Victor* III. ſpeaks

The Monks apply to the Pope.

A new Kind of Ordeal by Fire.

[d] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1063.

of this Trial as a Thing that was notorious, or well known to all the World, and adds, that, at the Time he wrote, the Monk was ſtill living, and Biſhop of *Albano*[e]. He was from that Time diſtinguiſhed with the Epithet of *Igneus*, and is ſtiled by the Writers, who ſpeak of him, *Petrus Igneus*, or *Fiery Peter*. Year of Chriſt 1063.

The Council, which the Pope had appointed to meet in the *Lateran* Palace, was held ſoon after this miraculous Trial, and *Peter*, Biſhop of *Florence*, found guilty of the Charge of Simony, was depoſed, and forbidden, upon Pain of Excommunication, to exerciſe thenceforth any Epiſcopal or even Sacerdotal Functions. It is to be obſerved, that notwithſtanding the authentic Account of the miraculous Preſervation of the Monk and his Handkerchief, tranſmitted to *Rome* by the Clergy and People of *Florence*, the Pope did not condemn the Biſhop, till ſeveral Witneſſes, appearing before the Council, depoſed that, to their certain Knowledge, the Biſhopric was purchaſed of the King or his Miniſters with a large Sum of Money: a plain Proof that the Pope paid very little Regard to that Account; and his Holineſs was better informed of every Circumſtance, attending ſo extraordinary an Event, than we are, or can be, at ſo great a Diſtance of Time. This Council conſiſted of One hundred Biſhops and upwards, and the Canons were confirmed by it, which had been iſſued by the Two preceding Popes *Leo* and *Nicholas* againſt Simony, the Marriage of the Clergy, inceſtuous Marriages, that is, Marriages within the forbidden Degrees, or to the Seventh Generation, and the raiſing of any Man at once, let his Merit be ever ſo great, to the Epiſcopal Dignity. By the Fourth Canon it was ordained, that the Clerks ſhould eat and ſleep together near the Churches which they ſerved, and that, baniſhing all private Property, they ſhould enjoy their Income in common[f]. To this Canon the regular Canons owe their Inſtitution. *The Biſhop depoſed by a Council at* Rome. *Canons of that Council.*

In this Council *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny*, complained to the Pope of *Drago*, Biſhop of *Maçon*, pretending, in Defiance of the papal Bulls, to exerciſe Juriſdiction over that Monaſtery, becauſe ſituated in his Dioceſe. *Peter Damian*, who was a Monk himſelf of the holy Croſs of *Avellana* near *Engubio*, and a moſt zealous Defender of the Monkiſh Orders, hearing this Complaint, offered to go to *France*, and there maintain the Privileges of the Monaſtery againſt the unjuſt Peter Damian *ſent to* France.

[e] Deſider. Dialog. l. iii. [f] Concil. tom. ix. p. 1275.

Year of Christ 1063.

Uſurpations of the Biſhop. The Pope not only accepted his Offer, but charging him with ſeveral other Commiſſions, veſted him with the Character and the Power of his Legate *a Latere*. The Legate on his Arrival in *France* held a Council at *Chalons* on the *Saone*, and having cauſed the Bulls of the Popes, exempting the Monaſtery of *Cluny* from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop, to be read in that Aſſembly, the Biſhop was by all found guilty of a Breach of the Privileges granted by the Apoſtolic See to the Monks and their Monaſtery. But he declaring upon Oath that he never had heard of thoſe Privileges, and at the ſame time asking the Pope Pardon on his Knees in the Midſt of the Aſſembly, the Legate contented himſelf with enjoining him to faſt Seven Days upon Bread and Water[g]. In the ſame Council the Biſhop of *Orleans*, named *Haderic*, was arraigned of Simony. But as he denied that Charge upon Oath, the Legate would not ſo much as hear his Accuſers. However the Crime being afterwards proved, the Pope ordered the Archbiſhop of *Sens* to excommunicate and depoſe him[h].

Holds a Council at Chalons.

The Firſt Inſtance of a plenary Indulgence.

In the mean time the *Normans* were extending their Conqueſts, not only in *Italy*, but in the Iſland of *Sicily*, under the Conduct of *Roger*, Brother to *Robert Guiſcard*, Duke of *Calabria*. This Year *Roger* gained a memorable Victory over the *Saracens*, Maſters of the far greater Part of that Iſland, and having acquired a very rich Booty, he ſent a conſiderable Share of it to the Pope, ſenſible that it was his Intereſt to have the Pope for his Friend, and that he could no otherwiſe more effectually gain him than by Preſents. The Pope, well pleaſed with his Share of the Spoils, granted to *Roger* in Return, and to all who had aſſiſted him, or who ſhould for the future aſſiſt him in driving the *Saracens* quite out of *Sicily*, full Remiſſion of all their Sins, provided they ſincerely repented of the Sins they had committed, and were determined to commit none in Time to come[i]. This was granting them a *plenary Indulgence*, as it is now called; and it is the firſt Inſtance of ſuch a Grant that occurs in Hiſtory. At the ſame time the Pope ſent a Standard to *Roger* from the Tomb of St. *Peter*, that he and his Men might fight more courageouſly under the Protection and the Banner of the Prince of the Apoſtles[k].

[g] Concil. tom. ix. p. 1177, et Bibliothec. Cluniac. p. 509. [h] Petrus Damian. l. vi. ep. 2. [i] Malaterra. l. ii. c. 33. [k] Idem ibid.

The

The Two following Years Two Councils were held at *Rome* againſt thoſe, who maintained that the Degrees of Conſanguinity ought not to extend beyond Couſin-Germans; and by both Councils all were excommunicated, as Heretics, who held that Opinion. But *Damianus* informs us, that ſcarce One out of many Thouſands paid any Kind of Regard to the Anathemas of thoſe Councils, or to the Canons forbidding Marriages of Relations to the Seventh Generation [l]. However they, who held thoſe Marriages to be lawful, were looked upon by the Pope as Heretics, and their pretended Hereſy was called the *Hereſy of the Inceſtuous*.

Year of Chriſt 1064, 1065. *Two Councils held at* Rome.

The enſuing Year 1066 arrived at *Rome*, *Giſelbert*, Archdeacon of *Lizieux*, ſent thither by *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, on the following Occaſion. *Edward*, King of *England*, ſurnamed the *Confeſſor*, dying on the Fifth of *January* of the preſent Year, *Harold*, Son to *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and Brother to *Egiltha*, the deceaſed King's Wife, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King the very next Day. But *Edward*, having no Male Iſſue, had promiſed, and was ſaid to have left by his laſt Will the Crown to *William*, who was therefore no ſooner informed of what had paſſed in *England*, than aſſembling the chief Lords and Prelates of his Dukedom, he acquainted them with his Claim to the Crown, adviſing at the ſame time with them about the moſt proper Means of aſcertaining it. They were divided in their Opinions, ſome, in Compliance with the Inclination of the *Duke*, encouraging him to paſs over into *England* without Delay, while others ſtrove to divert him from ſuch an Undertaking as too hazardous, it being impoſſible for a Handful of *Normans* to overcome the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Upon their Diſagreement the Duke reſolved to apply to the Pope; and it was to conſult and engage him in his Cauſe that he diſpatched the Archdeacon of *Lizieux* to *Rome*. *Alexander* received him with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem, and being informed by him that *Harold* had, by the Breach of an Oath he had taken to *William*, aſſumed the Enſigns of Royalty, his Holineſs not only approved of the intended Expedition, but that he might be protected, in ſuch an Undertaking, by the Merits of St. *Peter*, he ſent him the Standard of that Apoſtle [m]. *William*, having received the Standard, croſſed over with his Army into *England* in the latter End of *September*, and having defeated

The Pope ſends a Standard to William *Duke of* Normandy. Year of Chriſt 1066.

[l] Damian. Opuſc. xii. c. 29.

[m] Orderic. Vital. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iii.

with

Year of Christ 1066.

with great Slaughter the Army of *Harold*, who was killed at the first Onset, he was on Christmas Day following 1066 consecrated and crowned King of *England* in the Basilic of St. *Peter*, *Westminster*. The Ceremony was performed by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, in the Presence of the Prelates, Abbots, and Nobility of the whole Kingdom [n].

The Roman *Territories ravaged by* Richard *the* Norman.

Giselbert, the Duke of *Normandy*'s Envoy, had scarce left *Rome*, when *Richard*, Brother to *Robert Guiscard*, appeared unexpectedly at the Head of a considerable Body of Troops in the Neighbourhood of that City. The late Pope had granted him the Investiture of the Dukedom of *Capua*, which he had taken from *Landulphus* the lawful Duke. But he now wanted to be made a *Roman* Patrician, a very great Dignity in those Days; and because neither the Pope nor the *Romans* would confer that Honour upon him, he laid waste the neighbouring Country, and threatened *Rome* itself. But the Ministers of the King, hearing of the Ravages he committed, ordered *Godfrey*, Duke of *Tuscany*, to march against him and protect the City. At his Approach *Richard* retired; but the Duke, attended by the Pope himself and all the Cardinals, pursued him as far as *Aquino*, where after several Skirmishes, without any Advantage on either Side, a Peace was concluded, but upon what Terms History does not inform us; we only know that the Pope absolved *Richard* and his *Normans* from the Excommunication they had incurred by ravaging the Lands of the Church. From *Aquino* the Pope repaired to *Monte Cassino*, and there, by the Advice of *Hildebrand*, preferred several Monks to different Employments and Dignities in the Church, and at the same time exempted, by a special Bull, not only their Church and Monastery, but all their Houses and Tenements, from the Jurisdiction of any Bishop but that of the Bishop of *Rome* [o].

Cadolus *condemned in a Council at* Mantua.

Year of Christ 1067.

As *Cadolus* had not yet quitted the Ensigns of the Pontifical Dignity, but was still acknowledged by many for lawful Pope, *Anno*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, proposed the assembling of a Council, in order to put an End by that means to the Schism. This Proposal was not at all relished by *Alexander*; but being persuaded by his Friends to agree to it, a Council was appointed to meet at *Mantua*, and the *Italian* Bishops, those especially of *Lombardy*, were invited to it. *Cadolus* was particularly summoned; but he did not appear, pretend-

[n] Orderic. Vital. ubi supra. [o] Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 23.

ing

ing that nobody had a Power to ſummon him, ſince his Election had been approved by a Council, that of *Baſil*, and confirmed by the King. The Council however met at the Time appointed, and it being made plainly to appear that *Cadolus* had been preferred to the See by Dint of Money, his Election was declared ſimoniacal and null, and he forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to exerciſe thenceforth any Pontifical, Epiſcopal, or Sacerdotal Functions. *Alexander* too was arraigned of Simony, but having denied the Charge upon Oath, (which he at firſt ſhewed himſelf averſe to, as inconſiſtent with the Dignity of High Pontiff) his Election was declared canonical, and he acknowledged by the whole Council for lawful Pope [p]. *Cadolus* however, not intimidated with the Sentence pronounced againſt him, found means to get one Night, with ſeveral of his Attendants, privately into the *Leonine* City, and even to take Poſſeſſion of the Church of St. *Peter*. This occaſioned a general Alarm in the Morning, when thoſe, whom *Cadolus* had brought with him, conſulting their own Safety, left him to the Mercy of his Enemies. But *Cencius*, Governor of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, coming ſeaſonably to his Relief, carried him with him into that Fortreſs. There he remained Two Years beſieged by the *Romans*, and very ill uſed by *Cencius*, who to extort Money from him kept him in the Caſtle, though he might have made his Eſcape, as the Place was not cloſely beſieged, without expoſing himſelf to the leaſt Danger. *Cencius* at laſt granted him his Liberty, but not till he had paid down for it Three hundred Pounds Weight of Silver. Having thus ranſomed himſelf, he privately left the Caſtle in the Night, and in the Diſguiſe of a Pilgrim reached undiſcovered the Town of *Baretta*. Some Writers tell us, that to the Hour of his Death he claimed the Pontifical Dignity, that he exerciſed all the Functions of that Office, and looked upon *Alexander* as Antipope [q]. But others will have him to have owned his Fault, to have acknowledged *Alexander*, and to have died a ſincere Penitent [r].

Year of Chriſt 1067.

The Pope in his Way to the Council of *Mantua* paſſed through *Milan*, and there canonized *Arialdus* a Clerk of that Church, who had been inhumanly murdered by his Brethren for expoſing ſuch of them as were married to the Contempt of the Laity, being a moſt ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the Celibacy of the Clergy. *Andrew*, Abbot

Arialdus *canonized.*

[p] In Collect. Concil. ad ann. 1064, et apud Bar. ad eun. ann. [q] Lambert. Schafnaburg. ad ann. 1064. [r] Apud Baron. ubi ſup.

of

Year of Christ 1067.

of *Vallombrosa*, assures us in his Life of this holy Martyr, that having happened to touch his Body after his Martyrdom, his Fingers exhaled the sweetest Odour he had ever smelt [s]. On the other Hand *Landulphus* positively asserts, that the Body of *Arialdus* sent forth such a Stench as no Man could bear [t]. The Abbot was for the Celibacy of the Clergy, and *Landulphus* against it; and thus may we account for their different Sensations.

The Pope will not allow the King to divorce his Wife.

The Pope, upon his Return from *Mantua* to *Rome*, was informed that the King of *Germany* wanted to divorce his Wife *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Otho* an *Italian* Marquis, whom he had married but Two Years before, that he was countenanced therein by *Sigefrid*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, whom he had gained with great Promises, and that a Council was appointed to meet at *Mentz* in order to determine that Affair. Upon this Intelligence he immediately dispatched *Peter Damian* into *Germany* with the Character of Legate *a Latere*, strictly enjoining him to oppose the intended Divorce, and threaten, in his Name, with the Censures of the Church, such as should presume to countenance it by what Title soever dignified or distinguished. The Council met soon after the Arrival of *Damian* at *Mentz*; but the Lords, as well as the Bishops, terrified with the Menaces of the Legate, declared, all to a Man, against the Divorce, as forbidden by the Laws both of God and the Church, and earnestly entreated the King not to encourage with his Example a Crime, which it was his Duty to punish in his Subjects. The King finding his Design thus disapproved by all the Lords and Prelates of his Kingdom, as well as the Pope, acquiesced, but treated the Queen thenceforth with great Indifference, though it does not appear, that he ever afterwards thought of a Divorce [u].

Year of Christ 1068.

The Archbishops of Mentz *and* Bamberg *summoned to* Rome.

Year of Christ 1069.

The following Year 1069 was employed by the Pope in redressing several Abuses, and examining into the Conduct of several Bishops arraigned of Simony, or other Crimes. Among the former were the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Bamberg*, whom the Pope therefore summoned to *Rome* to plead their Cause in his Presence. They were both found guilty of the Charge, there being then scarce One Bishop in the whole Church, that did not receive, nay that did not exact, Money for performing the Functions of his Office. However the Pope forgave them, upon their promising upon Oath to avoid all

[s] Vit. Ariald. c. 31. [t] Puricell. l. i. c. 2. [u] Lambert. Schafnab. ad ann. 1068.

Simony

Simony in Time to come. The Hiſtorian adds, that the Pope was highly incenſed againſt them, and would have puniſhed them more ſeverely had they not ſoftened him with rich Preſents [w]. Year of Chriſt 1069.

The following Year the Pope received an agreeable Meſſage from *William* the new King of *England*, deſiring his Holineſs to ſend over Legates to aſſiſt at a Council, which he intended to aſſemble in order to regulate the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church. The Pope, in Compliance with the King's Requeſt, diſpatched, without Delay, the Two Cardinals *Peter* and *John*, and with them *Ermenfred*, Biſhop of *Sion*, with the Character of his Legates *a Latere*, to aſſiſt the King with their Counſel in ſo laudable an Undertaking. The Legates, ſays the Hiſtorian, were received and honoured by the King like Angels ſent from Heaven, and employed by him in Affairs of the utmoſt Importance. As he kept his Eaſter this Year at *Wincheſter*, he appointed a Council to meet there on the Octave of that Feſtival; and by that Council, or rather by the Legates and the King, who preſided at it jointly with them, *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was depoſed, as unworthy of that Dignity. The Crimes charged upon him were, his holding the Biſhoprics of *Wincheſter* and *Canterbury* together; his intruding himſelf into the latter in the Life-time of his Predeceſſor *Robert* the *Norman*, driven out by the *Engliſh* Party, and his being ſtained, ſays *Ordericus Vitalis*, with Perjuries and Murders [x]. It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that the holding of Two Biſhoprics ſhould have been deemed a Crime in *Stigand* worthy of Depoſition, when the Pope himſelf held Two Biſhoprics at this very Time, *viz.* thoſe of *Lucca* and of *Rome*, and ſeveral of his Predeceſſors had kept, as we have ſeen, the Sees from which they were preferred to the Papal Dignity. As for the Crimes of which *Stigand* is ſaid by *Ordericus* to have been arraigned, no Notice is taken of them by any other Writer; ſo that they, perhaps, are not miſtaken, who ſuppoſe him to have been depoſed by the King and his Tools the Legates, chiefly to make room for *Lanfranc*, who was a *Norman*, and held in great Eſteem both by the Pope and the King; whereas *Stigand* had greatly diſobliged the preſent Pope, as well as ſeveral of his Predeceſſors, by performing, for many Years, all the Archiepiſcopal Functions without procuring the Pall from *Rome*; nay he had, on that Account, been often excommunicated, but paying no Kind of Regard to thoſe Ex-

The Pope ſends Legates into England. Year of Chriſt 1070.

Stigand *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *depoſed in a Council at* Wincheſter.

[w] Lambert. Schafnab. ad ann. 1068. [x] Orderic. Vital. l. iv.

Year of Chriſt 1070.

communications, he continued to exerciſe the ſame Functions as before; and this was the true Reaſon why the Conqueror choſe to be crowned by *Aldred* of *York*, and not by him. He was by the King's Order kept cloſely confined from the Time of his Depoſition to the Hour of his Death.

Other Biſhops depoſed in the Council of Windſor.

In this Council, and another held ſoon after at *Windſor*, ſeveral other Biſhops were depoſed for their vicious Lives, ſays *Ordericus*, and their Ignorance of the paſtoral Duty [e]. But it is to be obſerved, that they, who were preferred in their room, were all either *Normans* or Perſons in the *Norman* Intereſt; which plainly ſhews that it was not chiefly for their Ignorance, or their vicious Lives, that thoſe Prelates were removed, but becauſe the King wanted to put all the great Truſts in the Church, as he had already done thoſe in the State, into the Hands of his *Normans*, or of other Foreigners, whom he knew to be more zealouſly attached than the *Engliſh* to his Perſon and Intereſt.

Lanfranc *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

In the ſame Year *Lanfranc* was preferred by the King to the See of *Canterbury* in the room of *Stigand*. He was a Native of *Pavia* in *Italy*, the Son of a Lawyer, and had himſelf been bred to that Profeſſion, but not chuſing to purſue it, he left his Country, and went into *Normandy*, where he was ſoon preferred, for his Learning and Parts, to a Profeſſorſhip in the City of *Avranches*. He afterwards embraced a monaſtic Life in the Monaſtery of *Rey*, was made Prior of that Monaſtery, and choſen, while in that Station, by *William*, then Duke of *Normandy*, for the firſt Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s in *Caen*, a Monaſtery which the Duke had built and endowed. He was one of *William*'s chief Favourites, was conſulted by him in all Affairs of Importance, and looked upon, not undeſervedly, as the ableſt Man of his Council, and one in whom he could entirely confide. He was no leſs acceptable to the Pope than the King, on account of the Zeal he exerted againſt *Berengarius*, in Defence of the Doctrine concerning the Euchariſt, defined by the Popes in ſo many Councils. He at firſt declined the Archiepiſcopal Dignity, and even wrote to the Pope, begging his Holineſs would not oblige him to quit the retired Life he had choſen, and undertake a Truſt, to which he knew himſelf unequal. But the Pope inſiſting upon his Compliance with the Will of the King, he left his Monaſtery this

[e] Orderic Vital. ubi ſupra.

Year, came into *England*, and was conſecrated in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* by the Biſhops of the Province, and by *Ermenfred* the Pope's Legate, who, at the Requeſt of the King, remained in *England*, while the other Two Legates returned to *Rome* [f]. Year of Chriſt 1070.

The new Archbiſhop, after his Conſecration, ſent a Deputy to *Rome* for the Pall. But apprehending that the Pope might require him to come for it in Perſon, and being unwilling to undertake ſo long a Journey, he wrote to *Hildebrand*, by whoſe Counſels Pope *Alexander* was, as his Four immediate Predeceſſors had been, entirely governed, begging him to interpoſe his good Offices in his Behalf. *Hildebrand* anſwered, that his Holineſs, deſirous to ſee him, inſiſted upon his coming to *Rome*; and that it was neceſſary he ſhould undertake that Journey, not only to receive the Pall, but to concert Meaſures relating to other Affairs [g]. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Lanfranc* ſet out with *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Remigius* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, for *Rome*, was received, upon his Arrival there, with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem by the Pope, and even honoured with the Pall that his Holineſs himſelf wore in celebrating Maſs. As for the Two other Biſhops, they were both depoſed, ſays *Malmsbury*, *Thomas* as the Son of a Prieſt, and *Remigius* becauſe guilty of Simony, having aſſiſted the King with Men and Money, in his Expedition againſt *England*, upon Condition that, if the Undertaking was attended with Succeſs, he ſhould be preferred to a Biſhopric. The Pope, however, upon their conſigning their Croſiers and Rings to him, delivered them to *Lanfranc*, with a Power to reſtore them, if he thought fit, and he reſtored them accordingly. Thus *Malmsbury*. But as by no Papal Decree, or Canon of the Church, the Son of a Prieſt was excluded from the Epiſcopal Dignity, it ſeems altogether incredible that an Archbiſhop ſhould have been depoſed (if he really was depoſed) on that Account. As for *Remigius*, he was, before his Preferment, but a private Monk of the Monaſtery of *Feſchamp* in *Normandy*, came into *England* with the Quota of Men, which his Monaſtery was obliged to aſſiſt the Duke with in his Wars, and being known to him on that Occaſion, he was advanced to the See of *Lincoln*, when it became vacant [h]. As in all this there was no Simony, as he could not, being a private

He goes to Rome *for the Pall.* Year of Chriſt 1071.

The Archbiſhop of York *and the Biſhop of* Lincoln *ſaid to have been depoſed by the Pope.*

[f] Lanfranc Vita Orderic. l. iv. Chron. Sax. ad ann. 1070. [g] Lanfr. Opera, p. 304. [h] Hiſt. Norm. Scrip. p. 1045.

Year of Christ 1071.

Monk, aſſiſt the Duke with Men or Money, upon Condition of being made a Biſhop, he could not, on that Account, be depoſed by the Pope, as guilty of ſuch a Charge.

The Poſſeſſion of the Cathedrals in England *confirmed to the* Monks.

As the Clergy here in *England* had formed a Deſign of driving the Monks from all the Cathedrals, and were therein ſupported by the Nobility and the King himſelf, *Lanfranc*, to prevent ſuch a Deſign from being ever put in Execution, prevailed upon the Pope, during his Stay at *Rome*, to confirm the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Cathedrals to the Monks by a ſpecial Bull, directed to *Lanfranc* himſelf. In that Bull or Decretal the Pope ſays he has been informed, that ſome Clerks, with the Aſſiſtance of the ſecular Power, have conſpired to force the Monks away from the Metropolitan, or Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, as well as from all the other Cathedrals in *England*; that ſuch an Attempt is derogatory to the Conſtitution of *Gregory the Great*, ordering *Auſtin*, the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh* Nation, to place in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* Men of the ſame Profeſſion with himſelf; that the Order, which *Gregory* had given to *Auſtin*, was confirmed by *Boniface* IV. in a Letter to King *Ethelbert*, and to *Laurence*, the Succeſſor of *Auſtin*; and that he therefore could not ſuffer the Monks to be deprived of that Church, or of any other, which had, by his Predeceſſors, at any time been granted to them. He cloſes his Letter with thundering out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to diſturb the Monks in the Poſſeſſion of their Churches[i]. Thus was the Deſign of driving the Monks from the Cathedrals entirely dropt.

The Controverſy between the Archbiſhops of Canterbury *and* York *concerning the Primacy finally determined.*

Year of Chriſt 1072.

While the Two Archbiſhops continued at *Rome*, the Diſpute between them, begun ſome Years before, concerning the Primacy, was revived, and referred to the Pope, the Archbiſhop of *York* maintaining, that neither of the Two Archiepiſcopal Sees was ſubject to the other, according to the Plan of *Gregory the Great*, who, he ſaid, had fixed the Primacy of *England* to the Perſon of *Auſtin*, and not to his See; that the Two Archbiſhops ſhould therefore take place according to their Seniority, or Priority of Conſecration; and that the Sees of *Dorcheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Worceſter*, and *Litchfield*, had been, from the earlieſt Times, ſubject to that of *York*. On the other hand *Lanfranc* produced the Bulls of *Gregory*, *Honorius*, *Vitalian*, and *Sergius*, granting or confirming the Primacy of *England* to *Auſtin*

[i] Eadmer. l. i. Alexand. ep. 49.

and

and his Succeſſors in the See of *Canterbury*, which Primacy, he ſaid, appealing to the Records of the *Engliſh* Church, his See had enjoyed for the Space of near Four hundred Years quite undiſturbed. The Pope heard both Sides; but not caring to determine in favour of either, he left the final Deciſion of the Controverſy to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, adviſing them to convene a Council for that Purpoſe, and promiſing to ſend a Legate to preſide at it in his Name. A Council was accordingly held the following Year, at which aſſiſted all the Biſhops as well as the Abbots of the Kingdom, and by all the Primacy of *England* was adjudged to the See of *Canterbury*. Their Sentence was confirmed by *Hubert*, Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, ſent from *Rome* to preſide at that Aſſembly, and afterwards by the Pope himſelf. Thus was the Primacy aſcertained and confirmed for ever to the See of *Canterbury* [k]. Year of Chriſt 1072.

The Pope charged *Lanfranc* on his leaving *Rome* with a Letter for the King, wherein he commends him for his Piety and Zeal for Religion, exhorts him to take all religious Perſons, as well as Widows and Orphans, into his Protection; adviſes him frequently to conſult *Lanfranc*, and acquieſce in his Counſels; tells him, that he has veſted his beloved Brother with the whole Power of his See; and that his Deciſions ought therefore to be received in all Cauſes as his own, were he preſent in Perſon [l]. *The Pope's Letter to the King.*

The following Year the Pope died, and by his Death a Quarrel was prevented between him and *Henry* the young King of *Germany*, that, in all Likelihood, would have been attended with fatal Conſequences. For the *Saxons*, revolting from that Prince, juſtly provoked at the cruel Treatment they met with from him and his Miniſters, ſent Embaſſadors to complain thereof to the Pope, and at the ſame time to inform his Holineſs, that the King ſold all the great Benefices to the beſt Bidder, and paid his Troops with the Money accruing from thoſe Sales. Hereupon the Pope, at the Inſtigation, as is commonly ſuppoſed, of *Hildebrand*, took a Step, which no Pope had ever thought of taking before him. He ſummoned the King to appear in Perſon at *Rome*, in order to give there an Account of his Conduct, and clear himſelf at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See from the Charge brought againſt him. This Summons was ſent by the Archbiſhops of *Cologne* and *Bamberg*, come to *Rome* to receive the *The Pope cites the King of* Germany *to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 1073.

[k] Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. l. i. Concil. tom. ix. p. 1211. [l] Alex. ep. 10.

Money

Year of Christ 1073.

Money that was there due to the King [m]. *Henry* highly reſented the Indignity; but his Reſentment died with the Pope, whoſe Death happened ſoon after, on the 21ſt of *April* of the preſent Year 1073, after a Pontificate of Eleven Years Six Months and Twenty-one Days. He is highly commended by all the Monkiſh Writers for his Zeal in endeavouring to extirpate Simony, for the indefatigable Pains he took to reſtrain the Incontinence of the Clergy, and for the many Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions he granted to the Monks and their Monaſteries. He is ſaid to have wrought ſome Miracles in his Life-time, and many after his Death. *Leo Oſtienſis* aſſures us, that at *Monte Caſſino* he delivered a Demoniac, by commanding the Devil to quit the Body he poſſeſſed, and retire to the Place where no Bird flies, and no human Voice ever was heard. The ſame Writer adds, that at *Aquino* he cured a Woman of her Lameneſs by giving her the Water to drink, with which he had waſhed his Hands after the Celebration of Maſs [n]. However, neither of theſe Miracles, nor the holy Life he is ſaid to have led from his tender Years to the Hour of his Death, have procured him a Place in the Calendar, though, perhaps, as worthy of a Place there, as any to whom *Rome* has granted that Honour. He died at *Rome* in the *Lateran* Palace, and was buried in that Baſilic.

His Death.

His Miracles.

Some particular Actions of his.

This Pope was the firſt that granted the Uſe of the Mitre to Abbots; and *Egelſinus*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin* of *Canterbury*, was the firſt upon whom that Mark of Diſtinction was conferred [o], but it has, ſince *Alexander*'s Time, been beſtowed upon many. The ſame Honour *Alexander* beſtowed upon *Uratiſlaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who was the firſt Layman, as *Gregory* VII. tells him in one of his Letters, allowed to wear that reſpectable Enſign of Dignity [p]. The Firſt-fruits were inſtituted by this Pope, in Imitation of the *Moſaic* Law, enjoining them to the *Jews*. But the Quantity not being ſettled by the Law, the Rabbies determined that it ſhould not be under the 60th, nor above the 40th Part; and it has therefore been fixed by the Church to the 40th. Of this Pope we have Forty-five Letters, moſt of them relating to the Subjects of which I have ſpoken in the Hiſtory of his Life.

[m] Marian. Scot. ad ann. 1075. Abbas Urſperg. ad ann. 1073. Otto Friſing. l. vi. c. 34. [n] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 35. [o] Mabill. Præfat. part i. ſecul. 6. Benedict. p. 17. [p] Greg. vii. ep. 38.

GREGORY

Year of Christ 1073.

MICHAEL DUCAS, NICEPHORAS BOTONIATES, ALEXIUS COMNENUS, *Emperors of the* East.

GREGORY VII. HENRY IV. *King of* Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

ALEXANDER being dead, *Hildebrand*, who was then Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, and held in the higheſt Eſteem by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, appointed a Three Days Faſt to be kept before they ſhould proceed to the Election of a new Pope. But while they were performing the Obſequies of *Alexander* in the *Lateran* Church the Day after his Death, that is, on the 22d of *April* of the preſent Year, the People all at once cried out with one Voice, *Hildebrand is Pope, St. Peter has choſen him*; and ſeizing him, placed him by Force upon the Pontifical Throne [a]. Such is the Account he himſelf gives us of his Election. But others ſay, that this Tumult was raiſed by his Friends at his Inſtigation, and that neither the Cardinals, nor the Clergy, nor the chief Men among the People, had any Share in his Election. However that be, his Election was confirmed the ſame Day by the whole Body of the Clergy and People, and the Decree confirming it was publiſhed in the Church of St. *Peter ad Vincula*. The Elect ſent the very next Day after his Election to acquaint the King of *Germany* with it, and beg him not to confirm it, as he thought himſelf unequal to ſo great a Charge, and had accepted it much againſt his Will. He added, that though he had not been able to withſtand the earneſt Deſire, or rather Violence, of the *Roman* People, he had not ſuffered himſelf to be conſecrated without the Approbation and Conſent of the King. Hereupon *Henry* immediately diſpatched Count *Eberhard* to *Rome*, with Orders to enquire upon the Spot whether the Election of *Hildebrand* was canonical; and if it was not, to cauſe another to be choſen in his room. The Count, gained, ſome ſay, by *Hildebrand* or his Friends, wrote to the King in his Favour, who thereupon ſent *Gregory* Biſhop of *Vercelli* to *Rome* to confirm the Election by his Authority, and aſſiſt, in his Name, at the Conſecration of the new Pontiff. Thus was *Hildebrand* ſolemnly ordained, firſt Presbyter, as he was only Deacon, and then Biſhop, on the 29th of *June*, the

Hildebrand *choſen.*

His Election approved by the King.

[a] Greg. l. i. ep. 3.

Feſtival

Year of Chriſt 1073.

Feſtival of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul.* At his Ordination he took the Name of *Gregory*, to honour the Memory of the Antipope *Gregory* VI. for whom, as he had been inſtructed by him in his Youth, he ever retained the greateſt Reſpect and Affection [b]. It is to be obſerved that *Gregory* VII. was the laſt Pope, the Decree of whoſe Election was tranſmitted to the Emperor or the King before his Conſecration, or whoſe Conſecration was performed in the Preſence of the Imperial Envoys [c].

Is conſecrated under the Name of Gregory.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

Gregory was, according to the Author of his Life, by Birth a *Tuſcan*, born at *Soana*, in the Dioceſe of *Siena* [d]. But in the Chronicle of *Verdun* he is ſaid to have been the Son of a *Roman* Citizen, and a Native of *Rome*. Authors are no leſs divided with reſpect to his Family than to the Place of his Birth, ſome making him the Son of a Carpenter, while others will have him to have been deſcended from an antient and illuſtrious Family. What we know for certain concerning him before his Promotion is, that he was educated at *Rome*; that he there lived in great Intimacy with the Archprieſt *John*, who purchaſed the Pontificate of *Benedict* IX. and took the Name of *Gregory* VI. that *Gregory* being depoſed, and by the Emperor carried Priſoner into *Germany*, he attended him thither; that upon his Death he embraced a monaſtic Life in the Monaſtery of *Cluny*, and there continued till *Leo* IX. raiſed from the Biſhopric of *Toul* to the Apoſtolic See, finding him well acquainted with the Affairs of the *Roman* Church, as he viſited that Monaſtery in his Way to *Italy*, took him from thence with him to *Rome*. By that Pope he was created Subdeacon, and by *Nicholas* II. Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, and was by them, as well as by *Victor* II. and his immediate Predeceſſor *Alexander* II. employed with Succeſs in ſeveral Legations. He was a Man of moſt extraordinary Parts, of an unbounded Ambition, of a haughty and imperious Temper, of Reſolution and Courage incapable of yielding to the greateſt Difficulties, perfectly acquainted with the State of the Weſtern Churches, as well as with the different Intereſts of the Chriſtian Princes. His Views were as boundleſs as his Ambition. For not ſatisfied with reſcuing the Church from all Subjection to Princes, he undertook to ſubject all Princes to the Church, and the Church to his See, thus engroſſing all temporal as well as ſpiritual Power to himſelf. This Undertaking

His Character.

[b] Acta Vatican. apud Baron. [c] Pagi ad ann. 1073. [d] Paulus Bernriedenſis in ejus Vit.

he

he ſteadily purſued, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, and with amazing Succeſs, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Year of Chriſt 1073.

His inſolent Behaviour to Philip *of* France.

Gregory no ſooner found himſelf in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Pontifical Throne, than he began to execute the vaſt Deſigns he had formed, and *Philip* I. then King of *France*, was the firſt againſt whom he exerted the Power which he intended to uſurp over all Princes. For being informed ſoon after his Promotion, that great Diſorders reigned uncontrouled in that Kingdom, that the Churches and Monaſteries were plundered with Impunity, and that the King himſelf had his Share in the Plunder, he wrote a very ſharp Letter to that Prince, reproaching him therewith, and threatening him with the Cenſures of the Church, if he did not ſpeedily redreſs thoſe Abuſes [e]. The King, upon the Receipt of this Letter, ordered *Alberic*, one of his Chamberlains, then going to *Rome*, to aſſure his Holineſs, that he ſhould thenceforth have no Occaſion to complain of his Conduct, that he ſhould prefer none but Perſons of Merit to the vacant Sees, nor ſuffer the Lands of the Church to be held or laid waſte by the Laity. As the People and Clergy of *Maçon* had unanimouſly choſen *Landri*, Archdeacon of *Autun*, for their Biſhop, and the King himſelf had approved of his Election, but would not grant him the Inveſtiture without being paid for it, the Pope ſent with his Letter to the King, which I have juſt mentioned, one to the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, another to the Biſhop of *Chalons*, ordering them to let the King know, that if he did not allow the Archdeacon of *Autun*, who had been canonically elected, to take Poſſeſſion of that See without Fee or Reward, he would proceed againſt him according to the Rigour of the Canons, and that the King ſhould either renounce Simony, or his Subjects, ſtruck with a general Anathema, ſhould refuſe to obey him, if they did not chuſe to renounce Chriſtianity. In his Letter to *Humbert*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, he commanded him to ordain the Elect without Delay, in ſpite of any Oppoſition he might meet with, either from him or even from the King [f]. But the Archbiſhop, and the other Biſhops of *France*, not chuſing to incur the Diſpleaſure of their Sovereign, the Archdeacon was obliged to undertake a Journey to *Rome*; and he was there ordained by *Gregory* himſelf.

[e] Greg. ep. l. i. ep. 35. [f] Idem ibid. ep. 36.

Year of Chriſt 1074.

Holds a Council at Rome.

The following Year the Pope, determined to oblige the Clergy to obſerve Celibacy, which ſeveral of his Predeceſſors had attempted without Succeſs, and utterly to extirpate Simony, that is, the Practice of purchaſing Biſhoprics, and other Benefices, a Practice that prevailed chiefly in *France* and *Germany*, aſſembled, with that View, a Council at *Rome*, the firſt Week in Lent, at which were preſent moſt of the *Italian* Biſhops, and ſome from *Germany*. In that Aſſembly the following Decrees were propoſed by the Pope, and agreed to at his Requeſt by the Biſhops who compoſed it. 1. That they who had obtained by Simony any Dignity, Office, or Degree in the Church, ſhould be excluded from the Exerciſe of the Office thus obtained. 2. That they, who had purchaſed Churches with Money, ſhould quit them, and no Man ſhould thenceforth preſume to ſell or buy any eccleſiaſtical Dignity whatever. 3. That the married Clerks ſhould not perform any clerical Office. 4. That the People ſhould not aſſiſt at Maſs celebrated by them, nor at any other ſacred Function. 5. That they who had Wives, or, as they are ſtiled in the Decree, Concubines, ſhould put them away, and none ſhould thenceforth be ordained, who did not promiſe to obſerve Continence during his whole Life g. Theſe Decrees, ſo far as they related to the Celibacy of the Clergy, were by them every-where ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. They did not even ſcruple to call the Pope a Heretic, as he taught a Doctrine repugnant to that of our Saviour, *All Men cannot receive this Saying; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it*; and likewiſe inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of the Apoſtle, allowing thoſe, *who could not contain themſelves*, to marry, and declaring, that *it is better to marry than to burn*; whereas the Pope, ſaid they, taught, that it was better to burn than to marry. They added, that they, like other Men, were of Fleſh and Blood, and conſequently liable to the ſame Infirmities, to the ſame Temptations; that Men debarred from Pleaſures, that were lawful and allowed by the Goſpel, would be apt to indulge themſelves in ſuch as were forbidden and unlawful; and that, if the Pope obſtinately inſiſted on the Execution of his Decrees, they were determined to quit the Prieſthood rather than their Wives; and his Holineſs might then ſee where he could get Angels to govern the Church, ſince he rejected the Miniſtry of Men h.

Decrees againſt Simony and the Marriage of the Clergy.

g Concil. tom. x. p. 315. Marian. Scot. ad an. 1074.

h Lambert Schaſn. in Chron. ad an. 1074.

In

In the ſame Council the Pope ſolemnly excommunicated *Robert Guiſcard*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who, after reducing all the Places, that in the Time of the *Lombards* were ſubject to the City of *Benevento*, had laid Siege to that City itſelf, though it belonged to the Apoſtolic See. *Robert* however purſued the Siege, and to be revenged upon *Gregory* for preſuming to excommunicate him, invaded the March of *Ancona*, and made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Cities there, while his Brother *Richard*, Prince of *Capua*, extending his Conqueſts to the very Gates of *Naples*, held that City cloſely beſieged [i].

Year of Chriſt 1074. *Excommunicates* Robert Guiſcard.

Gregory, upon the breaking up of the Council, wrote to all the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany* to acquaint them with the Decrees they had iſſued againſt Simoniacs and married Clerks, and order them to exert all their Power and Authority in cauſing them to be ſtrictly obſerved in all Places under their Juriſdiction. Some Biſhops complied ſo far with that Injunction as to cauſe the Decrees of the Council to be publiſhed throughout their Dioceſes, and exhort their Clergy to conform to them. But ſuch was the Oppoſition they everywhere met with, that they did not think it adviſeable to exert their Authority, or to uſe any Kind of Compulſion. Other Biſhops, ſuch of them eſpecially as were themſelves married, inſtead of enforcing the Obſervance of the Papal Decrees, declared them repugnant both to Scripture and Reaſon. Among theſe was *Otho*, Biſhop of *Conſtance*, whom the Pope ſummoned, on that Account, to *Rome*, as an *Encourager of Fornication*, while the Biſhop maintained that Vice and all Manner of Uncleanneſs, abhorred by him, to be encouraged by the Pope. At the ſame time that *Gregory* wrote to *Otho*, citing him to *Rome* to give there an Account of his Doctrine and Conduct, he abſolved the Clergy and People of *Conſtance*, by a Letter directed to them, from all Obedience to their Biſhop, ſo long as he perſiſted in his Diſobedience to God and the Apoſtolic See [k].

Summons the Biſhop of Conſtance *to* Rome.

The Pope, ſenſible that the Decrees of the *Roman* Council againſt Simony and the Marriage of the Clergy would meet with great Oppoſition from the *German* Biſhops, as ſome of them were themſelves married, and moſt of them had purchaſed their Biſhoprics of the Emperor or his Miniſters, ſent the Biſhops of *Paleſtrina*, *Oſtia*, *Coira*, and *Como*, with the Character of his Legates, into *Germany*, to hold

The Pope ſends Legates into Germany *to hold a Council there.*

[i] Leo Oſtienſ. l. iii. c. 44. [k] Paul. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 36, 37.

Year of Christ 1074.

a Council there, and perſuade thoſe Biſhops to confirm the Decrees of the Council of *Rome*. The Legates were received by the King at *Nuremberg*, and treated with all the Reſpect that was due to their Character. As that Prince was then engaged in a War with the rebellious *Saxons*, and therefore unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, he promiſed to concur with his Holineſs in redreſſing the Abuſes he ſo juſtly complained of, and to diſpoſe, for the future, of Biſhoprics, and all other Preferments in the Church, as his Holineſs ſhould direct. But as to the aſſembling of a Council in *Germany*, he told the Legntes, that he did not think it adviſeable to aſſemble One at that Juncture; and beſides, that the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who had been appointed by the Popes themſelves Vicar of the Apoſtolic See, had alone a Right to preſide at all Councils held in *Germany*, and therefore that he could not oblige his Biſhops to repair to a Council, at which any other preſided. The Legates pretended the Power, which the Popes had granted to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to have ceaſed at the Death of the Popes, by whom it was granted. But the *German* Biſhops declaring all to a Man, that they would appear at no Council unleſs ſummoned to it by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, nor receive any Decrees of a Council, at which he had not preſided as Legate of the Holy See, the Legates from *Rome* laid aſide all Thoughts of getting the Decrees of the *Roman* Council confirmed in *Germany*. The Four Legates were ordered by the Pope to depoſe in the Council, which they were to hold, all Biſhops convicted of Simony: Of this the *German* Biſhops were informed, and therefore, as moſt of them had purchaſed their Preferments, they agreed to defeat, and defeated accordingly, the Deſigns of the Pope and his Legates in the Manner we have ſeen. *Godfrey*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, had purchaſed that Dignity of the King, and convicted thereof had been excommunicated by the preceding Pope, and all who communicated with him. He, nevertheleſs, held his See, was acknowledged by the Biſhops of *Lombardy* his Suffragans, and being countenanced by the King, performed all the Functions of his Office as lawful Biſhop. *Gregory* excommunicated him anew, and charged his Legates to prevail upon the King to break off all Communion with him, ſince the Sentence thundered out againſt him, extended to all who communicated with him. But *Henry*, inſtead of complying with the Deſire of the Pope, told the Legates, that he had confirmed the Election of *Godfrey* as agreeable to the Canons, and did not at all doubt but his Holineſs

Which is oppoſed by the King and the Biſhops.

lineſs would approve of it when better informed, and therefore hoped that till then he would not inſiſt upon his renouncing the Communion of a Prelate, to whom due Obedience was paid by almoſt all the Biſhops under his extenſive Juriſdiction[l]. Year of Chriſt 1074.

Invites the German *Biſhops to a Council at* Rome.

The Pope was not at all ſatisfied with the Behaviour of the King, but diſſembling for the preſent, he wrote a moſt obliging Letter to him, to thank him for the Kindneſs and Reſpect with which he had received his Legates. By the ſame Letter he acquainted him with his Deſign of aſſembling a very numerous Council at *Rome*, the firſt Week in Lent of the enſuing Year 1075, begged he would oblige the *German* Biſhops to repair to it, eſpecially the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Strasburg*, *Spire*, *Augsburg*, and *Wirtzburg*, all charged with ſimoniacal Practices. As for the Affair of the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, he told the King that he would order his Caſe to be examined anew, and would readily correct what ſhould be found amiſs in the Judgment that had been given againſt him. He cloſed his Letter with exhorting the King to concur with him in reforming the Abuſes that prevailed in the Church, and were countenanced even by ſome, whoſe Buſineſs it was to extirpate them, eſpecially the Two reigning Evils, Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy. This Letter is dated the Seventh of *December* 1074[m].

Deſigns to lead an Army againſt the Infidels in the Eaſt.

As *Michael Ducas*, Emperor of the Eaſt, had writ to *Gregory*, congratulating him upon his Promotion, the Pope was thereby encouraged to attempt a Reconciliation between the Two Churches; and with that View he ſent *Dominic*, Patriarch of *Grado*, as his Legate to *Conſtantinople*. And that is all we know of that Legation. But from a Letter of the Pope to the Emperor it appears, that he had formed a Deſign of going in Perſon into the Eaſt, at the Head of an Army, to relieve the Chriſtians, moſt miſerably oppreſſed by the *Saracens*, who had over-run all *Aſia*, and threatened *Conſtantinople* itſelf. For in that Letter he tells the Emperor, that the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, groaning under the inſufferable Yoke of the Infidels, had applied to him for Relief, leſt the Chriſtian Religion ſhould be totally extirpated in thoſe unhappy Countries; that deeply affected with their Complaints, and the Miſeries they endured, he had endeavoured to ſtir up all well diſpoſed Chriſtians to relieve them, and even to lay down their own Lives in Defence of their Brethren and the Law of

[l] Greg. ep. 11, 12, 15. [m] Greg. ep. l. ii. ep. 30.

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[l] Greg. ep. 11, 12, 15. [m] Greg. ep. l. ii. ep. 30.

Year of Christ 1074.

Jesus Christ; that the *Italians*, and *Ultramontanes* had hearkened to his Exhortations, and that Fifty thousand of them and upwards were preparing for this Expedition, determined, if they could have him for their Leader, to march, Sword in Hand, against the Enemies of God, to the very Sepulchre of our Lord. He added, that the Church of *Constantinople*, divided from the *Roman* on the Subject of the Holy Ghost, desired to be reunited with the Apostolic See, and that almost all the *Armenians*, gone astray from the Catholic Faith as well as the *Orientals*, waited for the Decision of St. *Peter* to settle their different Opinions; Circumstances, he said, that greatly encouraged him to execute the Project he had formed; but nevertheless he would not proceed in it without his Approbation, as he could not promise himself the wished-for Success without his Assistance [n]. *Gregory* wrote at the same time Two other Letters upon the same Subject, the One addressed to all who were willing to defend the Christian Faith, the other to all the Faithful of St. *Peter*, especially the *Ultramontanes*; and in both he exhorts, in the Name of St. *Peter*, such as preferred the Relief of their oppressed Brethren to their own Ease, to concur with him in rescuing them from the Tyranny of those who oppressed them. The Execution of this Design *Gregory* had greatly at Heart, as appears from his Letters; but *Henry* being prevented, by the dangerous War he had then on his Hands with the *Saxons*, from lending him any Assistance, he thought it advisable to lay it aside. However we shall see in the Sequel, this destructive Project prosecuted with great Ardor by his Successors, under the Name of *the Crusade*, or *the Holy War*.

His haughty Behaviour to Philip *of* France.

As the same Disorders, which the Pope had complained of, in the Letter he wrote soon after his Promotion to *Philip*, King of *France*, continued to reign in that Kingdom, and the King had, besides, extorted large Sums this Year from some *Italian* Merchants carrying their Wares to a Fair in his Dominions, *Gregory* took from thence Occasion to renew his Complaints as well as his Threats in a Letter to the Three Archbishops, *Manasses* of *Reims*, *Richard* of *Sens*, *Richard* of *Bourges*, and to the rest of the *French* Bishops. In that Letter, dated the Twentieth of *September* of the present Year, he begins with lamenting the deplorable Condition, which that once so glorious and so flourishing a Kingdom is in his Days reduced to, the Crimes, that were formerly punished there, with the utmost Se-

[n] Greg. l. ii. ep. 31.

verity,

verit, *viz.* Perjuries, Sacrileges, Inceſts, Rapines, Murders, *&c.* being now connived at. And no Wonder, ſays he, your King, more worthy of the Name of Tyrant than that of King, not daring to puniſh in others the Crimes that he himſelf is guilty of, and encourages by his Example. The Pope here paints the King as the moſt wicked of Men, as One, who ſpent his whole Life in the moſt infamous Debaucheries, treating him with no more Reſpect than he would have done the meaneſt of his Subjects. He then exhorts the Biſhops to oppoſe his wicked Meaſures, to repreſent to him with all the Liberty, that becomes Men in their Station, the Enormity of his Crimes, and if he remains hardened in his Wickedneſs, forgetful of his own Glory and the Welfare of his People, to aſſure him, that he ſhall not long eſcape the Cenſures of the Apoſtolic See. In the mean time he adviſes the Biſhops to ſeparate themſelves from his Communion, to interdict the whole Kingdom, and if he does not thereupon amend, to let the whole World know, that he is determined to deliver the Kingdom of *France* from the Oppreſſion it groans under, that is, to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Pope tells the Biſhops in the Cloſe of his Letter, that if they betray any Weakneſs on ſo important an Occaſion, he will ſuſpend them, as the Accomplices of the King in all his Crimes, from every Function of their Office [o]. The Pope wrote another Letter in the ſame Stile, dated the Thirteenth of *November*, to *William*, Count of *Poictiers*, exhorting him to join the Biſhops, and jointly with them preſs the King to reſtore to the *Italian* Merchants the Money which he had ſo unjuſtly extorted from them, to forſake the vicious Habits of his Youth, and reform his Manners, elſe he would cut him off from the Communion of the Church, would pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt all who ſhould acknowledge or obey him as a King, and would place it upon the Altar of St. *Peter*, that it might there be confirmed every Day [p]. He repeated the ſame Menaces in a Letter to *Manaſſes* of *Reims*, dated the Eighth of *December* of the ſame Year [q]. The *Gallican* Biſhops paid, it ſeems, as little Regard to the Menaces, as to the Exhortations of the Pope; for it does not appear, that the King corrected any of the Abuſes that *Gregory* complained of, or that he was excommunicated either by him or by them.

Year of Chriſt 1074.

The Pope had appointed, as has been ſaid, a Council to meet at *Rome* the firſt Week in Lent 1075; and it met accordingly on the

Second Council of Rome.

[o] Greg. l. ii. ep. 5. [p] Ibid. ep. 28. [q] Ibid. ep. 32.

Twenty-

Year of Christ 1075.

Twenty-fourth of *February*, consisted of Fifty Bishops, of a great Number of Abbots, Presbyters and Deacons; and by them were excommunicated Five of the King's Ministers for Simony, that is, for receiving Money of those who had been preferred to vacant Bishoprics. *Gregory* well knew, that they acted therein by the Direction of the King, but flattered himself that the Sentence, pronounced against them, would deter him from such Practices. At the same time *Liemar* Archbishop of *Bremen*, *Garnerius* Bishop of *Strasburg*, *Henry* of *Spire*, *Herman* of *Bamberg*, *William* of *Pavia*, *Cunibert* of *Turin*, were suspended from the Functions of their Office, being charged with purchasing their Dignities, and *Dennis* of *Placentia*, more guilty than the rest, was deposed, without Hopes of being ever restored. Of these Bishops some owned the Sentence to be just, and were absolved by the Pope, while others, determined to keep what they had purchased, paid no Kind of Regard to the Judgment given against them at *Rome* [r].

Decree against the Marriage of the Clergy confirmed.

By the same Council the Decree against the Marriage, or, as they called it, the Concubinage, of the Clergy, was confirmed, and Ecclesiastics of all Ranks were ordered, on Pain of Excommunication, to quit their Wives or renounce the Ministry; the Laity were forbidden to assist at any Function whatever performed by such of them as did not immediately obey that Decree, and all Bishops were strictly enjoined to see it, in spite of all Opposition, punctually complied with in their respective Dioceses. Pursuant to this Order *Sigefred*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, having assembled his Clergy in Council, acquainted them with the Decree commanding them to quit their Wives, or renounce their Office, and at the same time let them know that, the Order of his Holiness being peremptory, he would spare none, who within the Space of Six Months did not dismiss their Wives, and promise to observe Celibacy so long as they lived. But all, who were present, rising up at these Words, expressed such Indignation and Rage against the Archbishop, that, apprehending his Life to be in no small Danger, he thought it advisable to withdraw from the Assembly, declaring, that he would never again concern himself about the Execution of a Decree, that was so universally and so strongly opposed, but would leave the Pope to execute it himself, when and how he should think proper [s]. The Decree met every-where else with the like Opposition;

[r] Greg. l. ii. ep. 32. [s] Lamb. Schafn. ad an. 1075. et Marian. Scot. ad eun. an.

and

and at *Cambray* they, who oppoſed it, carried their Reſentment to ſuch a Height againſt the Party that declared for it, as to burn one alive for diverting the People from aſſiſting at the Functions performed by ſuch of the Clergy as continued to live with their Wives [t]. Year of Chriſt 1075.

By this Council was iſſued the famous Decree, taking the Nomination and Inveſtiture of Biſhops out of the Hands of Princes. Moſt of the Weſtern Princes, if not all, claimed at this Time the Right of nominating all the Biſhops in their reſpective Dominions, and of confirming and inveſting thoſe in their Biſhoprics, whom the People and the Clergy had elected, when their Princes had left them at Liberty, as they frequently did, to elect whom they pleaſed. This Right they had enjoyed undiſputed Time out of Mind, probably ever ſince the eſtabliſhing of their different Kingdoms upon the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, and their Converſion to Chriſtianity. Hence we find *Gregory the Great* in the many Letters which he wrote to the Chriſtian Kings of *France*, in the latter End of the Sixth Century, frequently complaining of thoſe Princes for beſtowing Biſhoprics upon Perſons that were not equal to ſo great a Charge, and entreating them to chuſe Men that were. But he no-where objects to their Right of Nomination. And truly it was but reaſonable, that ſo great a Truſt ſhould be placed in ſuch Perſons only as were acceptable to the Princes under whom they were to live, that is, in ſuch as the Princes themſelves had elected, or whoſe Election, when made, with their Permiſſion, by others, they had approved and confirmed. At this time, and for ſome Ages before, they expreſſed their Approbation by putting the Elect in Poſſeſſion of the Temporalities of his See, which was done by their delivering to him a paſtoral Staff, or a Croſier, and a Ring. And this was the Ceremony known by the Name of *Inveſtiture*; and the Elect was not ordained till it was performed. As the corrupt Practice of exacting Money for the Inveſtiture, nay and diſpoſing of Biſhoprics and other eccleſiaſtical Preferments to the beſt Bidder, had begun to prevail among Princes, *Gregory*, under Colour of redreſſing thoſe Abuſes, but in Truth to make the Clergy independent upon the Princes, and dependent upon himſelf, as *Mezeray* has very juſtly obſerved [u], got the Biſhops of the Council to paſs the following Decree: "If any one ſhall "henceforth accept of a Biſhopric or Abbey from a Layman, let him *Decree againſt Inveſtitures.*

[t] Greg. l. iv. ep. 20. [u] Mezeray ad an. 1095.

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" not be looked upon as a Biſhop or Abbot, nor any Reſpect be " paid to him as ſuch. We moreover exclude him from the Grace of " St. *Peter*, and forbid him to enter the Church, till he has reſigned " the Dignity that he has got by Ambition, and by Diſobedience, " which is Idolatry. And this Decree extends to inferior Dignities. " In like Manner if any Emperor, Duke, Marquis, Count, or any " other Secular Perſon whatever, ſhall take upon him to give the " Inveſtiture of a Biſhopric, or of any other eccleſiaſtical Dignity, he " ſhall be liable to the ſame Sentence [w]." This Decree was a Declaration of War againſt all Chriſtian Princes: for *Gregory* could not ſuppoſe that they would tamely part with a Right, which they looked upon as One of the moſt valuable Jewels of their Crown, and no Pope had ever yet diſputed. But he thought it a Point well worth contending for, well worth all the Confuſion, civil Wars, Rebellions, Bloodſhed, that ſuch a Decree might occaſion, ſince he would, by carrying it into Execution, engroſs to himſelf the Diſpoſal of the whole Wealth of the Church, and thus make the Clergy every-where independent of their Princes, and dependent upon him alone, as he alone could reward and prefer them. It would have been commendable in the Pope and the other Prelates of the Church to prevent, ſo far as in them lay, the Vice of Simony, that is, the Sale of Biſhoprics, Abbies, and other Church Preferments, but too common at this Time. But with what Juſtice could he or they deprive all the Princes of a Right, which they enjoyed by immemorial Preſcription, for the ill Uſe ſome of them made of it? The ſetting of eccleſiaſtical Benefices to Sale was by all deemed Simony. But many were of Opinion, that when Princes inveſted Eccleſiaſtics in their Benefices, that is, when they put them in Poſſeſſion of their Temporalities, they might without Simony exact a *moderate* Share of thoſe Temporalities for the Service of the State. But *Gregory*, not ſatisfied with condemning that Opinion, declared it Simony, Hereſy, and Idolatry (and he might with as much Reaſon have declared it Murder, Inceſt, or Adultery), in a Prince, or any Layman, to give, and in an Eccleſiaſtic to receive Inveſtiture at his Hands, whether anything was exacted on that Occaſion or not. And thus was an Uſage, which the moſt holy Biſhops, Abbots, and all the other Dignitaries of the Church, had hitherto looked upon as quite innocent, and

[w] Hugo Flaviniac. in Chron. Virdun. ad an. 1074.

had,

had, for ſeveral Ages, univerſally ſubmitted to, without the leaſt Scruple, made by this Pope a moſt enormous Crime. The Popes themſelves were not, for many Ages, conſecrated till the Decree of their Election was ſigned by the Emperor; which was a Ceremony of the ſame Nature with that of Inveſting. And was *Gregory* himſelf, were ſo many of his Predeceſſors, who complied with that Ceremony, all Simoniacs, Heretics, Idolaters? It was ordained by the firſt Council of *Orange* in 441, that, if any one ſhould found and endow a Church, he ſhould have a Right to nominate a Clerk to officiate in it, which was putting him in Poſſeſſion of the Revenues annexed to his Office [x]; and by Two of the Laws of *Juſtinian*, all Founders of Churches and their Heirs are allowed the ſame Privilege [y]. If this was no Simony, and *Gregory* himſelf would have hardly ſaid that it was, it could be no Simony in a Prince, nor in any other Layman, to nominate a proper Perſon to the Biſhopric which he or his Predeceſſors had founded, and put him in Poſſeſſion of the Revenues with which they had endowed his See. In the Sequel we ſhall ſee the Popes, when they had once wreſted Inveſtitures out of the Hands of Princes, exacting larger Sums from thoſe, upon whom the ſmalleſt Benefices were conferred, than ever had been done by Princes; inſomuch that their Friends and Advocates could no otherwiſe excuſe their Extortions from Simony, but by maintaining what was Simony in others was no Simony in the Pope. Year of Chriſt 1075.

Gregory took care to acquaint the King with this Decree, reproaching him at the ſame time in the Letter, which he wrote to him on that Occaſion, with ſtill keeping and employing the Miniſters, whom he had excommunicated, with ſuffering the Biſhops, whom he had depoſed, to continue in their Sees, with neglecting to publiſh in his Dominions the Decrees of the former Council of *Rome* againſt Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy, and laſtly with protecting *Godfrey*, the Uſurper of the See of *Milan*, and communicating with the *Lombard* Biſhops his Adherents, though cut off by the Apoſtolic See from the Communion of the Church. In the Cloſe of his Letter he forbids the King thenceforth to meddle at all with eccleſiaſtical Preferments, to grant Inveſtitures, or diſpoſe of vacant Churches, upon any Pretence whatſoever, and threatens him Gregory *acquaints the King with it.*

[x] Concil. Arauſ. i. c. 9. [y] Novel. 123. c. 18. & 57. c. 2.

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with Excommunication, if he does not comply with the Decree banishing such unlawful Practices from the Church [z].

The King's Letter in Answer to the Pope's.

Henry highly resented the insolent Behaviour of the Pope; but unwilling to quarrel with him, as he was still engaged in War with the *Saxons*, and then upon the Point of marching against them, he dissembled his Resentment, and taking no Notice of the Decree with respect to Lay Investitures, told him that he would thenceforth conform to the Canons in the Disposal of Bishoprics and other ecclesiastical Preferments; that he would cause the Decrees against Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy to be published throughout his Dominions, and punctually complied with, and that upon his Return from *Saxony* he would send a solemn Embassy to *Rome* to settle the Points in Dispute between his Holiness and him to their mutual Satisfaction [a].

Conspiracy against the Pope.

In the mean time a Conspiracy was formed at *Rome* against the Pope, and the Person employed to put it in Execution was *Cincius*, or *Quintius*, as others call him, the Prefect, or the Son of the Prefect of the City; and the Pope very narrowly escaped with his Life. For while he was performing at Christmas the Service of the Night in the Church of St. *Mary the Greater* according to Custom, attended by a small Number of Clerks, a Troop of armed Men rushing unexpectedly in, with *Cincius* at their Head, fell upon the Pope, beat him most unmercifully, gave him a dangerous Wound in the Forehead, and dragging him by the Hair out of the Church, carried him to the House of *Cincius*, with a Design, as was supposed, to convey him out of *Rome*. But the Magistrates being immediately informed of what had happened, Guards were placed by their Order at the Gates, Trumpets were sounded in the different Quarters of the City to alarm the People, who thereupon crowding from all Parts to the Capitol, flew from thence to the House of *Cincius*, and surrounding it on all Sides, threatened to put him and all who were in it to the Sword, if he did not forthwith set the Pope at Liberty. *Cincius*, intimidated at the Menaces of the enraged Multitude, threw himself at the Pope's Feet, and upon his forgiving him, which he did very readily, only enjoining him, by way of Penance, to visit the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, he granted him his Liberty. The People received him with loud Shouts of Joy, and at his Request attended

[z] Arnulph. l. iv. c. 6.

[a] Paulus Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 6.

him

him back, covered with Blood as he was, to the Church from whence he was taken, to end the Service he had begun the Night before. In the mean time *Cincius* and his Accomplices made their Escape. But the People plundered his House, and laid it level with the Ground; and he was himself condemned to a perpetual Banishment [b]. *Guibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, is supposed to have been the chief Author of this Attempt, flattering himself that, if *Gregory* could be removed out of the Way, the King, whose Favourite he was, would raise him to the Pontifical Chair in his room. Year of Christ 1075.

The King had hitherto carefully avoided coming to an open Rupture with the Pope, lest he should raise new Disturbances in *Germany* before the *Saxons* were reduced. But having this Year gained a complete Victory over those Rebels, he resolved to put a Stop to the Papal Incroachments upon the undoubted Rights of his Crown. He accordingly named several Bishops to the vacant Sees, granted them the Investiture, as he had done before, without the least Regard to the Decree of the late Council, nay, and driving some from the Sees to which they had been preferred by the Pope, unknown to him, appointed others of his own Nomination in their room. *Gregory*, no less provoked at the Conduct of the King than the King was at his, wrote a long Letter to him, complaining of his Disobedience to the Decrees of the Holy See; of his disposing of Bishoprics to Persons utterly unknown to him; of his Want of Respect for the See, and the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles. He exhorts him to correct the Errors which he has been led into by wicked Counsellors, to dismiss them, such of them at least as had been justly cut off from the Communion of the Church; to employ in their room Men of Piety, and to follow their Advice and Directions. He tells the King in the Close of his Letter, that Laymen must not presume to dispose of ecclesiastical Preferments, all Lay Investitures being forbidden by a Decree of the late Council of *Rome*, which, he said, all Princes must receive and comply with [c]. The Direction of this Letter was, *Gregory Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to King* Henry *Health and Apostolic Benediction, if he obeys the Apostolic See, as becomes a Christian King.* *The King pays no kind of Regard to the Decree against Investitures.*

As the King, determined to assert the indisputable Rights of his Crown, paid no Kind of Regard to the Exhortations or Letters of *The Pope sends Legates into* Germany.

[b] Paulus Bernried. ubi sup.

[c] Greg. l. iii. ep. 10.

the

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the Pope, *Gregory*, not satisfied with writing to him, sent Legates this Year into *Germany* to summon him, in his Name, to appear in Person at *Rome* on the Monday of the second Week in Lent, in order to give there an Account of his Conduct, and clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The Legates added in delivering this Message, that they were ordered by his Holiness to let him know, that if he did not obey the Summons, and appear on the Day appointed, he would on that very Day be cut off with an Anathema from the Body of the holy Apostolic Church. The King, provoked beyond measure at such an extraordinary Summons, and no less at the haughty Behaviour of the Legates, drove them with Ignominy from his Presence, and in order to render the Sentence of Excommunication, with which he was threatened by the Pope, ineffectual, resolved to get him deposed in a Council before he pronounced it. With that view he wrote a circulatory Letter to all the Bishops and Abbots of his Dominions, to complain of the unworthy Treatment he had met with from *Hildebrand*, and desire them to meet at *Worms* on Septuagesima Sunday, in order to concert jointly with him the most proper Means of delivering the Church from the Tyranny of a Man, who, in Defiance of the Canons, exercised a Power over them that none of his Predecessors ever had claimed, nay and but too plainly shewed, by his whole Conduct, that he aimed at nothing less than to subject both the Church and the State to his lawless and arbitrary Will. The King added, that the Welfare of both, and their Safety as well as his own, depended upon the Resolution they should take when assembled in Council [d]. *Theodoric*, Bishop of *Verdun*, and *Engelbert*, lately nominated by the King to the Archbishopric of *Treves*, wrote likewise circulatory Letters to all the Bishops and Princes of *Germany*, fraught with bitter Invectives against *Gregory*, as one who stuck at nothing to gratify his boundless Ambition.

The Pope deposed in the Council of Worms.

The Bishops and Abbots met, in Compliance with the King's Invitation, at the Place and Time appointed, and Cardinal *Hugh*, surnamed *the White*, whom the Pope had deposed for his irregular Conduct but a few Days before, arriving very seasonably for the King's Design at that Juncture, was invited by him to assist at the Council. The Cardinal brought with him an Account or History

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

[d] Lambert Schasn. ad an. 1076.

of

of the Pope's Life from his tender Years to the Time of his Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity; and ſcarce is there a Crime, which in that Piece he was not ſaid to have committed, either before or after his Election. He was even charged with Magic, and with invoking the Devil. This Piece was read in the Council, and likewiſe Letters, which the Cardinal produced, as written by the Cardinals, the Senate and the People of *Rome*, complaining to the King of the Pope, and demanding his Depoſition. But the Zeal which the People all ſhewed for his Safety on Occaſion of the Attempt of *Cincius*, incline me to believe thoſe Letters to have been forged. Be that as it will, the Council declared, that *Hildebrand, who ſtiled himſelf* Gregory VII. *was no Pope; that he had not, nor had ever had, the Power of looſening and binding.* This Sentence was readily ſigned by all the Biſhops but *Adelbert* of *Wirtzburg*, and *Heriman* of *Metz*, thinking that no Biſhop, much leſs the *Roman* Pontiff, ſhould be condemned without being heard, or without proper Accuſers and competent Witneſſes. But *William*, Biſhop of *Utrecht*, having ſatisfied them that they muſt either ſign the Condemnation of *Gregory* or renounce their Allegiance to the King, they acquieſced, and ſigned it with the reſt [e].

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The Biſhops of Lombardy *confirm the Sentence of the Council of* Worms.

The Sentence of the Council of *Worms* was, by the King's Order, immediately communicated to the Biſhops of *Lombardy*, and of the March of *Ancona*, who thereupon aſſembling at *Pavia*, not only confirmed it, but ſwore upon the Goſpel, that they would no longer acknowledge *Gregory* for Pope. The Biſhops met at *Worms* wrote a Letter to the Pope, before they parted, to acquaint him with the Judgment they had given againſt him, as well as the Motives that had induced them to give it, and order him to quit the See, which he had uſurped in Defiance of the received Laws of the Church, and reſign a Dignity, to which he had no Kind of Right. The King wrote at the ſame time Two Letters, much to the ſame Purpoſe, the one to *Gregory* himſelf, the other to the Clergy and People of *Rome*. In his Letter to the Pope he reproached him with Pride, Ambition, Simony, Perjury, Uſurpation, and all the other Crimes that were laid to his Charge in the Council, and commanded him to deſcend from the Throne, to which he had raiſed himſelf by the moſt unlawful and wicked Means. In his Letter to the Clergy and People of

The King and Council write to the Pope.

[e] Lambert Schaſn. ubi ſupra.

Rome

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Rome he dwelt chiefly upon the haughty and imperious Behaviour of *Gregory*, upon his treating not only his Fellow Biſhops, but the greateſt Princes of the Earth, as his Slaves or Vaſſals, and requiring them to pay a blind Obedience to his Command, as if all Power, temporal as well as ſpiritual, were lodged in or derived from him. He therefore exhorted them to join him in delivering the Church from the Slavery which it was threatened with, and they could not avoid, if *Hildebrand* was ſuffered any longer to enjoy and exerciſe his uſurped Power [f].

Their Letters delivered to him.

With theſe Letters, and that from the Biſhops of the Council of *Worms*, *Roland*, Clerk of the Church of *Parma*, was diſpatched to *Rome*, but ordered to wait there till the opening of the Council, which the Pope had appointed to meet the firſt Week in Lent, and then to deliver them in the Preſence of all the Biſhops who compoſed it. In Compliance with that Order *Roland*, arriving at *Rome* ſome Days before the aſſembling of the Council, continued there, without diſcovering even to any of the King's Friends what Buſineſs he was charged with, or by whom he was ſent. But no ſooner did the Biſhops meet, than entering the Council he delivered the Letters into the Pope's own Hand, adding aloud, ſo as to be heard by the whole Aſſembly, *The King my Maſter, and with him all the Ultramontane and* Italian *Biſhops, command you inſtantly to quit the See of St.* Peter, *which you have uſurped, and the Government of the* Roman *Church:* Then turning to the *Roman* Clergy, *You are ſummoned*, ſaid he, *to appear before the King on Whitſunday next, to receive a Pope and a Father from his Hand, ſince this is not a Pope but a ravenous Wolf.* At theſe Words *John* Biſhop of *Porto* ſtarting up, cried out aloud, *Seize him*; while the other Biſhops, more zealous than he, encouraged the Prefect, who was preſent with a Band of the *Roman* Militia, to *diſpatch him*; which they would have done, had not the Pope interpoſed while they were ruſhing upon him with their drawn Swords [g]. *Gregory* was ſo far Maſter of himſelf as to receive that Meſſage without betraying the leaſt Concern or Reſentment. He only declared, addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly, that nothing ſhould ever deter him from correcting the ſcandalous Abuſes that prevailed in the Church, by whomſoever patronized, and that he was ready even to ſuffer Martyrdom, and ſhed

[f] Lambert Schafn. ubi ſupra. Paul Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 67. [g] Iidem ibid.

the laſt Drop of his Blood in ſo good a Cauſe. The Biſhops, applauding his Firmneſs and Conſtancy, aſſured him, all to a Man, that they would ſtand by him, not only at the Expence of their Dignities, but, if neceſſary, of their Lives [h]. Year of Chriſt 1076.

The King excommunicated and depoſed in a Council at Rome.

The next Day the Pope cauſed the King's Letter, and that of the Aſſembly of *Worms*, to be read in full Council, and having, after an inflaming Speech againſt the King and the Biſhops of that Aſſembly, deſired all who were preſent, and had the Honour of the Apoſtolic See at Heart, to aſſiſt him with their Advice at ſo critical a Juncture, they all cried out with one Voice, *You have been choſen, moſt holy Father, by us and by Heaven to govern the Church in theſe perilous Times; exert therefore the Power that Heaven has put into your Hands for her Defence; ſuffer not the Blaſphemer, the Uſurper, the Tyrant, the Apoſtate* (meaning the King) *to inſult her with Impunity; let the Sentence you pronounce againſt him be ſuch, as may for ever deter others from treading in his Footſteps.* *Gregory*, thus encouraged by the Biſhops of his Party, roſe up, and having commanded Silence, thundered out, with great Solemnity, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the King in the following Words addreſſed to St. *Peter:* "Bleſſed *Peter*, Prince of the "Apoſtles, hear me your Servant, whom you have nouriſhed from "his Infancy, and have delivered this Day from the Hands of the "Wicked, who hate me becauſe I am faithful to you, you are my "Witneſs, you and our Lady the Mother of God, and your Bro"ther St. *Paul*, that your holy *Roman* Church placed me againſt "my Will in your See, and that I had rather died an Exile than raiſed "myſelf to it by unlawful Means, or the Favour of Men. But be"ing by your Grace placed in it, I perſuade myſelf that it pleaſes "you that I ſhould rule the Chriſtian People committed to your "Care, and exert the Power that God has given to me, as holding "your Place, the Power of binding and looſening in Heaven and "on Earth. In this Perſuaſion it is, that for the Honour and De"fence of your Church, on the Part of Almighty God, Father, Son, "and Holy Ghoſt, and by your Power and Authority, I forbid King "*Henry*, the Son of the Emperor *Henry*, who with an unheard of "Pride has inſulted your Church, to meddle henceforth with the "Government of the *Teutonic* Kingdom or of *Italy*. I abſolve all

The Sentence pronounced by the Pope.

[h] Paul. Bernried. ibid.

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" Christians from the Oath of Allegiance, which they have taken, " or shall take to him, and forbid any one to serve him as a King. " For he, who attempts to lessen the Honour of your Church, de- " serves to forfeit his own. And because he has refused to obey, " as becomes a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord, whom " he has forsaken, by communicating with excommunicated Persons, " but despised the Counsels which I gave him for his Welfare, and " endeavoured to raise Divisions in your Church, I now anathematize " him in your Name, that all Nations may know, that thou art " *Peter*, that upon this Rock the Son of the living God has built " his Church, and that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against " it [i]." Here *Gregory* forbids in the Name of St. *Peter*, what that Apostle had expresly commanded, *viz.* Obedience to Princes, and even to Tyrants and Persecutors of the Christian Name. For *Nero*, that Monster of Wickedness, and bloody Persecutor, was King or Emperor, when he commanded the Faithful to *submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man, whether it be to the King*, &c. At the same time the following Bishops were excommunicated by Name, *viz. Sigefrid* Archbishop of *Mentz*, *William* Bishop of *Utrecht*, and *Rubert* Bishop of *Bamberg*, who had distinguished themselves above the rest in the Council of *Worms*. The other Bishops, who had assisted at that Assembly, and wickedly conspired against the Apostolic See, were all summoned to *Rome* to plead their Cause there, on pain of having the same Sentence pronounced against them, if they did not personally appear at the appointed Time, that is, at the Festival of St. *Peter* [k]. With the *German* Bishops those of *Lombardy*, who had confirmed the Sentence, were all cut off from the Communion of the Church, and threatened with an Anathema, if they did not, within a limited Time, repent of their Wickedness, and return to their Duty.

Several Bishops excommunicated with the King.

Some adhere to the Pope, and some to the King.

When the Council broke up, *Gregory* took care to acquaint the whole World with the Decree, excommunicating and deposing the King, by a Letter addressed to all the Faithful, to which that Decree was annexed. Upon its being published in *Germany*, several Princes, whom the King had disobliged, begun to cabal and form Parties against him, not doubting but they should be supported, let them attempt what they would, by the Pope. Several Bishops, even some

[i] Paul. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 70. [k] Lambert. ad ann. 1076.

who

who had assisted at the Council of *Worms*, withdrew from his Communion, as soon as they heard that he was excommunicated by the Pope in a Council, and that they themselves would incur the same Sentence if they communicated with him. However the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and with them *Guibert* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, declared openly for the King, nay and assembling at *Pavia*, confirmed the Judgment given at *Worms*. Thus was all *Germany*, and great Part of *Italy*, divided into Two opposite Parties, some zealously espousing the Cause of the Pope, and others maintaining no less zealously the Cause of the King. Year of Christ 1076.

Gregory claims the Power of deposing Princes.

As the Bishops, who adhered to the King, maintained that the Power of excommunicating, vested in the Pope, did not extend over Sovereign Princes, *Herman* Bishop of *Metz* proposed that Question in a Letter to *Gregory*, who immediately answered it, claiming in his Letter the Power of deposing as well as excommunicating Princes. "As our Saviour, says he, did not except Kings when he granted to "St. *Peter*, and in him to his Successors, the Power of binding and "loosening, why may not Kings be bound and loosened, be excom-"municated and absolved by him and his Successors, as well as the "meanest of their Subjects?" The Words of our Saviour have been understood by the Popes as spoken only to St. *Peter*, and in him only to them. But the Fathers understand them, as I have frequently shewn, as addressed to all the Apostles, and in them to all Bishops: And from thence it evidently follows, that, by virtue of the Words of our Saviour, the Pope has no other Power over Princes than what is common with him to all other Bishops. As for the Power he claims of deposing Princes, and divesting them of their Dominions, he alledges the Example of Pope *Zachary*, who, he says, deposed King *Childeric*, and a Bull of Pope *Gregory the Great*, granting certain Privileges to an Hospital at *Autun*, with this Clause, *If any King, Priest, Judge, or any secular Person whatever, shall transgress this our Constitution, let him be deprived of his Power, Honour, and Dignity.* But that Pope *Zachary* did not depose *Childeric* I have shewn in the Life of that Pope; and as to the Clause *on pain of forfeiting their Dignity*, it is now generally supposed to have been added after that Pope's Time. It is certain, at least, that by no Pope were Princes more respected than by *Gregory the Great*, nor more readily obeyed as his *Lords* and *Masters*; for thus he frequently stiled them. In the same Letter the Pope tells *Her-*

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man, that he has empowered ſome Biſhops to abſolve ſuch Lords or Biſhops as ſhall ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the King, but that he has reſerved the Abſolution of the King himſelf to the Apoſtolic See. This Letter is dated the Twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1076, and was written at *Tivoli* [l].

His Letter to the Germans.

Gregory wrote a few Days after a long Letter to all the Biſhops, Lords, and Faithful of the *Teutonic* Kingdom, to juſtify his Conduct with reſpect to the King, which had given Offence, even to his Friends. In that Letter he enumerates the many Diſorders that reigned in the Church, and were countenanced by the King; complains of his ſelling Biſhoprics and Abbies to Perſons, who had nothing elſe to recommend them but their Money; inſomuch that there was ſcarce a Biſhop in all his Dominions who had not been ſimoniacally preferred to that Dignity; charges him with having led, from his Youth, a Life unbecoming a Prince, and even a Chriſtian; enlarges on the great Pains he has taken to reclaim him from his wicked Ways, on the ungrateful Return he had made for the Kindneſs he had ſhewn him, on his obliging almoſt all the Biſhops of *Italy*, and moſt of the Biſhops of *Germany*, to rebel againſt the Apoſtolic See, and thus raiſing, as far as in him lies, a dangerous Schiſm in the Church. For all theſe Crimes he has cut him off, he ſays, as a rotten Member, from the Body of the Faithful, and deprived him of the Power, which he had ſo much abuſed. He cloſed his Letter with exhorting thoſe, to whom it was addreſſed, to join him againſt the Enemies of St. *Peter* and his Church, and declaring all excommunicated who, ſiding with the King, countenanced him in his Wickedneſs [m].

A powerful League formed in Germany *againſt the King.*

This Letter, and another the Pope wrote ſoon after encouraging the Faithful of St. *Peter* to join againſt the avowed Enemy of that Apoſtle and his Church, had the wiſhed-for Effect; and a very powerful League was formed in *Germany* in favour of *Gregory*. The leading Men in that League were *Rudolph* Duke of *Suabia*, *Guelph* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Berthold* Duke of *Carinthia*, *Adelberon* Biſhop of *Wirtzburg*, and *Adelbert* Biſhop of *Worms*. The Pope, encouraged by ſo powerful a Confederacy, began to think of cauſing another to be raiſed to the Throne, in the room of *Henry*; and he wrote accordingly a Third Letter to the Princes, Biſhops, and People of *Ger-*

[l] Greg. l. iv. ep. 2. [m] Paul. Bern. in vit. Greg. c. 80.

many,

many, empowering them to chuſe another King, if *Henry* did not repent of his Wickedneſs, and render himſelf, by a ſincere Repentance, worthy of being replaced on the Throne, which he had deſervedly forfeited, by his Diſobedience to and Contempt of the Apoſtolic See[n]. Upon the Receipt of that Letter the Princes of the Empire who ſided with the Pope, and ſome Biſhops, had a Conference at *Ulm*; and it was there reſolved, that a general Diet ſhould be convened at *Tribur*, near *Mentz*, on the Twenty-ſixth of the enſuing *October*, in order to deliberate about the moſt proper Means of preventing the Evils, which the Diſagreement between the Pope and the King might produce, and maintaining the Peace of the Empire. This Reſolution they notified to the Pope, and to all the *German* Lords, who thereupon met in great Numbers at the Place and Time appointed. The Pope, highly approving the Reſolution they had taken, ſent Two Biſhops, *viz. Sigehard* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and *Altman* Biſhop of *Padua*, to aſſiſt at the Diet in his Name, with a ſtrict Charge to acquaint him with every thing that paſſed in it, and ſuffer no one to be choſen in the room of the depoſed King without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Apoſtolic See. Moſt of the *German* Lords had, it ſeems, been ill uſed by the King, and by them he was painted in the Diet as a Monſter of Wickedneſs, as One, who paid no Kind of Regard to the Laws human or divine; they charged him in particular with having baniſhed from his Court all Perſons of Birth and Probity, and raiſed to the firſt Dignities Men of the meaneſt Extraction, and even plotted with them to extirpate the Nobility; with employing his Arms againſt his own Subjects, while the Barbarians enjoyed a profound Peace, and made unmoleſted daily Incurſions into the Empire; with applying the Revenues of Churches and Monaſteries to profane Uſes, maintaining therewith numerous Armies and building Strong-holds, not to awe the Enemies of the Empire, but to enſlave a free People; with oppreſſing the Poor, the Widows, and Orphans, and treating his Subjects in general more like a Tyrant than the Father of his People. They concluded, that the only Remedy againſt ſo many Evils was to chuſe another King, One capable of reſtoring good Order, and ſaving the State by that Means from imminent Ruin.

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The German *Lords aſſemble at* Tribur.

In the mean time the King advancing with the few Friends who ſtill ſtood by him, to *Oppenheim*, a little above *Tribur*, on the oppo-

Hard Conditions which the King is forced to ſubmit to.

[n] Paul. Bern. in vit. Greg. c. 82.

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ſite Side of the *Rhine*, ſent frequent Meſſages from thence to the Diet, promiſing to redreſs the Evils they complained of, to ſatisfy thoſe, whom he had any ways injured, and thenceforth to employ the Power, that God had put into his Hands, in procuring the Happineſs of his Subjects and the Welfare of the State. He added that, if they queſtioned his Sincerity, he was ready to confirm his Promiſe upon Oath, and even to give Hoſtages for the Performance. The Lords of the Diet anſwered, that they had been too often deceived by him to truſt to his Oaths or Promiſes, that, as he was excommunicated, they could not correſpond with him, and that being by the Pope abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and even forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge him for King, they were determined to chuſe another in his room. As the *German* Lords had brought along with them, for their own Defence, many of their Vaſſals well armed, ſome of them were for croſſing the *Rhine*, and falling upon the King, who was only attended by his Guards, and a ſmall Number of Friends. But the Lords of *Suabia* and *Saxony* thought it more adviſeable to refer the Deciſion of the Diſpute between them and the King to a General Diet of the whole Empire, at which the Pope ſhould be preſent in Perſon, and, in the mean time, oblige the King to reſign all Power and Authority. This Expedient was approved and readily agreed to by the Reſt of the Lords of the Diet; and Deputies were immediately ſent to let the King know, that, notwithſtanding the ill Treatment they had met with from him, they would not take upon them to judge or condemn him, but would leave him to be judged, to be condemned or acquitted by the Pope, in a General Aſſembly of all the Princes of the Empire; that they had agreed the Aſſembly ſhould be convened in the City of *Augsburg*, at the Purification of the bleſſed Virgin, that is, on the Second of *February*, that the Pope ſhould be invited to it, and that his Holineſs, after hearing both Sides, ſhould pronounce the definitive Sentence for or againſt him. They added, that if he did not obtain Abſolution before the Anniverſary of his Excommunication, that is, before the Day on which he was excommunicated, he ſhould be for ever excluded from the Throne. The Deputies were ordered to inſiſt upon his declaring whether he agreed to theſe Terms, and if he agreed to them, to require him, in their Name, to ſatisfy them of his Sincerity, by forthwith diſmiſſing all the excommunicated Perſons about him, by withdrawing his Garriſon from *Worms*, and

reſtoring

reſtoring the Biſhop of that City to his See. To theſe Terms they added others ſtill harder; *viz.* that he ſhould disband his Army, and retire to *Spire* with the Biſhop of *Verdun*, and ſuch other Biſhops or Miniſters as had not been excommunicated by the Pope; that he ſhould lead there a private Life, diveſting himſelf of all the Enſigns of Royalty; that he ſhould not at all meddle with public Affairs, nor enter the Church. To theſe Terms, ſhameful and hard as they were, the King was obliged to ſubmit: and he accordingly diſmiſſed, without Delay, the Archbiſhops of *Cologne*, and with him the Biſhops of *Bamberg*, *Strasburg*, *Bale*, *Spire*, *Lauſanne*, *Ceitz*, *Oſnabrug*, and all, who by adhering to him had, on that Account, been excommunicated by the Pope. He complied with the other Terms, in like Manner, and quitting the Marks of his Dignity, left the Adminiſtration of public Affairs to the Lords of the Empire. Year of Chriſt 1076.

As the King had nothing ſo much at Heart as to be abſolved from the Excommunication, his Friends being afraid to lend him any Aſſiſtance ſo long as he continued under that Sentence, and his Enemies availing themſelves of it to ſtir up the People againſt him, he reſolved to procure his Abſolution, at any Rate, before the Meeting of the Aſſembly at *Augsburg*. Being therefore informed that the Pope had left *Rome*, and was coming into *Germany*, in order to aſſiſt at that Aſſembly, he ſet out, in great Haſte, from *Spire*, with his Wife and his Son, yet an Infant, to meet him and obtain Abſolution, if by any Means he could, before he entered *Germany*, where he apprehended his Enemies would leave nothing unattempted to divert him from granting it. As he undertook that Journey in the Depth of Winter with a very ſmall Retinue, and was obliged to paſs through *Burgundy*, and from thence to croſs the *Alps* into *Italy*, all the other Roads being guarded by his Enemies, he underwent ſuch Hardſhips as no Prince, perhaps, had ever undergone before him. On his Arrival in *Savoy*, Count *Amadeus*, Lord of that Country, received and entertained him ſuitably to his Rank, but would not allow him to paſs, though nearly related to him, till he had yielded to him a rich and fruitful Province bordering upon his Dominions. As the Winter was this Year extremely ſevere, ſo ſevere that the *Rhine* continued frozen over from the Beginning of *November* to the Firſt of *April*, the King and his Retinue found themſelves often in imminent Danger, as they croſſed the *Alps*, of being buried in the Snow, or falling down the Precipices, the Roads being very ſlippery and ſcarce paſſable

The King goes to Italy.

Year of Chriſt 1076.

paſſable on account of the Ice. The Queen and her Female Attendants were placed upon Hides, and thus drawn over the frozen Snow by their Guides, Natives of the Country. Some of the King's Train periſhed in this Paſſage, and others loſt, by the exceſſive Cold, the Uſe of their Limbs. But the King himſelf arrived ſafe in *Italy*; and no ſooner was his Arrival known there, than the Counts and Biſhops of *Lombardy*, highly diſſatisfied with the Pope, repaired to

How received there.

him from all Parts, treated him with all the Reſpect that was due to his Dignity, acknowledged him, notwithſtanding his being depoſed by the Pope, for their lawful Sovereign, and encouraging him to revenge the baſe Treatment he had met with from *Hildebrand, who called himſelf Pope*, offered to aſſiſt him in ſo juſt an Undertaking both with Men as well as with Money.

The Pope retires to Canuſium.

In the mean time *Gregory* had got as far as *Lombardy* in his Way to *Augsburg*, attended by the famous Counteſs *Mathilda*. She was the Daughter of *Boniface*, Marquis of *Tuſcany*, by the Counteſs *Beatrix*, deſcended from a Siſter of the Emperor *Otho* II. *Mathilda* married *Geffrey* the younger, Duke of *Lower Lorraine*, but leaving her Husband ſhe ſpent, with his Conſent, moſt of her Time in *Italy*, where ſhe was poſſeſſed of very large Territories, having ſucceeded her Father, who died without Iſſue Male, in the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, which he had greatly extended, and left in a moſt flouriſhing Condition. She was nearly related to the King, but nevertheleſs declared from the Beginning for the Pope, and being become this Year her own Miſtreſs by the Death of her Husband, ſhe devoted herſelf entirely to *Gregory*, tranſacted nothing without conſulting him, followed in every thing his Directions, and never parting from him, accompanied him wherever he went. Her Intimacy with *Gregory*, and the extraordinary Regard he, on all Occaſions, ſhewed for her, gave Occaſion to many ſcandalous Reports, that were induſtriouſly propagated by the Pope's Enemies, eſpecially the Eccleſiaſtics, of whom he exacted the ſtricteſt Celibacy. Their Attachment for each other was not, perhaps, criminal, but it is allowed, even by thoſe who moſt admire this Pope, to have been, at leaſt on his Side, as he had ſo many Enemies, very imprudent. Be that as it will, the Pope no ſooner heard of the Arrival of the King, and the Reception he had met with from his *Italian* Subjects, than he retired, by the Advice of *Mathilda*, to *Canuſium*, a Strong-hold in the Dioceſe of *Reggio* that belonged to her, it being publicly reported that the King was come to depoſe

depoſe the Pope, and cauſe another to be choſen in his room. While the Pope continued in that Fortreſs, well guarded by the Troops of *Mathilda*, many *German* Biſhops as well as Laymen, who had been excommunicated for acknowledging the King and communicating with him after he had been depoſed and excommunicated, repaired to him barefooted and in Hair-cloth, confeſſing their Fault, and beſeeching his Holineſs to forgive and abſolve them. *Gregory* told them that Pardon would not be refuſed to ſuch as ſincerely repented of their Sin, but that their long Diſobedience required a long and ſevere Penance. They all anſwered with one Voice, that they were ready to undergo what Penance ſoever his Holineſs ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them; and the Penance he thereupon enjoined them was, that the Biſhops ſhould be ſhut up ſeparately in little Cells; that during their Confinement there they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak to any one; that they ſhould daily faſt till the Evening, and be then allowed a ſpare Meal. Penances were likewiſe impoſed upon the Laymen, ſuited to their Strength and different Ages, but of what Nature they were, Hiſtory does not inform us. The Pope, having thus tried them for ſome Days, and being fully ſatisfied of their Sincerity, ſent for them, and after a ſlight Reprimand abſolved them, but upon Condition, that they ſhould not communicate with the King till he had ſatisfied the Holy See. He allowed them however to ſpeak to him in order to reclaim him.

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Several excommunicated Biſhops apply to him and are abſolved.

In the mean time the King, inſtead of putting himſelf at the Head of the Troops, which the *Italian* Lords had aſſembled to aſſiſt him in the War they adviſed him to declare againſt the Pope, repaired, with a ſmall Retinue, to a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Canuſium*, and from thence ſent Deputies to the Pope to acquaint him with his Arrival in *Italy*, and at the ſame time entreat his Holineſs to abſolve him from the Excommunication, ſince he had for that Purpoſe undertaken ſo long and ſo difficult a Journey in ſo ſevere a Seaſon. The Deputies added, that it was not out of any Zeal for Religion, but merely out of Spite and Envy that the *German* Lords accuſed him, and therefore begged his Holineſs would not give Ear to their Accuſations. The Pope anſwered, that it was againſt the Laws of the Church to try a Perſon accuſed in the Abſence of his Accuſers, that if the King was conſcious to himſelf of his own Innocence, he needed not be afraid to appear at *Augsburg* at the appointed Time, and that he would there give Judgment, after hearing both Sides, according

The King ſends Deputies to acquaint the Pope with his Arrival and ſue for Abſolution.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Deputies.

Year of Christ 1076.

to the Laws of the Church, without ſuffering himſelf to be biaſſed to either Side by Affection or Hatred. The Deputies replied, that the King, their Maſter, did not decline the Judgment of his Holineſs, whom he knew to be a moſt uncorrupt and impartial Judge; but as the Year of his Excommunication was near expiring, and the Lords were determined to exclude him for ever from the Throne if he was not abſolved within the Year, he only begged to be abſolved, being ready to give what Satisfaction ſoever his Holineſs ſhould require, and willing not only to anſwer his Accuſers at the Time and Place he ſhould appoint, but to keep the Crown or reſign it, as he ſhould by him be found guilty or innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The King could offer no more; but the Pope, ſtill pretending to queſtion his Sincerity, could not be prevailed upon to grant the Abſolution he ſo earneſtly ſued for, till the Counteſs *Mathilda*, *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*, and ſome of the firſt Princes of *Italy*, interpoſing in his Favour, took upon them to anſwer for his performing what he had promiſed. The Pope yielded at laſt to their Prayers and Entreaties, but upon Condition that the King ſhould deliver up to him his Diadem with all the other Enſigns of Royalty, and own himſelf unworthy of the Name of King, and of the Honour that was due to that Dignity. To this Condition the Deputies objected as too hard, and only calculated to drive the King to Deſpair, and being therein ſeconded by the Counteſs *Mathilda* and the other Mediators, the Pope was, in the end, with much ado prevailed upon by them to admit the King to his Preſence. *If he is truly penitent*, he ſaid, *let him come, and by his Obedience atone for his long Diſobedience to the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See.* This Anſwer was no ſooner communicated to the King than he flew to *Canuſium*, but upon his Arrival at the firſt Gate of the Caſtle, (for it was ſurrounded by a triple Wall) he was told by the Guards that he muſt diſmiſs all his Attendants, and enter it alone. He did ſo, not without ſome Reluctance, as he thus put it in the Power of his avowed Enemy to keep him Priſoner and diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. The Firſt Gate being ſhut, he was required at the Second to diveſt himſelf of all Enſigns of Royalty, to put on, in their ſtead, a coarſe Woollen Tunic, and to wait barefooted in that Garb, in the Month of *January*, till it ſhould pleaſe the Pope to command the Third Gate to be opened in order to admit him to his Preſence. In that Condition he returned, and was forced to wait Three whole Days faſting from Morning to Night,

The King treated with the utmoſt Indignity.

Night, and imploring the Mercy of God and the Pope. The hard hearted Pope ſhewed not the whole Time the leaſt Mark of Compaſſion; but the Perſons of Diſtinction, who were with him, greatly affected with the Sufferings of the King, and touched with Pity in ſeeing ſo great a Prince reduced to ſo deplorable a State, began to complain of the unparallelled Severity of *Gregory*, more becoming, they ſaid, a Tyrant than an Apoſtolical Father or Judge. Hereupon the Counteſs *Mathilda* interpoſing anew, and freely acquainting the Pope with what was ſaid of him even by his Friends, prevailed upon him to ſuffer the King to appear before him the Fourth Day, when after ſeveral Complaints on both Sides *Gregory* abſolved him upon the following Conditions. Year of Chriſt 1076.

Upon what Terms abſolved.

1. That he ſhould appear at the Time and the Place, which the Pope ſhould appoint, to anſwer, in a General Diet of the *German* Lords, the Charge brought againſt him, and ſhould own the Pope for his Judge. 2. That he ſhould ſtand to his Judgment, ſhould keep or reſign the Crown as he ſhould by him be found guilty or innocent, and ſhould never ſeek to revenge himſelf upon his Accuſers. 3. That till Judgment was given and his Cauſe was finally determined, he ſhould lay aſide all Badges of Royalty, ſhould not meddle, upon any Pretence whatever, with public Affairs, and ſhould levy no Money upon the People but what was neceſſary for the Support of his Family. 4. That all, who had taken an Oath of Allegiance to him, ſhould be abſolved from that Oath before God as well as before Men. 5. That he ſhould for ever remove from his Preſence *Robert* Biſhop of *Bamberg*, *Udalric* of *Coſheim*, and all evil Counſellors together with them. 6. That if he ſhould clear himſelf of the Crimes laid to his Charge and remain King, he ſhould be ever obedient and ſubmiſſive to the Pope, and concur with him, to the utmoſt of his Power, in reforming the Abuſes that Cuſtom had introduced, againſt the Laws of the Church, into his Kingdom. Laſtly, if he failed in any of theſe Conditions, his Abſolution ſhould be null, he ſhould be deemed guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge as if he had owned them, ſhould never again be heard, and the Lords of the Kingdom, abſolved from their Oaths, ſhould be at full Liberty to elect another King in his room. As the Day, on which the King had been excommunicated the Year before, was at hand, he was glad to ſubmit to thoſe Terms, hard as they were, in order to obtain Abſolution. He ſigned them accordingly, and promiſed upon Oath to obſerve them,

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especially to stand to the Judgment of the Pope, and to keep or lay down the Crown as by him he should be judged worthy or unworthy to wear it. The Pope, not satisfied with the King's Oath, required the Countess *Mathilda*, and the rest, who had interposed in his Favour, to swear upon Reliques that he should perform all he had promised. This Request was readily complied with by all but the Abbot of *Cluny*, who, being forbidden by the Rules of his Monastery to take an Oath, only engaged his Word for the King's faithfully observing the Terms which he had agreed to. Hereupon *Henry* obtained, in the end, the dear-bought Absolution, on the Twenty-fifth of *January* of the present Year 1077.

The Pope takes the Sacrament as a Proof of his Innocence.

When that Ceremony was over, the Pope celebrated Mass, and desiring the King, and all who were present, to approach the Altar after Consecration, he took the consecrated Host in his Hand, and turning to the King addressed him thus: "I long ago received Letters from you and from those of your Party, charging me with having raised myself to the Apostolic See by Simony, and having polluted my Life, before as well as after my Episcopacy, with other Crimes, for which I ought, according to the Canons, to have been for ever excluded from holy Orders: and though I could disprove these Calumnies with the Testimony of those, who very well know what Life I have led from my Infancy, and of those who were the Authors of my Promotion to the Episcopal Dignity; yet that I may not be thought to rely more upon the Judgment of Men than upon that of God, and that no Room may be left for the least Suspicion of Scandal, let the Body of our Lord, which I am going to take, be this Day a Proof of my Innocence; let God absolve me by his Judgment if I am innocent, and strike me suddenly dead, if I am guilty." Having spoken this, he took Part of the Host, the People congratulating him with loud Shouts of Joy upon his Innocence so incontestably proved. But the Pope, having commanded and obtained Silence, addressed the King anew with the following Words; "Do, my Son, if you please, what you have seen me do. The *German* Lords accuse you daily to us of many enormous Crimes, for which they say you ought not only to be removed from the Administration of all public Affairs, but excluded for ever from the Communion of the Church, and even from human Society. As I wish you well, and you have implored the Protection of the Apostolic See in

"your

" your Diſtreſs, do what I adviſe you: If you are conſcious to your- Year of Chriſt 1077.
" ſelf of your own Innocence, and know that you are falſly and
" maliciouſly accuſed, deliver the Church from that Scandal, and
" yourſelf from all Perplexity, as the Iſſue of human Judgments is
" very uncertain. Take the other Part of the Hoſt, that your Inno-
" cence thus proved may ſilence your Enemies, that I may become
" your warmeſt Friend, and the *German* Lords being reconciled with
" you by my Means, you may be replaced on the Throne, and the
" wiſhed-for Tranquility reſtored to the State." The King, no leſs *The King declines that Proof.*
aſtoniſhed than perplexed at ſuch an unexpected Propoſal, deliberated ſome Time with the Lords and Biſhops about him, and then, not caring to undergo ſuch a Trial, he declined it, ſaying, that his Enemies would pay no Kind of Regard to any-thing he ſhould do in their Abſence, and therefore deſired the Pope to leave the Affair undetermined till the Time of the General Diet [o].

In the mean while the *Lombard* Lords, who had encouraged the King to revenge the Injuſtice the Pope had done him, and had offered to aſſiſt him, in ſo juſt an Undertaking, to the utmoſt of their Power, hearing of the Treatment he had met with from the Pope at *Canuſium*, and the Terms he had agreed to, began to complain as loudly of him as of the Pope himſelf. They reproached him with Meanneſs, Treachery, and Cowardice, in forſaking his beſt Friends, and acting in direct Oppoſition to their unanimous Opinion and Advice, in order to be abſolved from the Excommunication of a Man, whom the Biſhops of *Italy* had excommunicated as guilty of Simony, of Murders, Adulteries, and many other Crimes. So great was the Indignation the King's mean Behaviour raiſed in moſt of the *Lombard* Lords, that they even reſolved no longer to acknowledge him for their King, but to place his Son, yet an Infant, on the Throne, to carry him to *Rome*, and cauſe him to be there crowned Emperor by the Pope, whom they ſhould chuſe in the room of the Uſurper *Hildebrand*. The King ſtrove to appeaſe them, by repreſenting to them the Neceſſity he was under of being abſolved within a limited Time, which, he ſaid, the Pope had availed himſelf of, to trample upon him in the Manner he had done. But finding that many of the *Lombard* Lords daily forſook him, and that ſuch as continued with him threatened to leave him, if he did not break *The Lombard Lords highly provoked at the mean Submiſſion of the King.*

[o] Lambert. Schaſn. Domnizo in Vit. Mathild. Paulus Bernried. in Vit. Greg. & Greg. lib. iv. ep. 12.

the

Year of Christ 1077.

He resolves to break the Treaty made with the Pope.

the shameful Treaty he had made with the Pope, he was in the End prevailed upon to break it; and he recalled accordingly the Bishops, as well as the Laymen, whom the Pope had obliged him to dismiss, declared that he would not appear at the Diet appointed to meet at *Augsburg*, and inveighing, with great Bitterness, against the Pope in an Assembly of the *Lombard* Lords, exhorted them to revenge, under his Command, the Injuries they had received, as well as he, from the Usurper of the Apostolic See. By this Speech the King regained the Affection of all the *Lombards*, his Army was daily reinforced with new Troops flocking to him from all Quarters, and he soon found himself in a Condition to face any Force that the Pope's Friends in *Italy* could bring against him.

A Diet appointed to meet at Forcheim.

The Pope continued all this while with the Countess *Mathilda* at *Canusium*, not thinking it safe to venture out, and much less to undertake his intended Journey into *Germany*, in order to assist at the Diet of *Augsburg*. The *German* Lords therefore appointed a Diet to assemble at *Forcheim*, in the Bishopric of *Bamberg*, on the 13th of *March*, in order to deliberate about the Election of a new King, since *Henry* had, by a manifest Breach of the Treaty made with the Pope, prevented the Meeting of a Diet at *Augsburg*, and thereby forfeited his Crown. This their Design they immediately communicated to the Pope, desiring him to send Legates to assist at that Assembly in his Name, if he could not conveniently be present at it in Person. Upon that Intelligence the Pope dispatched a Cardinal, named *Gregory*, to acquaint the King with the Resolution of the *German* Lords, and press him to repair to *Forcheim* at the Time appointed, that his Cause might be there finally determined by the Judgment of the Apostolic See. The King answered, that as he had never been in *Italy* since his Accession to the Crown, he had so many Affairs to settle there, that he could not possibly leave the Country so soon; that his *Italian* Subjects, who had long wished to see him, would think themselves neglected and despised, should he continue so short a Time with them; and, besides, that the Time fixed for the Meeting of the Assembly was so near that he could not be present at it, though nothing detained him, upon so short a Notice.

Henry *declines appearing at it.*

Rudolph *Duke of* Suabia *chosen King.*

This Answer convinced the Pope that the King was determined not to stand to the Terms of the Agreement; and he therefore sent *Bernard* Cardinal Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and *Bernard* Abbot of a Monastery of Six hundred Monks at *Marseilles*, with the Character

of his Legates, to acquaint the *German* Lords therewith, and aſſiſt at the Diet in his Name, as he could not aſſiſt at it in Perſon, all the Paſſes being guarded Night and Day by the King's Troops. The Aſſembly met ſoon after their Arrival, and the Pope's Letters being read, whereby he exhorted all, who had the Welfare of the State at Heart, to join in ſuch Meaſures as ſhould ſeem to them the moſt expedient at ſo critical a Juncture, and the moſt proper to procure it, they reſolved to proceed, without further Delay, to the Election of a new King, and they elected accordingly, with one Conſent, *Rudolph* Duke of *Suabia*, but upon Condition that his Son ſhould not ſucceed him, unleſs he was choſen by the People. The Kingdom of *Germany*, as we may obſerve here by the way, was not quite hereditary, the Nobles, Biſhops, and People being free to elect which of the deceaſed King's Sons they judged the moſt worthy of the Crown, though, generally ſpeaking, they choſe the eldeſt; and thus was the Kingdom of *Germany* hereditary, the Election being confined to the Royal Family, and yet elective, ſince the People might chuſe which of the King's Sons they liked beſt. But in the preſent Diet at *Forcheim* it was decreed, that the Election ſhould no longer be reſtrained to the Royal Family, and the Electors ſhould elect whomſoever they thought the moſt worthy of, and the beſt qualified for, ſo great a Truſt. *Rudolph*, thus elected, was conſecrated by the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, in the Preſence of the Pope's Legates, and all the Lords of the Aſſembly, who, acknowledging him for their lawful Sovereign, took an Oath of Allegiance to him as ſuch [p].

Year of Chriſt 1077.

Some modern Writers will have *Gregory* to have been the chief Author of the Election and Promotion of *Rudolph*, and to have confirmed to him the Royal Dignity, as ſoon as he heard that the *German* Lords had choſen him. But *Gregory* himſelf ſolemnly declares in One of his Letters, that *Rudolph* was choſen unknown to him; "The Ultramontane Biſhops and Princes, ſays he, hearing that he "(the King) did not perform what he had promiſed, and deſpair- "ing of his Amendment, choſe without my Advice, I call upon "you *Peter* and *Paul* to witneſs it, Duke *Rudolph* for their King, "who immediately gave me Notice of his Election, aſſuring me that "he had been forced to undertake the Government, but was ready

Gregory *not the Author of his Election.*

[p] Lambert. Schafn. Paul. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 93.

"to

Year of Christ 1077.

"to obey me in all Things[q]." It plainly appears, from a Letter which the Pope wrote to his Two Legates in *Germany* as soon as he heard of the Election of *Rudolph*, that he himself was at a Loss to determine, which of the Two Kings had the better Title to the Crown. For in that Letter he orders the Legates to procure from both a Safe-Conduct for him, that he may come into *Germany* and determine upon the Spot which of the Two had Justice on his Side. He adds, if either of the Kings shall oppose this our Resolution, and refuse us a free Passage into *Germany*, we command you to cut him off, by the Authority of St. *Peter*, from the Communion of the Church, and to withstand him, if necessary, even at the Expence of your Lives, remembring, that it is Idolatry not to obey the Apostolic See, and that the blessed *Gregory* decreed that Kings, who presumed to transgress its Commands, should forfeit their Dignity. Acknowledge him therefore for lawful King, who shall humbly obey our Commands, assist him to the utmost of your Power, and command, in our Name, the Bishops, Abbots, Clerks, and Laymen, dwelling in these Parts, to serve and obey him as their lawful Sovereign[r]. This Letter is dated the last of *May* 1077.

The Pope enters into an Alliance with Robert Guiscard *and the* Normans.

In the mean time *Gregory*, sensible that the Disagreement between him and the King would end in an open Rupture, and that the Forces of *Mathilda* alone were not capable of making head against those of the King, left *Canusium*, and returning to *Rome*, undertook from thence a Journey to *Apulia*, with a Design to gain *Robert Guiscard* and the *Normans* over to his Party. *Robert* met the Pope at *Aquino*, and a Treaty was there concluded between them upon the following Terms; *viz.* That the Pope should absolve *Robert* from the Excommunication which he had incurred, by laying Siege to *Benevento*, and grant him the Investiture of the Dukedoms of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, leaving his Claim to *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and Part of the March of *Fermo*, which *Robert* had seized, unjustly as the Pope pretended, for the present undetermined; and that *Robert* should, on his Side, swear Fealty to *Gregory* and the Apostolic See; that he should assist him, to the utmost of his Power, to hold, acquire, and defend the Rights of St. *Peter*, should protect him against all his Enemies, and should, upon his Death, if he survived him, declare for the Person who should be legally chosen by

[q] Greg. l. vii. ep. 14. [r] Idem, l. iv. ep. 23.

the

the Cardinals, the Clergy, and the People of *Rome*. This Treaty was ſigned and ſworn to by *Robert*, and the other *Norman* Chiefs. *Anna Comnena*, *Guillelmus Apulienſis*, and *Richardus* Monk of *Cluny*, who flouriſhed about the Middle of the following Century, write, that *Gregory* promiſed, on this Occaſion, to confer the Imperial Dignity upon *Robert* or his Son *Boemund*, and that this was one of the Articles of the Treaty [s]. Year of Chriſt 1077.

From *Apulia* *Gregory* returned to *Rome*, and there in a Council, conſiſting of about an Hundred Biſhops, which he had appointed to meet the firſt Week in Lent of the preſent Year 1078, he excommunicated and depoſed *Tetald* Archbiſhop of *Milan*, preferred by the King to that See while his Predeceſſor was ſtill living, and with him *Arnold* Biſhop of *Cremona*, convicted of Simony, *Guibert* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, ſtriving to withdraw himſelf from all Subjection to the Apoſtolic See, and *Roland*, who had been rewarded with the Biſhopric of *Trevigi* for notifying to the Pope the Decree iſſued by the Council of *Worms* againſt him, and commanding him, in their Name, to quit the See he had uſurped [t]. By the ſame Council all Ordinations made by excommunicated Perſons were declared null, and Excommunications were thundered out againſt thoſe who detain or plunder, or any-ways injure, ſuch as are ſhipwrecked. As to the Affairs of *Germany* it was reſolved, that Legates ſhould be ſent thither to convene an Aſſembly of all the Prelates and Lords of the Kingdom, in order to determine, jointly with them, which of the contending Parties had Juſtice on their Side. This Reſolution the Pope immediately communicated to the *German* Lords and Biſhops, inviting them to aſſiſt at that Aſſembly, as they tendered the Peace and Welfare of the Church as well as the State, and declaring thoſe cut off from the Communion of the Church, who ſhould oppoſe or prevent their Meeting at the Time and Place his Legates ſhould appoint: "If any one, ſays he, ſhall attempt to prevent our "Legates from executing this our Reſolution, be he King, Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Duke, Count, or Marquis, we bind and anathematize him, not only in his Soul but likewiſe in his Body, and "by our Apoſtolic Authority deprive his Arms of Victory." Thus *Gregory*; as if Victories were at his Diſpoſal as well as Kingdoms [u]. *Fourth Council of* Rome. *Several Biſhops excommunicated and depoſed.* Year of Chriſt 1078.

[s] Anna Comnena, l. i. p. 32. Guill. Apul. l. iv. p. 34. Richard. apud Ptolemeum, Lucent. ad ann. 1084. [t] Concil. t. x. p. 399. [u] Concil. t. x. ibid. et Greg. l. v. ep. 15, 16.

Year of Christ 1078.

Rudolph *defeated by* Henry, *and* Henry *in his Turn by* Rudolph.

In the mean time *Henry*, leaving *Italy*, returned with the Troops he had levied there to *Germany*, and meeting *Rudolph* engaged him, put his Army to Flight, and improving the Victory, made himself Master of *Suabia* and *Bavaria*, that had declared for his Rival. In this Battle several Persons of Distinction on the Side of *Rudolph* were slain or made Prisoners. Among the latter were *Bernard* Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, *Sigefrid* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Adelbert* Bishop of *Worms*. But *Henry* was soon after defeated in his Turn by *Rudolph*, and obliged to quit the Countries he had just recovered. We are told that in this Engagement most of the *German* as well as the *Italian* Lords, who adhered to *Henry*, were either killed or taken, and that the Archbishop of *Magdeburg* was the only Person of any Note that fell on the Side of *Rudolph* [w].

Fifth Council of Rome.

While the Two Competitors were thus contending in the Field for the Crown, *Gregory* assembled another Council, the fifth of his Pontificate, at *Rome*, in the Beginning of *November* of the present Year 1078. At this Council appeared Embassadors both from *Henry* and from *Rudolph*, sent to swear, in their Name, that no Violence should be offered to the Legates of the Apostolic See, but that they should be suffered to hold unmolested the intended Congress [x]. And that Oath they took accordingly, in the Presence of the Pope and the Council.

Berengarius *abjures his Doctrine concerning the Eucharist.*

As the famous *Berengarius* still continued to deny the real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and daily gained over many to his Opinion, he was summoned to the present Council, and required to give an Account of his Belief with respect to that Mystery. He had solemnly abjured his Doctrine, as has been related above, in a Council held by Pope *Nicholas* II. in 1059. But being threatened by the present Council with Excommunication, as an incorrigible Heretic, in maintaining and propagating a Doctrine repugnant to that of the Fathers, and condemned by the Church, he owned his Error, begged Pardon of the Council, and to satisfy them of his Sincerity made in their Presence the following Confession of Faith: "I con-
"fess the Bread in the Eucharist to be, after Consecration, the true
"Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that sits at
"the Right Hand of the Father; and the Wine, after Consecration,
"to be the true Blood, that flowed from the Side of our Lord:

[w] Chronograph. Magdeburg. Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1078. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 102.

[x] Paulus

"And

" And what I pronounce with my Mouth I believe in my Heart. " So help me God, and these his holy Gospels." The Fathers of the Council were not all satisfied with this Confession; and *Berengarius* was therefore ordered to continue at *Rome* till the Meeting of a more numerous Council, which was to be held the following Year, when his Doctrine as well as his present Confession should be more leisurely examined [y]. Year of Christ 1078.

Sixth Council of Rome. Year of Christ 1079.

The Council met in the Month of *February* of the following Year 1079, and the Question being proposed, whether Christ was *substantially* or only *figuratively* present in the Eucharist, the greater Part of the Bishops, says the Historian, in all One hundred and Fifty, who composed that Assembly, maintained the Bread to be substantially converted, by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, and the Words of the Minister, for the Redemption of Mankind. Some, struck with Blindness, continues the Historian, pretended the Eucharist to be but a Type. But they, yielding before the Third Session, agreed with the rest; and *Berengarius*, the Author of that Error, owning it to be so, made the following Confession of Faith in the Presence of the Council: " I *Berengarius* believe in my Heart and confess " with my Mouth, that the Bread and Wine, which are placed up- " on the Altar, are changed substantially by the Mystery of the sa- " cred Prayer and the Words of our Redeemer, into the true, real, " and vivifying Flesh, and into the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, " and that after Consecration it is the true Body of Christ that was " born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was offered on the Cross for the " Salvation of the World, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father; " and the true Blood of Christ that flowed from his Side, and not " merely a Type, but in Property of Nature and in real Substance; " as is set forth in this Writing, which I have read, and you have " heard. Such is my Belief, and henceforth I will teach nothing " contrary to this my Confession. So help me God, and these his " holy Gospels [z]." This Confession being approved by all who were present at the Council, the Pope forbad *Berengarius* on the Part of God, and his holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, ever to dispute concerning the Mystery of the Body and Blood of our Lord, or to teach any thing relating to it, unless it were to reclaim those whom he had led

Berengarius *abjures his Doctrine again.*

[y] Anonymus Chifflet. & Bertold. ad ann. 1078. [z] Hugo Flavin. in Chron. Virdun. p. 214. Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1079. Regist. Gregorian. l. vi. post epist. 17.

Year of Christ 1079.

astray [a]. This Command he promised to obey; and thereupon *Gregory*, not questioning his Sincerity, wrote the following Letter in his Favour: "*Gregory*, Servant of the Servants of God, to all the Faithful of St. *Peter*, Health and Apostolical Benediction. We think it incumbent upon us to let you know, that we have anathematized, on the Part of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, all who shall any-ways presume to injure *Berengarius*, Son of the *Roman* Church, either in his Person or his Possessions, or call him a Heretic. He has stayed long with us, as long as we please; and now we send him home attended by our trusty *Fulco*." However *Berengarius*, returning the following Year to *France*, publicly retracted both the Confessions he had made at *Rome*, declaring that he had signed them out of Fear, being threatened with immediate Death if he did not yield. Tortures, Racks, and Death, are Arguments, that few have Courage or Constancy enough to resist!

Embassadors from Henry *and* Rudolph *assist at this Council.*

To this Council, as well as to the former, Embassadors were sent by *Henry* and by *Rudolph*, to answer the Accusations that their Enemies might bring against them. Those from *Rudolph* complained of the Devastations committed by *Henry* in all the Countries through which he passed, of his sacrilegiously plundering Churches and Monasteries, putting some Bishops in Irons and murdering others, and treating all as Rebels who did not obey him as King, though he had forfeited his Kingdom, and all Right to the Crown, by his Disobedience to the Decrees of the Apostolic See. Hereupon most of the Bishops, without so much as hearing the Embassadors of the King, were for excommunicating him anew, as well as all who adhered to him, and declaring *Rudolph* the sole lawful King of *Germany*. But the Embassadors promising upon Oath, in their Master's Name, that about the Feast of the Ascension proper Persons should be sent to conduct the Legates of the Apostolic See into *Germany*, that no Kind of Violence should be offered them in going or returning, and that

Both promise to stand to the Judgment of the Apostolic See.

the King would submit to their Judgment, and concur with them in settling the Affairs of the Church as well as the State as they should direct, the Pope was prevailed upon to suspend the Sentence of Excommunication, and leave the Whole to be determined by his Legates in the ensuing Congress [b]. The Embassadors of *Rudolph* took

[a] Hugo Flavin. ubi supra. [b] Paul. Bernried. ubi supra.

the ſame Oath in his Name, and the Pope, upon the breaking up of the Council, named *Peter* Cardinal Biſhop of *Albano*, and *Altman* Biſhop of *Padua*, to aſſiſt at the Congreſs as his Legates, enjoining them to determine nothing without conſulting the Holy See. At the ſame time *Gregory* wrote a circulatory Letter, addreſſed to all the Faithful of the *Saxon* and *Teutonic* Kingdoms, commanding them to forbear all Hoſtilities, ſince the contending Parties had agreed to ſtand to the Judgment of his Legates [c].

Year of Chriſt 1079.

Oath taken in this Council by the Archbiſhop of Aquileia.

It was at this Time in moſt Places cuſtomary for Archbiſhops to make, at their Conſecration, a Promiſe or Profeſſion of canonical Obedience to the Pope, that is, of ſuch Obedience as was enjoined by the Canons. The like Profeſſion of Obedience was made by all Biſhops to their Metropolitans, and by all Metropolitans to their Primates. But *Gregory*, who had nothing leſs in view than to ſubject all Biſhops to himſelf and his Succeſſors, as abſolute Monarchs of the Church, changed that Promiſe into an Oath of Allegiance, much the ſame with that which Emperors and other Sovereign Princes impoſed upon their Feudatories and Vaſſals. Thus not ſatisfied with the uſual Promiſe of canonical Obedience, he obliged *Henry*, the new Archbiſhop of *Aquileia*, to take the following Oath in the preſent Council: "I ſhall from this time forward be faithful to St. *Peter*, to Pope "*Gregory*, and his Succeſſors, that ſhall be choſen by a Majority of "the Cardinals. I ſhall neither adviſe nor aſſiſt in taking away their "Life, in diſmembring, depoſing, nor impriſoning them. I ſhall "come to their Synods when ſummoned by their Nuncios or their "Letters, and ſend Deputies if I cannot come in Perſon, and ſhall "obey the Canons of ſuch Synods. I ſhall aſſiſt in maintaining and "defending the *Roman* Papacy and the Regalia of St. *Peter*, ſo far "as is conſiſtent with my Order. I ſhall not diſcloſe the Counſels "which the Popes themſelves or their Nuncios ſhall communicate "to me. I ſhall treat honourably and aſſiſt their Legates coming "from or going to *Rome*. I ſhall not knowingly communicate "with thoſe whom they have excommunicated by Name. I ſhall "aſſiſt the *Roman* Church, when required, with a military Force. "All this I ſhall faithfully obſerve, unleſs exempted from that Ob-"ſervance by a Diſpenſation from the Pope [d]." Could a more full and formal Allegiance be ſworn by any Subject to his Prince!

[c] Paul. Bernried. ubi ſup. Bertold. in Chron. [d] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1079.

As

Year of Christ 1079.

The Pope requires the King of England *to pay him Homage.*

As the Payment of the Money, that was yearly remitted to *Rome* by the Kings of *England* under the Name of *Peter-pence*, had been, in great Measure, neglected during the Conqueror's Three Years Absence in *Normandy*, *Gregory* no sooner heard of his Return to *England*, than he sent over *Hubert*, Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, in the Quality of Legate, to complain of that Neglect to the King, and at the same time require him to take an Oath of Fealty to him. The Pope's Design was to improve that Charity, for it was but a Charity or Pension, into a Tribute. But the King, in the Letter which he wrote this Year to the Pope, returned a proper Answer to so insolent a Demand. "Your Legate, said he, has required me to pro-

The King's Answer.

"mise Fealty to you and your Successors, and desired me to see that "the Money which my Predecessors used to send to the *Roman* "Church be more punctually remitted. Of these Requests I have "granted the one and refused the other. I would not, nor ever "will I pay Homage, because I never promised it; and I do not find "that my Predecessors ever paid it to yours. As for the Money, it "was not collected with due Care, during the Three Years I staid "in *France*. But now that I am returned to my Kingdom, I send "you by your Legate what has been collected, and shall send you "the rest by Archbishop *Lanfranc*'s Legates [e]." This resolute Answer was highly resented by the Pope; and being at the same time informed both by his Legate and the Archbishop *Lanfranc*, that the King would not permit any of his Bishops to go to *Rome*, though summoned thither by the Apostolic See, he recalled his Legate, ordering him, in the Letter he wrote to him on that Occasion, to let the King know that he valued not his Money without the Honour, that his forbidding Archbishops and Bishops to visit the Tombs of the Apostles was a Thing quite unprecedented, and what no King before him, not even Pagan Kings, had ever been so impudent or irreverent as to have attempted; that he had overlooked many Things which deserved Correction, and that if the King did not alter his Conduct, he should be made sensible that he had provoked the Wrath of St. *Peter*. In the same Letter he requires his Legate to invite, and command by the Authority of St. *Peter*, Two *English* and Two *Norman* Bishops, out of each Archbishopric, to repair to *Rome*, in order to assist at the Council which he had appointed to meet next Lent [f]. This Letter is dated the 23d of *September* 1079. The Le-

[e] Apud Lanfranc, ep. 7. [f] Greg. l. vii. ep. 1.

gate

gate left *England* ſoon after, but the King, paying no Kind of Regard to the Pope's Menaces, kept to the Reſolution he had taken; and no *Engliſh* nor *Norman* Biſhops were allowed, during his Reign, to go to *Rome*, though frequently ſummoned, and even threatened with Suſpenſion if they did not comply with the Summons. Year of Chriſt 1079. *Pays no Regard to the Pope's Menaces.*

We have a remarkable Letter written by *Gregory* in the Beginning of *January* of the following Year 1080, in Anſwer to one he had received from *Vratiſlaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, deſiring Leave to have divine Service performed in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, that is, in the Language of the Country. That Letter the Pope anſwered in the following Words. "As you deſire us to allow divine Service to be "performed among you in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, know that "I can by no Means grant you your Requeſt, it being manifeſt to all, "who will but reflect, that it has pleaſed the Almighty that the Scripture ſhould be with-held from ſome, and not underſtood by all, leſt "it ſhould fall into Contempt, or lead the unlearned into Error. "And it muſt not be alledged, that all were allowed, in the primitive Times, to read the Scriptures, it being well known that in "thoſe early Times the Church connived at many Things, which "the holy Fathers diſapproved and corrected when the Chriſtian Religion was firmly eſtabliſhed. We therefore cannot grant, but abſolutely forbid, by the Authority of Almighty God and his bleſſed "Apoſtle *Peter*, what you ask, and command you to oppoſe, to "the utmoſt of your Power, all who require it [g]". What can be more contradictory to the Command of our Saviour, *ſearch the Scriptures* [h], or to the whole Fourteenth Chapter of St. *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*? *Gregory* did not, it ſeems, know that Two of his Predeceſſors, *Hadrian* II. and *John* VIII. granted to the *Moravians* what he could not grant to the *Bohemians*, Permiſſion to perform the divine Service in their native Language the *Sclavonian* [i]. nay St. *Cyril*, the Apoſtle of the *Moravians*, obtained a Decree of *Hadrian* II. forbidding any Biſhops or Presbyters to be ordained in *Moravia*, who did not underſtand the Language of the Country, and therefore could not perform the Functions of his Office ſo as to edify the People [l]. The Permiſſion, granted to the *Moravians* by theſe

Year of Chriſt 1080. *The Pope forbids divine Service in the* Sclavonian *Language.*

Though allowed by other Popes.

[g] Greg. l. vii. ep. 11. [h] John v. 39. [i] See above p. 57. [l] Vita Cyril, p. 22.

Two

Year of Christ 1080.

Two Popes, was confirmed to them, notwithstanding the Decree of *Gregory*, by *Innocent* IV. in 1248 [m].

Seventh Council of Rome *under* Gregory.

Gregory held, according to Custom, a Council in Lent the present Year 1080. It was the Seventh he had held, and of all the most numerous. In this Council the Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition pronounced Two Years before against *Tetald* of *Milan*, *Guibert* of *Ravenna*, *Roland* of *Trevigi*, and several other Bishops, was confirmed, and a new Decree was issued, forbidding Laymen, whether Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marquises, or Counts, to grant Investitures of Bishoprics, Abbies, or of any Ecclesiastical Dignity whatever, on pain of Excommunication, and declaring all, who accepted Investitures from them, excommunicated, till they resigned the Dignities, to which they had, by such wicked Means, been preferred.

Decree against Lay Investitures confirmed.

As *Henry*, repenting the Promise he had made of standing to the Judgment of the Pope's Legates, instead of sending Embassadors to attend them into *Germany*, kept the Passes all guarded to prevent their assisting at the intended Assembly or Diet, *Gregory* excommunicated and deposed him anew in the present Council: "I excommunicate "and anathematize, were the Words of the Sentence, *Henry*, whom "they call King, and all his Abetters: I again deprive him of the "Kingdom of *Germany* and *Italy*; divest him of all Royal Power "and Authority, forbid all Christians to obey him as King, and ab-"solve all, who have sworn, or shall swear Allegiance to him, from "their Oath. May the said *Henry* and his Abetters have no Strength "in Battle; may he never gain a Victory so long as he lives. As "the *Germans* have chosen *Rudolph* for their King, to him I give "and grant that Kingdom, and to all, who shall steadily adhere to "him, I promise Absolution from their Sins, and all Blessings in "this and in the Life to come." The Pope in this Sentence addresses himself all along to the Apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and closes it thus; "Now therefore, blessed Apostles, make it known to all the "World, that if you can bind and unbind in Heaven, you can take "away and give upon Earth, Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, "Dukedoms, Marquisates, Earldoms, and the Possessions of all Men "according to their Deserts. For you have often taken from the "unworthy and given to the worthy Patriarchates, Primacies, Arch-"bishoprics, Bishoprics. If you judge spiritual Matters, what Power

Henry *anew excommunicated and deposed.*

[m] Oderic. Raynald. ad ann. 1248.

"must

" must we allow you to be veſted with over temporal Affairs! If you are " to judge the Angels far above the proudeſt Princes upon Earth, how " great muſt your Authority be over their Slaves! Let the Kings there- " fore and Princes of the Earth now learn how boundleſs and uncon- " trouled is your Power! Let them dread for the future to diſobey " the Commands of your Church. Let your Vengeance light with- " out Delay upon *Henry*, that all may know he falls not by Chance, " but by your Power. May God confound him, *that his Spirit may* " *be ſaved in the Day of the Lord Jeſus* [n]." Thus did *Gregory* encourage the Subjects of a Chriſtian Prince to Rebellion, on the Part of the Apoſtles, who had ſtrongly recommended Subjection and Obedience to the worſt even of heatheniſh Princes, the ſworn Enemies and Perſecutors of the Chriſtian Name. The Pope, having thus depoſed *Henry*, and confirmed the Election of *Rudolph*, ſent a Crown of Gold to the new King, or rather Uſurper, with the following Inſcription, to let him know that he acknowledged him for King.

Year of Chriſt 1080.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho [o].

The Decree, excommunicating and depoſing the King, is dated the Seventh of *March* 1080.

As the King found himſelf, at this Time, at the Head of a powerful Army, and had lately gained conſiderable Advantages over the Uſurper of his Crown, he reſolved, as ſoon as he was informed of what had paſſed in the Council of *Rome*, to keep thenceforth no Meaſures with the Pope, as the Pope kept none with him. He accordingly appointed a Council to meet at *Mentz*, in order to adviſe with the Biſhops of his Party concerning the Meaſures he ſhould purſue at ſo critical a Juncture. Nineteen *German* Biſhops met at the Place and Time appointed, the laſt Day of *May*. But as no *Italian* Biſhops aſſiſted at this Council, it was adjourned to a Place nearer *Italy*; and the City of *Brixen* in *Tirol* was the Place they choſe. Thirty Biſhops aſſembled there on the Twenty-fifth of *June* of the preſent Year, with almoſt all the *Italian* and many *German* Princes, all highly provoked at the unprecedented Proceedings and inſupportable Tyranny, as they juſtly ſtiled it, of the Pope. At this Council the King was preſent in Perſon; and it was by all to a Man agreed,

The Pope depoſed in the Council of Brixen.

[n] Paul. Bernried. c. 107. Gotfrid. Viterb. Chron. parte 17.

[o] Otto Friſingen. de geſtis Freder. I. l. i. c. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1080.

that *Gregory* ſhould be depoſed and another choſen in his room. The Decree of his Depoſition was drawn up; and he was there charged with having raiſed himſelf by Tyranny to the Pontifical Chair; with overſetting the Hierarchy, and making himſelf ſole Monarch of the Church; with encouraging Sedition and Rebellion, ſowing Diſcord among Friends, perſecuting a peaceable King, excommunicating and depoſing him, and placing a perjured Rebel on his Throne. In the ſame Decree they call *Gregory* a falſe Monk, a Necromancer, a Soothſayer, an Interpreter of Dreams, One poſſeſſed with a *Pythonical* Spirit, One who taught Evil inſtead of Good, Falſhood inſtead of Truth, a Diſciple of the Heretic *Berengarius*, a Heretic, an Infidel. They cloſed the Decree with the following Words. "We therefore "declare, by the Authority of Almighty God, the ſaid *Hildebrand* "diveſted of the Pontifical Dignity, and if he does not quit it of "his own Accord, let him be condemned for ever[p]." *Gregory* being thus depoſed, the Biſhops of the Council elected with One Conſent *Guibert*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, in his room, who took the Name of *Clement* III. The new Pope appeared in the Council ſoon after his Election in the Pontifical Robes, and all the Biſhops proſtrating themſelves, together with the King, before him, kiſſed his Foot, and thus acknowledged him for lawful Pope[q].

And Guibert *choſen in his room.*

The King acquaints the Pope with the Decree of his Depoſition.

The King himſelf choſe to notify to the Pope his Depoſition, and he wrote the following Letter to acquaint him with it. "*Henry*, "King by divine Ordination and not by Uſurpation, to *Hildebrand*, "no longer Pope, but a falſe Monk. You deſerve to be thus ſaluted, "after introducing, as you have done, the utmoſt Confuſion into "the Church, and amongſt all Orders of Men. You have trampled "upon the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and treated the Anointed of "the Lord as your Vaſſals and Slaves, *&c.* All this we have born "out of the Regard that is due to the Apoſtolic See; but you aſcribing it to Fear have preſumed to ſet yourſelf up againſt the "Royal Dignity, and threaten to take it from us, as if we had received it from you and not from God, who called us to the Throne, "but never called you to the Chair: you owe your Dignity to Fraud, "to Craft, and to Money; your Money procured you Friends, and "your Friends opened you the Way to the Chair of Peace with the "Sword: being thus raiſed to the Chair, you have made it your

[p] Centius Camerarius in Cenſuali. c. 3. et Baron. ad ann. 1080. [q] Centius ibid.

"Buſineſs

" Buſineſs to ſow Diſcord, to diſturb the public Tranquility, to coun- Year of Chriſt 1080.
" tenance Diſobedience in thoſe, whom all are bound to obey. You
" have not even ſpared me, though I have been, unworthy as I am,
" anointed King, and am, according to the Doctrine taught by the
" Fathers, to be judged only by God, and can only forfeit my
" Kingdom by apoſtatizing from the Faith. The holy Biſhops of old
" did not take upon them to depoſe the Apoſtate Emperor *Julian*,
" but left him to be judged and depoſed by God, who alone could
" judge and depoſe him. *Peter*, who was a true Pope, commanded
" all Men to *fear God, and honour the King*; but you do neither,
" and your not honouring me can only proceed from your not fear-
" ing God. St. *Paul* anathematized even an Angel from Heaven,
" who ſhould preach any other Goſpel. We therefore command
" you, ſtruck with this Anathema, and condemned by the Judgment
" of all our Biſhops, to quit the See you have unjuſtly uſurped; let
" another be raiſed to the Throne of St. *Peter*, who will not diſ-
" guiſe his wicked Attempts with the Mask of Religion, but teach
" the ſound Doctrine of that holy Apoſtle. I *Henry*, by the Grace
" of God King, command you, with all my Biſhops, to come down
" from the Throne. *Deſcende, deſcende*, come down, come
" down[r]."

And the People of Rome.

The King wrote at the ſame time to the Clergy and People of *Rome* to acquaint them with the Depoſition of the Monk *Hildebrand*, and require them to drive him by Force from the uſurped See, if he did not quit it of his own Accord, and to receive and acknowledge for lawful Pope the Perſon, whom he and his Biſhops had placed, with One Conſent, on the Throne in his room. In that Letter he forbids the *Romans* to ſhed the wretched Man's Blood, as Life will be more painful than Death to a Man of his Ambition and Temper[s].

The Pope's Letter to the Biſhops of Apulia.

What Anſwer *Gregory* returned to the King's Letter Hiſtory does not inform us, nor whether he returned any; but we have a Letter of his to the Biſhops of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, dated the Twenty-firſt of *July* of the preſent Year 1080, wherein he tells them, that his Enemies, and the Enemies of the Church Univerſal, had ſet up for their Leader and Antichriſt, a perjured Rebel to the *Roman* Church, named *Guibert*, One who had plundered the Church of *Ravenna*, and was by all good Men abhorred for his Wickedneſs; that none

[r] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1080. [s] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 1080.

had assisted at that Assembly of Satan, but Men of the most infamous Characters, whose Ordination was null or heretical, and that he did not at all doubt but by the Prayers of St. *Peter*, who overcame *Simon the Magician*, he should soon defeat the wicked Attempts of the new *Simon* and all his Abetters; nay it is said, that to encourage the Rebels he assured them that a false King was to die that Year, that his Death would happen before the Festival of St. *Peter*[t]. By a *false* King the Pope, no Doubt, meant *Henry*; but his Prophecy was fulfilled in *Rudolph*, who fell in a Battle fought near *Mersburg* on the Fifteenth of *June* of the present Year (B). Of this Battle we have very different Accounts, but it is agreed on all Hands, that *Rudolph* being obliged to retire on account of his Wounds, his Men, missing him and believing he was killed, betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, and left *Henry* Master of the Field. *Rudolph* was carried to *Mersburg*, where he died of his Wounds, expressing great Concern at his having failed in the Allegiance which he had sworn to *Henry* his Master and Lord. As the Bishops and others about him strove to comfort him in his last Moments, he shewed them his bloody Arm (for his Hand was cut off), saying, I have justly forfeited the Hand, with which I promised Allegiance to my lawful Sovereign, and my Life with my Hand; but the Pope obliged me to break the Promise I had solemnly made, and usurp a Dignity, to which I had no Kind of Right; you see to what End such an Attempt has brought me, and they, whose Counsels I have followed, may hereafter have Occasion to repent their having put me upon it[u].

Rudolph *killed.*

The News of the Defeat and Death of *Rudolph* threw the *Romans*, and such of the *Italians* as adhered to *Gregory*, into the utmost Confusion, and they were all for his being reconciled with the King upon the best Terms he could procure, in order to prevent the spilling of more Christian Blood, and the dreadful Calamities attending so destructive a War. They represented to him that most of the *German* and all the *Lombard* Lords had declared for the King, that the Countess *Mathilda* was the only Person he could rely on in *Italy*, but as she

Gregory *resolves to set up another King.*

[t] Hist. Saxon. [u] Hemoldus Chron. Sclavor. l. i. c. 29.

(B) If the Pope believed that what he foretold would come to pass, he must be looked upon as a false Prophet, and as an Impostor if he did not believe it (1).

(1) See Bayle Dict. Art. Greg. VII.

was

was not able to withstand alone the whole Force of the *Teutonic* Kingdom, she would be soon reduced to the Necessity of either coming to an Agreement with the King or losing her Dominions, and that his Holiness, thus left to the Mercy of a provoked Prince, would in the end be obliged to submit to such Terms as he should be pleased to impose upon him. Thus *Gregory*'s Friends; but he, quite unaffected with the Dangers to which he exposed them and even his Favourite Countess *Mathilda*, nor discouraged in the least with the Death of the King, whom he had set up, resolved, without the least Hesitation, to set up another in his room. And he wrote accordingly to *Altman*, Bishop of *Passaw*, and to *William*, Abbot of *Hirsange*, both Men of great Interest in *Germany*, and zealously attached to his See, exhorting them to exert their utmost Endeavours in keeping those, who had declared for the late King, especially *Guelph*, Duke of *Bavaria*, steady in their Obedience to the Apostolic See, to inform him what Succours they can supply him with or procure for him, and to persuade the *German* Lords to proceed to the Election of a new King. He advises them to delay for some Time the Election, rather than to suffer one to be elected, who is not duly qualified for so high a Station, or is not, for Want of Zeal or Abilities, capable of maintaining the Rights and Privileges of the Church, and he sends them the Form of the Oath, which they must require the Person, whom they should chuse, to take; and it is as follows: "From this Time I "shall be faithful to the blessed Apostle *Peter*, and to his Vicar "the blessed *Gregory* now living. Whatever he shall command me to "do with these Words, *by true Obedience*, I shall faithfully per-"form as becomes a Christian. As to the disposing of Churches, "of Lands, or of Revenues, that have been granted to St. *Peter* "by the Emperor *Constantine*, by *Charles*, or any Men or Women, "I shall agree with the Pope concerning them, so as not to incur the "Guilt of Sacrilege, but shall pay due Honour to God and St. *Pe-*"*ter*, and shall become a Soldier of that Apostle and his Vicar [u]. To require this Oath, was requiring a Person, who should take it, to acknowledge himself a Vassal of St. *Peter* and the *blessed* Pope *Gregory*.

Year of Christ 1080.

The Pope wrote at the same time to *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, ordering him to remind *Robert Guiscard* of the Oath he

The Pope's Letter to the Abbot of Monte Cassino.

[u] Greg. l. viii. ep. 3.

had

Year of Christ 1080.

had taken to defend the Regalia of St. *Peter*, and engage him to perform what he had promiſed, ſhould his Aſſiſtance be wanted [w]. The Counteſs *Mathilda* had informed the Pope, that a Treaty of Marriage was on Foot between the King's Son and the Duke's Daughter, which gave his Holineſs no ſmall Concern, as he apprehended that *Robert* might think himſelf bound by that Treaty to declare for the King, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter. He therefore enjoined the Abbot in his Letter to ſound the preſent Diſpoſition of the *Norman* Prince, and let him know whether he might be ſafely relied on. What Anſwer *Deſiderius* returned to this Letter we know not, but from *Guillelmus Apulienſis* it appears, that *Gregory* went at this time in Perſon into *Apulia*, that he had an Interview with the Duke at *Benevento*, and that the Duke there renewed the Oath he had taken in 1077 to aſſiſt the Pope, by whomſoever attacked, and maintain, to the utmoſt of his Power, the Rights of his See [x].

Robert Guiſcard *renews his Oath to aſſiſt the Pope.*

Gregory, thinking he had now nothing to fear from the King, aſſembled the following Year 1081 a Council at *Rome* in the Beginning of Lent; and in that Council, the Eighth of his Pontificate, he depoſed and excommunicated anew the King, and all who, by adhering to him and ſerving him as King, encouraged him in his wicked Rebellion againſt God and St. *Peter*. In the ſame Council the Sentence of Excommunication was again thundered out, with dreadful Anathemas, againſt the Antipope *Guibert*, and ſuch as received or owned him as Pope [y]. In the mean time *Henry*, having ſettled, after the late Victory, his *German* Affairs, ſet out with his Army for *Italy*, determined to revenge the baſe Treatment he had met with from *Gregory*, to drive him from *Rome*, and place *Guibert*, choſen by all the *Lombard* and moſt of the *German* Biſhops, on the Pontifical Throne. He was joined, upon his entering *Italy*, by moſt of the *Italian* Princes, no leſs provoked againſt *Gregory* than the King himſelf, as they ſaw a War kindled, by his wild Pretenſions and Obſtinacy, in the Bowels of their Country. The King met not with the leaſt Oppoſition till he approached *Rome*, when the Counteſs *Mathilda* unexpectedly appeared at the Head of a conſiderable Army, and offered him Battle. A Battle was accordingly fought, and the Troops of *Mathilda* giving way at the firſt Onſet, ſhe was obliged to ſave herſelf by a precipitate Flight. She was poſſeſſed of

Eighth Council of Rome. Year of Chriſt 1081.

Henry *excommunicated again.*

He marches into Italy, *and defeats* Mathilda.

[w] Greg. l. viii. ep. 4. [x] Guill. Apul. l. 4. [y] Concil. tom. x. p. 398.

more

more extenſive Territories than any other Sovereign, beſides the *Normans*, in all *Italy*, divided at this Time into numberleſs Principalities. The Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, the Cities of *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, *Modena*, Part of *Umbria*, of the Duchy of *Spoleti*, of the March of *Ancona*, and all the Country from *Viterbo* to *Orvieto*, now known by the Name of the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, were ſubject to her. But her Subjects were not, it ſeems, hearty in the Cauſe; nay they looked upon her, as we read in One of the Pope's Letters [z], as a mad Woman, *pro inſana habent*, for eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Apoſtolic See againſt ſo powerful a Prince. Year of Chriſt 1081.

The King, having thus put the Army of *Mathilda* to the Rout, approached *Rome*, and encamping in the Fields of *Nero*, as they are called, on the oppoſite Banks of the *Tyber*, he ſent Parties from thence to lay waſte the neighbouring Country, as the *Romans* refuſed to open the Gates to him. But as his *Germans* could not bear the Heat of the Climate, and Summer approached, he thought it adviſeable to put off the Siege to a more favourable Seaſon, and return to *Lombardy*. The following Year he again laid Siege to *Rome*; but the *Romans* defending the Place with great Reſolution and Vigour during the Winter and Spring, he was again obliged by the Heat of the Seaſon to abandon the Enterprize and return to *Lombardy*. However he left Garriſons in the neighbouring Caſtles to harraſs the *Romans*, and block up the City; and the Antipope *Clement* remained at *Tivoli* with a Body of Troops to ſcour the Country, and intercept the Proviſions that might be conveyed into the City [a]. *And beſieges* Rome.

In the mean time the *Saxons*, encouraged by the Pope, choſe Count *Herman*, a Native of *Lorraine*, in the room of *Rudolph*; and he was anointed King by *Sigefrid*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, on St. *Stephen*'s Day, the Twenty-ſixth of *December* of the preſent Year. *Henry* no ſooner heard of this new Election than he marched back to *Rome*, driving in all the Countries, through which he paſſed, the Biſhops, who acknowledged *Gregory*, from their Sees, and the Abbots from their Abbies. As he approached *Rome*, the Citizens, already reduced to great Straits for Want of Proviſions, earneſtly entreated the Pope to hearken to an Accommodation with the King, and prevent the Calamities with which they were threatened, as the *A new King choſen by the* Saxons. Year of Chriſt 1082.

[z] Greg. l. viii. ep. 3. [a] Domnizo Vit. Greg. Hugo Flavin. in Chron. ad ann. 1081.

City

Year of Christ 1082.

City must ſooner or later fall into his Hands. The King was not averſe to an Accommodation, and to convince the Pope of his Sincerity, he ſet at Liberty *Otto* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and afterwards Pope, under the Name of *Urban* II. whom he had arreſted. He even offered to acknowledge *Gregory* for lawful Pope, and to accept from him the Imperial Crown, provided he abſolved him from the Excommunication, and ſuffered him quietly to enjoy the Power, which he held of God alone, from whom alone he had received it. *Gregory* anſwered in general Terms, that he was ready to abſolve him, and even crown him Emperor; but as he had offended in many Things, he muſt firſt give full Satisfaction to God and the Church. The King, not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, laid Siege to the *Leonine* City, and having made himſelf Maſter of the Place, notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance he met with, began to batter the Walls of *Rome* on that Side.

Henry *reduces the* Leonine *City.*

The Ninth Council of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1083.

In this Extremity the *Romans*, throwing themſelves at the Pope's Feet, and repreſenting the great Hardſhips they had already ſuffered for adhering to him, and the much greater they were likely to ſuffer, prevailed upon him to aſſemble a Council in order to ſettle the Points in Diſpute between him and the King by the Advice of the Biſhops, who ſhould aſſiſt at that Aſſembly. To this *Henry*, willing to come to an Agreement with the Pope upon reaſonable Terms, readily conſented, and forbearing all Hoſtilities promiſed upon Oath to let the Biſhops paſs unmoleſted. The Council met in the *Lateran* Church on the Twentieth of *November*, and conſiſted chiefly of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots of *Campania* and *Apulia*, the only Biſhops in *Italy* that ſided at this Time with the Pope; but as *Gregory* would hearken to no Terms, that the King could agree to conſiſtently with his Dignity, the Council broke up the Third Day; and it was with much ado that the Biſhops prevailed upon him not to excommunicate the King a Third Time, though then Maſter of the *Leonine* City, and under the very Walls of *Rome* at the Head of a powerful and victorious Army.

Rome *taken by the King*; Year of Chriſt 1084.

The King allowed the Biſhops, who had aſſiſted at the Council, to return unmoleſted to their Sees. But provoked, beyond Meaſure, at the Obſtinacy of the Pope, upon their Departure he inveſted the City on all Sides, and began to batter the Walls with great Fury. But finding he could not eaſily maſter the Place by Force, he had Recourſe to Bribery, and a large Sum of Money being ſent him at this

this very Time by *Alexius Comnenus*, Emperor of the East, to make War upon *Robert Guiſcard*, with that Money he bribed ſome of the leading Men in *Rome*, and was by them admitted into the City; but the Pope had Time to ſave himſelf by retiring to the ſtrong Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. The King entered *Rome* on the 21ſt of *March*, attended by *Guibert*, whom he cauſed to be inthroned the very next Day in the *Lateran* Palace, and to be conſecrated the following *Sunday* in the Church of St. *Peter* by the Biſhops of *Modena* and *Arezzo*. On Eaſter-day, which in the preſent Year 1084 fell on the 31ſt of *March*, *Clement* (the Name *Guibert* took at his Election) crowned *Henry* Emperor with the Approbation of the *Romans*, who thenceforth acknowledged him for Emperor [b].

Year of Chriſt 1084.

who is crowned Emperor by Guibert.

In the mean time *Robert Guiſcard*, hearing that the Emperor was Maſter of *Rome*, that he had placed *Guibert* on the Pontifical Chair, and was actually beſieging the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, whither *Gregory* had retired, put himſelf, without Delay, at the Head of a choice Body of Troops, and marching with all poſſible Expedition to his Relief, arrived in a few Days in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. At his Approach the Emperor, who had ſent the beſt Part of his Troops into *Lombardy* to oppoſe the Counteſs *Mathilda*, thought it adviſeable to retire. The *Romans* however, who had declared againſt the Pope, ſhut their Gates againſt the *Normans*. But *Robert*, having driven them from the Walls, made himſelf, in a very ſhort Time, Maſter of the City, and ſetting it on Fire in ſeveral Places marched, without Oppoſition, to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, took the Pope from thence, and carried him in Triumph to the *Lateran* Palace [c].

The Pope, beſieged in the Caſtle of St. Angelo, *is delivered by* Robert Guiſcard.

Gregory, thus ſet at Liberty, held a Council, the Tenth and laſt of his Pontificate, in the *Lateran* Church; and in that Council he again excommunicated the Emperor, *Guibert* the Antipope, and all who adhered to the one or the other. This Sentence he cauſed to be publiſhed in *France* by *Peter* Biſhop of *Albano*, and in *Germany* by *Otho* Biſhop of *Porto*, his Two Legates. As the *Romans* were now greatly incenſed againſt the Pope, whom they looked upon as the Author of the many Calamities they had ſuffered, and there was no room to doubt but the Emperor, who had gained ſome new Advantages over the Rebels in *Germany*, would ſoon return to the Siege

Gregory *leaves* Rome *and retires to* Salerno.

[b] Centius Camer. ad ann. 1084. Abbas Urſperg. Henrici Epiſt. apud Dacher. tom. ix. Specileg. Bertold, &c. [c] Sigebert. Bertold. Centius Camerarius, &c.

Year of Christ 1084.

of *Rome*, it was thought adviſeable by Duke *Robert*, as well as by *Gregory* himſelf, that he ſhould leave that City, and retire with the Duke to *Salerno*. They left *Rome* accordingly together, and upon their Departure the *Romans*, no longer awed either by the Pope or the *Normans*, declared for the Emperor.

Aſſembly of Berbac. Year of Chriſt 1085.

In the mean time *Otho*, the Pope's Legate in *Germany*, ſpared no Pains to ſtir up the People againſt the Emperor, and ſtrengthen the Party of the Uſurper *Herman*. With that View he aſſembled a Council at a Place in *Thuringia* called *Berbac*, conſiſting chiefly of ſuch of the *German* Biſhops as ſided with *Herman*. In that Aſſembly *Gebehard*, Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, was for having it defined, that the Pope was veſted with a Power over all the Princes of the Earth, and might therefore lawfully not only excommunicate but depoſe them, and give their Kingdoms to others, if they did not obey the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See. But *Wicelin*, who had been lately preferred by the Emperor to the See of *Mentz* in the room of *Sigefrid*, maintaining, that our Saviour had granted no temporal Power to St. *Peter*, and conſequently that the Pope as his Succeſſor could claim none, warm Debates aroſe between the Biſhops of the oppoſite Parties, which obliged the Legates to diſmiſs the Aſſembly [d].

Aſſembly of Quintilineburg.

The ſame Year another Council was aſſembled by the Legate at *Quintilineburg*, an Abbey in the Neighbourhood of *Halberſtad* in *Saxony*. As this Aſſembly was entirely compoſed of Biſhops who adhered to the Pope, it was there determined, that all were to acquieſce in the Judgment of the Pope with reſpect to temporal as well as to ſpiritual Matters, and that all Men were to be judged by him, and he by no Man. This Determination was oppoſed by a Clerk of the Church of *Bamberg* named *Gunibert*, maintaining that the Primacy, or the Power, claimed by the Pope, and often exerciſed, was an Uſurpation. But he was driven out of the Council, and the Decree, ſubjecting all Men, whether Princes, Kings, or Emperors, to the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See, paſſed without Oppoſition, and the contrary Opinion was at the ſame time condemned as heretical. Several other Decrees were iſſued by this Council, relating to the Invalidity of Ordinations conferred by excommunicated Perſons, to the Marriages of Prieſts, which were ſtrictly forbidden,

[d] Bertold. Uſpergenſ. ad an. 1085.

to

to the Obſervance of Lent, during which Faſt all were ordered to abſtain from Eggs, Cheeſe, *&c.* and laſtly Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out, with lighted Torches, againſt the Antipope *Guibert* and Eleven other Biſhops, who were all by Name ſuſpended from the Functions of their Office, and with their Accomplices cut off from the Communion of the Church till they reſigned the Dignities, to which they had been unlawfully preferred, that is, nominated by the Emperor. This Decree was ſigned by *Herman* their King, by the Archbiſhops of *Saltzburg* and *Magdeburg*, and Twelve other Biſhops[e]. Year of Chriſt 1085.

The Emperor no ſooner heard of the Decrees of this Council than he appointed one to meet at *Mentz*, inviting all the Biſhops of his Party to aſſiſt at it, and retort the unjuſt Anathemas upon thoſe who had thundered them out againſt them. At this Council were preſent Two *Roman* Presbyters, with the Character of Legates from Pope *Clement* III. the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Cologne*, of *Bremen*, Twenty Biſhops from *Germany*, and many from *France* and from *Italy*; and by them *Hildebrand*, who ſtiled himſelf Pope, *Otho* his Legate, and the Fourteen Biſhops of the Council of *Quintilineburg* were depoſed, excommunicated, and anathematized, as Traitors and Rebels, and all forbidden, on pain of Excommunication, to communicate with them, or with their Accomplices. The ſame Sentence was pronounced againſt *Herman*, and all who acknowledged or ſerved him as King[f]. *Council of* Mentz.

While theſe Things paſſed in *Germany*, *Gregory* ended a Life, which his boundleſs Ambition had filled with Troubles, eſpecially after his Promotion to the Pontifical Throne. He died at *Salerno* on the 25th of *May* of the preſent Year 1085, having held the See Twelve Years One Month and Three Days. There is no ſmall Diſagreement amongſt the cotemporary Writers with reſpect to his laſt Sentiments concerning his Quarrel with *Henry*. *Sigebert* writes, that ſincerely repenting, in his laſt Moments, what he had done, he abſolved that Prince, with his laſt Breath, from the Excommunication which he had ſo often and with ſo much Solemnity thundered out againſt him, and all his Followers[g]. But the Author of his Life, who wrote ſoon after his Death, aſſures us, that being asked, when paſt all Hopes of Recovery, whether he would ſhew, before his De- *Death of* Gregory.

[e] Bertold. ubi ſupra. [f] Uſpergen. & Bertold. ibid. [g] Sigebert ad ann. 1085.

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parture, any Indulgences to those whom he had excommunicated, he answered, I absolve and bless all who firmly believe that I have such a Power, except *Henry*, whom they call King, the Usurper of the Apostolic See *Guibert*, and the chief Persons, who have encouraged and supported them in their Wickedness with their Assistance or Counsels[h]. The same Writer tells us, that the holy Pontiff comforted himself in his last Illness, saying, *I die in exile, because I have loved Justice and hated Iniquity*; and that lifting up his Eyes to Heaven before he expired, *Thither*, he said, *I am going, and shall incessantly recommend you*, addressing himself to the Bishops and Cardinals who were present, *to the Protection and Favour of the Almighty*[i]. Indeed his obstinately maintaining, to the last, what he had done to be just suits the inflexible, haughty, and vindictive Temper of *Gregory*, better than his humbly owning he had erred. Being consulted by the Cardinals about his Successor, and desired to name the Person whom he thought the most capable and best qualified to oppose the wicked Attempts of the Antipope, he recommended Three, leaving them at full Liberty to chuse which of the Three they pleased, *viz.* *Desiderius* Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, *Otho* Archbishop of *Ostia*, and *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons*; and the Two first were accordingly chosen the one after the other.

His Character.

Gregory was, to do him Justice, a Man of most extraordinary Parts, of most uncommon Abilities both natural and acquired, and would have had, at least, as good a Claim to the Surname of *Great*, as either *Gregory* or *Leo*, had he not, led by an Ambition the World never heard of before, grossly misapplied those great Talents to the most wicked Purposes, to the establishing of an uncontrouled Tyranny over Mankind, of making himself the sole Lord spiritual and temporal over the whole Earth, and becoming by that Means the sole Disposer, not only of all ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments, but of Empires, States, and Kingdoms. That he had nothing less in his View sufficiently appears from his whole Conduct, from his Letters, and from a famous Piece intituled *Dictatus Papæ*, containing his Maxims. It is to be met with after the 55th Letter of the Second Book of *Gregory*'s Letters, and the Reader will there find the following Propositions, in all Twenty-seven.

[h] Paul. Bernried. Vit. Greg. c. 110. [i] Idem ibid. c. 108.

1. The

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The Dictatus or Maxims of Gregory.

1. The *Roman* Church was founded by none but our Lord.

2. The *Roman* Pontiff alone ſhould of Right be ſtiled Univerſal Biſhop.

3. He alone can depoſe and reſtore Biſhops.

4. The Pope's Legate, though of an inferior Rank, is in Councils to take place of all Biſhops, and can pronounce Sentence of Depoſition againſt them.

5. The Pope can depoſe abſent Biſhops.

6. No Man ought to live in the ſame Houſe with Perſons excommunicated by him.

7. The Pope alone can make new Laws, can eſtabliſh new Churches, can divide rich Biſhoprics, and unite poor ones.

8. He alone can wear the imperial Ornaments.

9. All Princes are to kiſs his Foot, and to pay that Mark of Diſtinction to him alone.

10. His Name alone ought to be commemorated in the Churches.

11. There is no Name in the World but his; that is, as ſome underſtand it, he alone is to be ſtiled Pope. The Name of Pope, formerly common to all Biſhops, was appropriated, as Father *Paul* obſerves, by *Gregory* VII. to the *Roman* Pontiff [k].

12. It is lawful for him to depoſe Emperors.

13. He can tranſlate Biſhops from one See to another when thought neceſſary.

14. He can ordain a Clerk in any Church whatever.

15. A Clerk ordained by him muſt not be preferred to a higher Degree by any other Biſhop.

16. No General Council is to be aſſembled without his Order.

17. No Book is to be deemed canonical but by his Authority.

18. His Judgment no Man can reverſe, but he can reverſe all other Judgments.

19. He is to be judged by no Man.

20. No Man ſhall preſume to condemn the Perſon that appeals to the Apoſtolic See.

21. The greater Cauſes of all Churches ought to be brought before the Apoſtolic See.

22. The *Roman* Church never has erred, nor will ſhe ever err according to Scripture.

[k] Benefices and Revenues, p. 58.

23. The

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23. The *Roman* Pontiff, canonically elected, becomes undoubtedly holy by the Merits of St. *Peter*, according to the Teſtimony of St. *Ennodius* Biſhop of *Pavia*, and many of the Fathers, as is related in the Decrees of Pope *Symmachus*.

24. With his Leave an Inferior may accuſe his Superior.

25. He can depoſe and reſtore Biſhops without aſſembling a Synod.

26. He is not to be deemed a Catholic, who does not agree with the *Roman* Church.

27. The Pope can abſolve Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance which they have taken to a bad Prince.

Some Writers, I know, queſtion the Genuineneſs of that Piece; but it is admitted as genuine by *Baronius*, by *Panvinius*, by the learned *De Marca*, and ſeveral other able Critics, and the Sentiments it contains are to be met with in moſt of *Gregory*'s Letters.

The Power of depoſing Princes firſt claimed by Gregory.

Gregory VII was the firſt Pope that claimed the Power of depoſing Princes, of abſolving their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and diſpoſing, as Sovereign Lord over the whole Earth, of Empires, Kingdoms, and States at his Pleaſure. That ſuch a Power was veſted in the Biſhops of *Rome* was unknown to the World, nay and to thoſe Biſhops themſelves, till the Time of this Pope, that is, for the Space of near Eleven hundred Years. Hence the Opinion aſcertaining that Power in the Pope has, from its Author, been branded not only by Proteſtant, but by many *Roman* Catholic Writers, with the Name of the *Hildebrandine Hereſy*. And truly no Hereſy, perhaps, ever was broached more repugnant to the Example ſet by our Saviour to his Church, to the Doctrine taught by his Apoſtles, by the Fathers, nay by the Popes themſelves, and to the Practice of the Church in all preceding Ages.

That Claim repugnant to the Example of Chriſt.

And in the firſt place, Chriſt as Man, as Founder and Head of the Church, diſclaimed all temporal Power, telling *Pilate* that he was indeed King, but that his *Kingdom was not of this World* [l]; that he *was born and came into the World*, not to eſtabliſh a temporal Kingdom, but *to bear Witneſs unto the Truth*, and thus found a ſpiritual Kingdom. Hence he fled when the *Jews* would have made him King; and being asked by one to ſpeak to his Brother that he would divide the Inheritance with him, he anſwered, *Man, who made me a Judge or a Divider over you* [m]? Which was as much as to ſay, I came not

[l] John xviii. 34, 36, 37. [m] Luke xii. 13, 14.

into this World to concern myſelf with temporal Affairs, apply to thoſe whoſe Province that is. From theſe Paſſages it is manifeſt that Chriſt (as Man, as Founder and Head of the Church) diſavowed all temporal Power, and conſequently that his Vicars and Miniſters act in direct Oppoſition to the Example he has ſet them, in claiming or exerciſing any in that Character. The Pope pretends to be Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth; and what can be more abſurd, as well as impious, than that he, as ſuch, ſhould claim what Chriſt himſelf ever diſclaimed; that he ſhould exerciſe the moſt extenſive Power that ever was known upon Earth, when Chriſt declined exerciſing any whatever; that he ſhould pretend to interpoſe as ſupreme Judge in Diſputes about Empires and Kingdoms, when Chriſt thought it foreign to his Divine Miniſtry to interpoſe as Judge in a private Quarrel between Two Brothers concerning an Inheritance! Year of Chriſt 1085.

No temporal Power granted by Chriſt to his Apoſtles.

But though Chriſt exerciſed no temporal Power himſelf, ſays *Bellarmine*, he veſted the Prince of the Apoſtles St. *Peter*, and in him his Succeſſors in his See, with all temporal as well as ſpiritual Power, leaving both him and them at full Liberty to exert it when thought expedient or neceſſary for the Good of his Church. But of ſuch a Monarchy we meet with no Traces in Scripture; nay from Scripture it is manifeſt, that no other than ſpiritual Power was by Chriſt imparted to the Apoſtles, *viz.* 1. The Power of preaching the Goſpel all over the World, and baptizing thoſe who believed. 2. The Power of *binding and looſening*, or of *remitting Sins or retaining them.* 3. The Power of conſecrating or celebrating the Euchariſt. 4. The Power of excluding thoſe from the Church who did not hear the Church, or treating them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom the *Jews* never converſed. Theſe are all different Branches of ſpiritual Power; and no Mention is made in Scripture of any other communicated by our Saviour to St. *Peter* in particular, or to the Apoſtles in general, no other, that was to paſs from them to their Succeſſors; for the Power of working Miracles, of healing the Sick, *&c.* was but a temporary Power, and died with them.

The Power of looſening and binding no other than that of remitting or retaining Sins.

The Power of *looſening* and *binding*, ſay the Sticklers for the papal Monarchy, was not confined to ſpiritual, but extended to temporal Matters, even to the abſolving of Subjects from the Oaths they had taken to wicked Princes, to the depoſing of ſuch Princes, and giving their Dominions to others. Thus was the Power of *looſening* and

binding

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binding understood by *Gregory*, and he therefore addressed the Two Apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, when he deposed the Emperor *Henry*, in the following Words; *Go therefore most holy Princes of the Apostles, and what I have said confirm by your Authority, that all Men may know you can bind and loosen, you can take away and give upon Earth Empires and Kingdoms.* Thus *Gregory*. But the Power of *loosening* and *binding* granted to the Apostles in these Words, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*[n], was understood by the Apostle St. *John* as only relating to the remitting or retaining of Sins; and he thus explains it, *Whosesoever Sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever Sins ye retain they are retained*[o]; and thus were these Words, *Whatsoever ye shall bind*, &c. understood and expounded by the Fathers, all to a Man, as has has been shewn by several *Roman* Catholic as well as Protestant Writers. Add to this, that, according to the Fathers, no Power was given to St. *Peter* that was not common with him to the rest of the Apostles[p]; nay the Power of *loosening* and *binding*, that was promised to him in these Words, *and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*[q]; the Power, I say, that was promised in these Words to St. *Peter*, was granted in as full a Manner, and in the same Terms to all the Apostles; *Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*[r]. If the Power therefore of *loosening* and *binding* includes the deposing or any other temporal Power whatever, such a Power was granted to all the Apostles as well as to St. *Peter*, and to all their Successors as well as to his; and the Successors of the other Apostles, that is, all Bishops, may, by virtue of that Power, depose Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oaths, dispose of Kingdoms and Empires, as well as the Successors of St. *Peter*, the Bishops of *Rome*. This the Popes will not allow; and it is therefore incumbent upon them and the Asserters of the temporal Monarchy, which they claim as the Successors of St. *Peter*, to shew where any Power whatever was granted

And common to all the Apostles.

[n] Mat. xviii. 18. [o] John xx. 23. [p] See Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. Hier. in Jovin. i. 14. Aug. ep. 165. Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8. Orig. in Matt. xvi. Ambros. in Psal. xxxviii. & de Dig. sac. &c. [q] Mat. xvi. 19. [r] Mat. xviii. 18.

to

to that Apoſtle, diſtinct from that which was veſted by our Saviour in all the Apoſtles. Year of Chriſt 1085.

The Doctrine of Pope *Gregory*, with Reſpect to the depoſing, or to any other temporal Power whatever over Princes, is not more repugnant to the Example of our Saviour, than it is to the Doctrine taught by his Apoſtles, nay and by the Popes themſelves in the preceding Ages. Thus St. *Paul* teaches and commands Subjection *to the higher Powers: Let every Soul*, ſays that Apoſtle, *be ſubject unto the higher Powers*[s]. *Ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience Sake*[t]: and in his Epiſtle to *Titus*, *Put them in Mind*, ſays he, *to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magiſtrates*, &c[u]. Here the Faithful are taught and commanded to be ſubject to the *higher Powers*, to *Principalities*, and *Magiſtrates*; and none are excepted, no, not even the *Prince of the Apoſtles*; nay, he too requires and enjoins Subjection and Obedience to *every Ordinance of Man* in Terms no leſs expreſſive than thoſe of St. *Paul: Submit yourſelves*, ſays he, *to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake: whether it be to the King as ſupreme; or unto Governors, or to them that are ſent by him for the Puniſhment of Evil-doers, and for the Praiſe of them that do well. For ſo is the Will of God*, &c[w]. I ſhall leave the Aſſertors of the Papal Monarchy to reconcile the *Subjection to the higher Powers*, to *Principalities* and *Magiſtrates*, ſo ſtrictly required by the *Two Princes of the Apoſtles*, as an indiſpenſable Duty incumbent upon all Chriſtians, with the Pope's pretending to be free from all Subjection, nay and to *ſubject* all Princes to himſelf as ſupreme Lord both temporal and ſpiritual over them, as well as their Principalities, States, and Kingdoms.

All without Diſtinction ſubject to the higher Powers.

The Popes, before *Gregory*, looked upon the Emperors as ſupreme Lords in Temporals; as ſuperior to all Men in worldly Power; as holding their Power of God alone; as accountable to none but to God for their Actions; and thought themſelves, and all Eccleſiaſtics as well as Laymen, bound to obey their Ordinances. *You are veſted with a Dignity above all Men*, ſaid Pope *Agapetus* to the Emperor *Juſtinian*; *You have none upon Earth above you; impoſe therefore upon yourſelf the Neceſſity of obſerving the Laws, as no Power upon Earth can force you to it*[x]. *As your Power*, ſaid Pope *Gelaſius* to the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, *has been given you by God, even*

Princes owned by the Popes themſelves for their Lords.

[s] Paul. ad Rom. xiii. 1. [t] Ibid. ver. 5. [u] Tit. iii. 1. [w] Pet. 1 Ep. ii. 13, 14, 15. [x] Agap. in Parœn. ad Juſtin. Num. 1, 21, 27.

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the Ministers of Religion and the Prelates of the Church must obey you in worldly Affairs[y]. In like Manner does Pope *Symmachus* express himself in expounding the Words of King *David*, *Against thee alone have I sinned*[z]. *David*, says he, *was King, and knowing that, as such, he was liable to be punished for his Sin by none but by God he said, against thee alone* &c. *Others sin against God and the King, but the King has none above him to punish him for his Sin, and he therefore sins against God alone*[a]. Would *Symmachus* have writ thus if he had known himself to be vested with the Power of deposing Kings, that is, of inflicting the greatest Punishment that can be inflicted on a King? *Gregory the Great* thought himself bound to obey the Commands of the Emperor, even when to him they appeared unjust, and inconsistent with the Laws of the Church. Thus being commanded by the Emperor *Mauritius* to publish a Law, forbidding those who served in the Army to embrace a monastic Life, he first caused that Law to be published in different Parts of the World in Compliance with the Emperor's Order, and then remonstrated against it, thus complying, as he expresses himself, with the Duty he owed to his Lord the Emperor, and yet not neglecting that which he owed to God, as he apprehended the Law to be displeasing to him[b]. In a Letter, which he wrote to *Theodore*, the Emperor's Physician, he complains of *Mauritius* for not allowing his Soldiers to serve God, who had raised him to the Throne, and vested him with a Power over the Priesthood as well as the Soldiers[c]. From these Passages, and many more might be alledged to the same Purpose out of the Writings of other Popes, it is manifest, that the best among them knew of no temporal Power above that of Sovereign Princes, but thought themselves no less bound, than the meanest of their Subjects, to obey their Commands, even when they appeared to them repugnant to the Laws of the Church.

Obedience and Subjection even to wicked Princes recommended by the Fathers as a Duty.

The same unreserved Obedience to the *higher Powers*, to Kings and Princes, even to wicked, pagan, or heretical Kings and Princes, was recommended by the Fathers of the Church as an indispensable Duty incumbent upon all Christians without Distinction: and the Reason they alledged why the same Obedience ought to be yielded to bad as to good Princes, to the Persecutors as to the Defenders of the

[y] Gelas. ep. 8. [z] Psal. 51. iv. [a] Inno. iii. in Psal. 51. [b] Greg. l. ii. ep. 62. [c] Ibid. ep. 64.

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Chriſtian Religion, was, *becauſe all Power is of God, and therefore whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God:* adding the Charge given to Servants by St. *Peter*; *Servants, be ſubject to your Maſters with all Fear, not only to the good and gentle, but alſo to the froward* [d]; and from thence concluding, that as it is not lawful for Servants to withdraw their Obedience and Subjection to their froward Maſters, ſo neither is it lawful for Chriſtians to withdraw their Obedience and Subjection to the *Powers ordained of God*, even when they perſecute the Church inſtead of defending it [e]. They knew not, it ſeems, that the Pope was ſupreme Lord over all the Princes of the Earth, and that he could, by his Apoſtolic Authority, depoſe them, and beſtow their Dominions upon whom he pleaſed, elſe they would have applied to him, inſtead of declaring, as they did when perſecuted by the *Pagan* or *Arian* Princes, that they had no Reſource but in Sighs, Tears, and Patience [f].

The depoſing Power unknown to the World till the Time of Gregory VII.

That *Gregory* VII. was the firſt Pope that ever exerciſed, or pretended to exerciſe, the depoſing Power, or indeed any other temporal Power over Princes, evidently appears from all the contemporary Writers. For though ſome of them, adhering to the Pope, ſtrove to juſtify the Sentence he pronounced againſt the Emperor, all agree in this, that no ſuch Sentence had ever been pronounced by any Pope before, and that it ſtruck with its Novelty the whole Chriſtian World. *I read and read again the Geſts of the* Roman *Kings and Emperors*, ſays *Otho Friſingenſis*, *but do not find that any of them beſides the preſent* (meaning *Henry* IV.) *ever was diveſted by the* Roman *Pontiffs of his Kingdom* [g]: and *Sigebert*, *The Popes uſed no other but the Spiritual Sword, till the Time of* Gregory, *the laſt of that Name, who firſt employed and taught other Popes to employ the Sword of War* [h]. *Gregory* VII. was the laſt of that Name when *Sigebert* wrote this Epiſtle or Apology, that is, in 1103. *Waltram*, Biſhop of *Hamburg*, in his Apology for the Emperor, written in 1093, calls the Decree againſt that Prince a *new* and *wicked Attempt*, and in Two Books proves it to be repugnant to Scripture and Tradition, reproaching the Biſhops, who ſtood by *Gregory*, with acting contrary to the expreſs Command of God and the Practice of the Church in all Ages [i]. *Eberhard* Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, in a

[d] Pet. 1 Ep. 18.]

[e] See Dupin. de antiq. Eccleſ. Diſcipl. Diſſert. vii. p. 433, et ſeq.

[f] Nazian. orat. in Julian. Ambroſ. in orat. ad Auxient. &c.

[g] Otho Friſing. in Frag. Apol. pro Henr.

[h] Sigebert. in ep. pro Leodegar.

[i] Waltram.

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Speech, which he made in the Diet at *Ratisbon*, in the Time of *Frederic* II. calls *Hildebrand* the *Founder of the Empire of Anti-christ, and the First that, under Colour of Religion, began the wicked War, which has been*, says he, *not less wickedly carried on by his Successors.* The Power therefore claimed by *Gregory* was till his Time utterly unknown to the whole Christian World; nay and to the Popes themselves, else, as many of them quarrelled with, and some were persecuted and even deposed by Princes, they would, upon such Provocation, have exerted their Power, and deposed them in their Turn. But even the most daring among them contented themselves with Excommunications, Censures, and Interdicts: and hence the Opinion, vesting any temporal Power in the Pope over Sovereign Princes, or their States and Dominions, was branded by *Sigebert*, and very deservedly, with the Name of the *Hildebrandine Heresy* [k]. And truly no Heresy ever arose in the Church more pernicious to the Peace, Tranquility, and Welfare of Mankind, none that ever occasioned more Conspiracies, Insurrections, Rebellions, Massacres, Assassinations; which must all be placed to the Account of *Gregory*, the first Author of that seditious and impious Doctrine.

Instances alledged by Gregory *to support his Claim foreign to the Purpose.*

Nothing can more plainly shew, that the Opinion, ascribing to the Pope the deposing or any other Power over Princes in temporal Affairs, is destitute of all Foundation, than the Instances and Reasons, upon which it was founded by *Gregory* himself, the First that claimed it. The first Instance he produces is that of King *Childeric*, whom he supposes to have been deposed by Pope *Zachary*. But nothing is more certain in History than that *Childeric* was deposed by the Lords of the Kingdom for his Incapacity, and not by the Pope on Account of any Crime cognizable by his See, as I have hinted above, and proved from the contemporary Writers in the Life of that Pope. The other Instance alledged by *Gregory* is that of St. *Ambrose* excommunicating, as he says, the Emperor *Theodosius*. But first, that Bishop pronounced no Sentence of Excommunication against the Emperor: he only ordered the Doors to be shut when he offered to enter the Church, nor would he allow him to enter it till he had performed due Penance for the unjust and cruel Slaughter of the People of *Thessalonica*. In the Second place *Ambrose* did not attempt to divest him of his Power, or absolve his Subjects from their Oaths

[k] Sigebert. ad ann. 1088.

of

of Allegiance; ſo that this Inſtance is quite foreign to the Purpoſe. Laſtly, had he done ſo, it would follow from thence, that the depoſing Power was veſted in other Biſhops, at leaſt in the Biſhop of *Milan* as well as in the Biſhop of *Rome*, which the Advocates for the papal Supremacy will not allow. The Third Inſtance is that of a Privilege, ſuppoſed to have been granted by *Gregory the Great*, with this Clauſe, *If any King, Prieſt, Judge, or any ſecular Perſon whatever, ſhall knowingly tranſgreſs this our Conſtitution, let him be deprived of his Power, Honour, and Dignity.* But that Privilege is now generally looked upon as a mere Forgery, foiſted into that Pope's Letters after his Time. For in one of his Letters it is ſaid to have been granted to an Hoſpital [m], in another to St. *Mary*'s at *Autun* [n], and in a Third to St. *Martin*'s in the Suburbs of that City [o]. Beſides, the Stile is thought by the beſt Judges to be very different from that of all *Gregory*'s other Writings; and even they, who allow that Piece to be genuine, underſtand the Words of the Clauſe as only imprecating, *may he be deprived of his Power*, &c; for thoſe Words extend to Prieſts as well as to Kings, and conſequently to the Popes themſelves; and we cannot ſuppoſe that *Gregory* declared them too deprived of their Dignity in caſe they tranſgreſſed that Privilege.

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To theſe Inſtances, the Pope adds the following Reaſons. 1. The Apoſtolic See has received of our Saviour the Power of judging ſpiritual Matters, and conſequently that of judging temporal Concerns, which is a Power of an inferior Degree. 2. When our Saviour ſaid to St. *Peter, Feed my Sheep*, when he granted him the Power of *looſing* and *binding*, he did not except Kings. 3. The Epiſcopal Dignity is of divine Inſtitution; the Royal is the Invention of Men, and owes its Origin to Pride and Ambition. As Biſhops therefore are above Kings as well as above all other Men, they may judge them as well as all other Men. Thus reaſons *Gregory*, and very abſurdly, ſince allowing all he ſays to be true, we could not conclude from thence any Power to have been granted to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, that was not granted to the other Apoſtles, and in them to all their Succeſſors. For he ſpeaks of the Epiſcopal Dignity in general; and from its being ſuperior to that of Kings, argues a Power in Biſhops, and conſequently in all Biſhops, of judging Kings. The Apoſtles had no Power either ſpiritual or temporal but what was

His Reaſons unconcluding.

[m] Greg. epiſt. lib. ii. ep. 10. [n] Idem epiſt. 11. [o] Idem epiſt. 12.

communicated

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communicated to them by our Saviour; and from Scripture it appears that he communicated to them the one and not the other, the ſpiritual and not the temporal, which he himſelf always diſclaimed. I have ſhewn above, that the Power of *looſing* and *binding* was no other than that of *remitting* or *retaining* Sins, and that ſuch a Power was granted in as full a Manner to all the Apoſtles as it was to St. *Peter*. By the Power of *feeding the Sheep* of Chriſt was underſtood, by all the Expounders of the Scripture, till *Gregory*'s Time, the Power of inſtructing and teaching; and that Power was by our Saviour imparted to all his Apoſtles, in the following Words; *All Power is given to me in Heaven and on Earth; go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to obſerve all Things, whatſoever I command you*[p]; and, *Go into all the World, and preach the Goſpel to every Creature*[q]. *The Apoſtles*, ſays *Chryſoſtom* explaining theſe Paſſages, *were all in common entruſted with the whole World, and had the Care of all Nations*[r]. It is true, as *Gregory* obſerves, that when Chriſt ſaid to St. *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, he did not except Kings, the Apoſtle being commiſſioned by thoſe Words to *feed*, that is, to *teach every Creature*, and conſequently Kings as well as their Subjects. To *feed* and *command*, to be *Shepherd* and *Sovereign*, were ſynonimous Terms, as *Gregory* underſtood them. But St. *Peter* himſelf underſtood them in a very different Senſe. For in his Second Epiſtle General he requires the Overſeers to *feed the Flock of God*, but forbids them to aſſume any Power over them, *neither as being Lords*, ſays he, *over God's Heritage*. In ſhort, the Words *feed my Sheep* were underſtood, till *Gregory*'s Days, by the whole Church, as only relating to ſpiritual Matters; and *Bellarmine* himſelf has not been able to produce one ſingle Writer, that underſtood them, before that Pope's Time, in any other Senſe. What the Pope adds, *viz.* that the Royal Power owes its Origin to Pride and Ambition, is falſe and repugnant to the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, teaching, that *there is no Power but of God*, and that *the Powers that be, are ordained of God*[s].

The Doctrine taught and practiſed by Gregory *heretical.*

Such are the Foundations, upon which *Gregory* built the moſt extenſive Monarchy that ever was known upon Earth, *viz.* falſe Facts, falſe Reaſonings, and falſe Interpretations of Scripture; and he might as well have found the Pope, as did *Innocent* III. veſted with ſuch an

[p] Mat. xxviii. 19. [q] Mark. xvi. 15. Luke xxiv. 47. [r] Chryſ. Oper. l. viii. p. 115. [s] Romans xiii. 1, 2.

extraordinary Power in the First Chapter of *Geneſis*, where it is ſaid that God made Two great Lights, as in any of the Paſſages he has produced. And now to conclude; as the Opinion, aſcribing to the Pope the depoſing, or any other temporal Power whatever over Princes, far from having any Foundation in Scripture, in Reaſon, in Hiſtory, is evidently repugnant to the Example ſet by Chriſt to his Church, to the Doctrine taught and often recommended to all Chriſtians without Exception, by his Apoſtles, by the Fathers, by the Popes themſelves, and to the Practice of the Church in all Ages till the Time of this *Gregory*; and has beſides occaſioned more Rebellions againſt the *Powers ordained of God*, more Slaughter and Bloodſhed than any Hereſy we read of in Hiſtory; may it not, ought it not to be looked upon as the very worſt Hereſy, that ever aroſe from the Times of the Apoſtles to this Day? Should a Man teach Adultery, Inceſt, Murder, *&c.* to be lawful, he would be deemed a Heretic by Chriſtians of all Denominations, theſe Crimes being expreſly forbidden and declared unlawful in Scripture. And is not he, who teaches Perjury, Rebellion, Aſſaſſinations, *&c.* to be lawful, though no leſs expreſly forbidden in Scripture than the Crimes I have mentioned, nay who commands them as Duties, when conducive to the Support of his uſurped Power, to be branded with the Name of Heretic? The Doctrine taught by *Gregory* was greedily embraced and frequently practiſed by his Succeſſors, depoſing Kings, abſolving their Subjects from their Allegiance, encouraging Rebellions, *&c.* as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel; and this Doctrine they ſtill hold, as is manifeſt from their allowing its Author a Place in the Calendar, and their worſhipping him as a Saint. If his Doctrine be an Error, it is one of a very high Nature, of moſt dangerous Conſequence, implies great Arrogance, Injuſtice, Pride, and Ambition, tends to involve every Chriſtian Kingdom upon Earth in civil Wars, Rebellions, Conſpiracies, *&c.* And how can they, who ſee it in that Light, as many *Roman* Catholics do, and muſt conſequently look upon the Pope as a Tyrant and an Uſurper, nevertheleſs communicate with him?

Year of Chriſt 1085.

Gregory, not ſatisfied with the Power of pulling down and ſetting up Princes, Kings, and Emperors at Pleaſure, as King of Kings, Monarch of the World, and ſole Lord both ſpiritual and temporal over the whole Earth, claimed the Sovereignty of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, as having once belonged to St. *Peter*, whoſe Right was unalienable. Thus, being informed in the very Beginning of his Pontificate

Gregory *lays Claim to moſt Kingdoms in* Europe.

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To Spain.

tificate that Count *Evulus*, a Man of great Wealth and Power, had formed a Design of recovering the Countries, which the *Moors* had seized in *Spain*, and was levying Forces with that View, he sent Cardinal *Hugh*, surnamed the *White*, to let him know, that *Spain* belonged to St. *Peter* before it was conquered by the *Moors*; that though the Infidels had subdued that Country, and held it for a long Course of Years, the Rights of St. *Peter* still subsisted, there being no Prescription against that Apostle or his Church, and that he, as supreme Lord of the whole Kingdom, not only approved of the Count's Design, but granted him all the Places he should recover from the Barbarians, upon Condition that he held them of St. *Peter* and his See. In the Letter, which he wrote at this Time, addressed to all who were disposed to join in driving the *Saracens* out of *Spain*, he forbids any to enter that Country who is not resolved to hold of St. *Peter* what Acquisitions he may make, as he had rather it should remain in the Hands of the Infidels, than that the Holy *Roman* and Universal Church should be robbed of her undoubted Right by her own Children [t]; that is, he had rather the Christians in *Spain* should continue under the oppressive Yoke of those Infidels, than be rescued from it by a Prince, who did not pay Homage, as a Vassal, to the Apostolic See. This Letter, dated the Last of *April*, 1073, and consequently written a few Days after his Election, shews what Sentiments *Gregory* brought with him to the Pontifical Chair. Four Years after he wrote again to the Kings and Princes of *Spain*, renewing his Claim to their respective Kingdoms and Principalities, as having belonged to his See when the *Saracens* seized them, and requiring those, who held them, to pay the Tribute they owed to St. *Peter* as their Sovereign Lord [u].

To France.

As to *France*, *Gregory* pretended that formerly each House in that Kingdom paid, at least a Penny a Year to St. *Peter*, as their Father and Pastor, and that this Sum was, by Order of *Charlemagne*, collected yearly at *Puy* in *Velai*, at *Aix la Chapelle*, and at St. *Giles*. For this Custom the Pope quotes a Statute of that Emperor, lodged, as he says, in the Archives of St. *Peter*'s Church. But as that Statute is to be found no-where else, it is universally looked upon as a Forgery, and by some even thought to have been forged by *Gregory* himself. However he ordered his Legates in *France* to exact that

[t] Greg. l. i. ep. 7. [u] Idem, l. iv. ep. 28.

Sum,

Sum, and insist upon its being paid by all as a Token of their Subjection to St. *Peter* and his See[w]. Year of Christ 1085.

Solomon, King of *Hungary*, being driven from the Throne by *Geisa* his Cousin, had recourse to the Emperor, whose Sister he had married, and was by him restored to his Kingdom, upon Condition that he should hold it of him as his Feudatory. This *Gregory* no sooner understood than he wrote to *Solomon*, claiming the Kingdom of *Hungary* as belonging to St. *Peter*, to whom he pretended it had been given by *Stephen* the first Christian King of the Country. *The Elders of your Country*, said he in his Letter to the King, *will inform you, that the Kingdom of* Hungary *is the Property of the Holy* Roman *Church*, *sanctæ* Romanæ *Ecclesiæ Proprium est*; *that King* Stephen, *upon his Conversion, offered it to St.* Peter, *and that the Emperor* Henry *of holy Memory* (meaning *Henry* III.) *having conquered the Country, sent the Lance and the Crown, the Ensigns of Royalty, to the Body of St.* Peter. *If it therefore be true that you have agreed to hold your Kingdom of the King of the* Germans, *and not of St.* Peter, *you will soon feel the Effects of the Apostle's just Indignation*; *for we, who are his Servants and Ministers, cannot tamely suffer the Honour, that is due to him, to be taken from him and given to others*[x]. *Solomon* was again driven out by *Geisa*, which *Gregory* construed into a Judgment for the Injustice he had done to St. *Peter*, telling the Usurper, that the Prince of the Apostles had given the Kingdom to him, as *Solomon* had forfeited all Right to it by rebelling against the Holy *Roman* Church, and paying that Homage to the King of *Germany*, which was due to none but her and her Founder[y]. *Geisa*, thus countenanced by the Pope in his Usurpation, held the Kingdom of *Hungary* to the Hour of his Death, which happened in 1077. He was succeeded by *Ladislaus*, who, to avoid the Disturbances which he was sensible the Pope would raise and foment amongst his Subjects, if he held not his Kingdom of him, immediately acknowledged himself for his Vassal, declaring that he owed his Power to God, and under him to none but St. *Peter*, whose Commands he should ever readily obey, when signified to him by his Successors in the Apostolic See. *To* Hungary.

The Two Islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia* he claimed as the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, pretending that they had been formerly given, *To the Islands of* Corsica *and* Sardinia.

[w] Greg. l. viii. ep. 25. [x] Idem, lib. ii. ep. 13. [y] Idem, ep. 2.

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Nobody knows when nor by whom, to the Apoſtolic See. Hence he no ſooner heard that the Chriſtians had gained conſiderable Advantages in *Corſica* over the *Saracens*, and recovered great Part of that Iſland, than he ſent a Legate to govern the Countries, which they had recovered, as the Demeſnes of his See, to encourage them in ſo laudable an Undertaking, and aſſure them that he would aſſiſt them, to the utmoſt of his Power, with Men as well as with Money, till they had reduced the whole Iſland, provided they engaged to reſtore it to its lawful Owner St. *Peter* [z]. As to *Sardinia*, he wrote to *Orzoch* the chief Judge, that Iſland being then governed by Judges, to let him know that his Iſland had once belonged to St. *Peter*, as well as the neighbouring Iſland of *Corſica*; that the *Normans*, the *Tuſcans*, the *Lombards*, and even ſome Ultramontane Princes, had applied to him for Leave to invade it, offering to yield one Half of the Country to him, and to pay Homage for the other, but that he had not hearkened, nor would he hearken, to any Propoſals of that Nature till he knew how they were diſpoſed towards the Holy See, and what Reception his Legate, the Bearer of this Letter, ſhould meet with [a]. Here *Gregory* claims the Sovereignty of the Iſland, and threatens to let looſe the *Normans*, the *Tuſcans*, the *Lombards*, and with them the Ultramontane Nations againſt the Natives, if they did not own him for their Sovereign. *Baronius* tells us, that from many antient Monuments it appears that *Sardinia* was under the Dominion of the Apoſtolic See [b]. But not one Monument has he been able to produce prior to *Gregory*'s Time, nor can he name one Pope that claimed either of thoſe Iſlands before him.

To Dalmatia.

Gregory, claiming the Power of ſetting up as well as pulling down Kings, in order to ſubject *Dalmatia* to his See, conferred the Title of King upon *Demetrius* Duke of that Country, obliging him, on that Occaſion, to ſwear Allegiance to him and his Succeſſors in the See of St. *Peter*. That Oath the Pope's Legate required upon delivering to the Duke, in the Pope's Name, a Standard, a Sword, a Scepter, and a Royal Diadem. The new King at the ſame time promiſed to pay yearly on Eaſter-Day Two hundred Pieces of Silver to the holy Pope *Gregory*, and his Succeſſors lawfully elected, as ſupreme Lords of the Kingdom of *Dalmatia*, to aſſiſt them, when required, to the utmoſt of his Power, to receive, entertain, and obey their

[z] Greg. l. v. ep. 24. [a] Idem, l. viii. ep. 10. [b] Bar. ad ann. 1073.

Legates,

Legates, to reveal no Secrets that they ſhould truſt him with, but to behave on all Occaſions as became a true Son of the holy *Roman* Church, and a faithful Vaſſal of the Apoſtolic See [c]. Year of Chriſt 1085.

Demetrius was at this time King of *Ruſſia*, and his Son coming to *Rome* to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles, *Gregory* made him Partner with his Father in the Kingdom, requiring him, on that Occaſion, to take an Oath of Fealty to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors. This Step the Pope pretended to have taken at the Requeſt of the Son, who, he ſaid, had applied to him, being deſirous to receive the Kingdom from St. *Peter*, and to hold it as a Gift of that Apoſtle. The Pope added in his Letter to the King, that he had complied with the Requeſt of his Son, not doubting but it would be approved by him and all the Lords of his Kingdom, ſince the Prince of the Apoſtles would thenceforth look upon their Country and defend it as his own [d]. *To* Ruſſia.

From ſome of *Gregory*'s Letters it appears, that *Sueno* King of *Denmark* had promiſed to ſubject his Kingdom to the Apoſtolic See. But we do not find that this Promiſe ever was fulfilled, either by him or by his Son and Succeſſor. *Gregory*, in One of his Letters to *Sueno*, ſpeaks of a Province in *Italy* poſſeſſed by Heretics, which he offers to him, as if he had a Right to diſpoſe of the Property of Heretics, and invites him to conquer it [e]. Who theſe Heretics were, or where they dwelt, Hiſtory does not inform us. The *Polanders* had, from the Time of their Converſion, ſent yearly a Preſent in Money to St. *Peter*, *viz.* an Hundred Marks of Silver; and this Sum, originally a Charity, *Gregory* exacted under the Name of Tribute, due to him and his Succeſſors, as Sovereign Lords of the Country [f]. As for *Saxony*, he pretended the whole Country to have been given by *Charlemagne* to St. *Peter*, as ſoon as he conquered it [g]. But ſuch a Donation was never heard of till *Gregory*'s Time. I have ſpoken above of his Claim to the Kingdom of *England*, and the reſolute Anſwer *William the Conqueror* returned to his Legate. In *Italy* the *Normans*, Maſters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Averſa*, and almoſt all the other Princes, the Country being divided into many ſmall independent Principalities, were obliged to acknowledge themſelves Vaſſals of the Apoſtolic See, and ſwear Allegiance to the Pope, in order to prevent their Dominions

To Denmark.

To Poland.

To Saxony, *and* England.

[c] Baron. ad an. 1076. [d] Greg. l. ii. ep. 74. [e] Idem, l. ii. ep. 51.
[f] Idem, l. ii. ep. 7. [g] Idem, l. viii. ep. 25.

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from being invaded by their more powerful Neighbours, whom *Gregory* never failed, when Occaſion offered, to ſtir up againſt them, till he brought them into Subjection to him and his See.

Gregory *claims the ſame Power over all Biſhops as over all Princes*;

Gregory, pretending that all Power, ſpiritual as well as temporal, centered in him, claimed and exerciſed the ſame ſupreme, unlimited, uncontroulable Authority over Biſhops and the other Miniſters of the Church in ſpiritual Matters, as he did over Emperors and Kings in temporal Concerns. In his Letters innumerable Inſtances occur of Biſhops ſummoned to *Rome* from all Parts to give an Account of their Conduct, and there either condemned and depoſed, or abſolved and confirmed in their Sees. He ſent, in like manner, Legates *a Latere* into *France*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, with full Powers to aſſemble Councils, to ſummon the Biſhops to aſſiſt at them, to ſuſpend and even to depoſe ſuch of them as did not comply with that Summons. Thus

and exerciſes it in Faance:

Hugh, Biſhop of *Die*, having in 1078 appointed, as the Pope's Legate, a Council to meet at *Autun*, ſuſpended the Archbiſhops of *Reims*, *Beſançon*, *Sens*, *Bourges*, and *Tours*, and excommunicated the Biſhops of *Paris* and *Chartres*, for not obeying the Summons; and they were all obliged to travel to *Rome*, in order to be abſolved by the Pope; and by him they were accordingly abſolved, but upon Condition that, returning to *France*, they asked Pardon of the Legate [h]. The Legate held ſeveral other Councils in *France*, *viz.* at *Poitiers*, at *Avignon*, at *Meaux*, ſuſpending, excommunicating, and depoſing, ſuch of the Clergy as he found guilty of Concubinage or Simony, that is, ſuch as were married, or had received the Inveſtiture of Benefices from Laymen. *Manaſſes*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*, was the only Perſon in all *France* who had Courage enough to oppoſe the arbitrary Proceedings of the Pope's Legate. But he was depoſed in a Council held at *Lyons* in the Beginning of the Year 1080; and the Sentence pronounced by the Legate in that Aſſembly was confirmed by the Pope, who wrote immediately to the Clergy and People of *Reims*, to the Suffragans of that Metropolis, and to the King, requiring them no longer to acknowledge *Manaſſes* for Biſhop of *Reims*, but to drive him from that See, and chuſe, or cauſe another to be choſen, in his room [i]. In his Letter to the King, *Philip* the Firſt of that Name, he commands him on the Part of St. *Peter*, and begs him on his own, to ſhew no Marks of Favour to

[h] Greg. l. ix. ep. 15, 16. & l. v. ep. 17. [i] Idem, l. viii. ep. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Manaſſes,

Manaſſes, once Biſhop of *Reims*, but depoſed for his enormous Wickedneſs by the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See. However we find *Manaſſes* ſtill in Poſſeſſion of that See in 1109, that is, Twenty-four Years after the Death of *Gregory* [k]. Year of Chriſt 1085.

The Pope exerted, by his Legates, a no leſs deſpotic Power over the Biſhops of *Spain*, *Germany*, and all other Countries, except *England*, where his Legates were allowed to aſſemble no Councils, nor to exerciſe any Kind of Juriſdiction whatever. The King would not even ſuffer any of the *Engliſh*, nor indeed of his *Norman* Biſhops, to go to *Rome*, though ſummoned thither by the Pope, to receive their Palls, or to aſſiſt at his Councils, as appears from ſeveral of *Gregory*'s Letters. For in One he complains of *William*, the new Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, for not applying to him either for his Confirmation or for the Pall [l]; in another he reproaches the *Norman* Biſhops in general with Diſobedience to the Commands of his Legates, in refuſing to aſſiſt at their Synods, though invited by them, and ordered, in his Name, to attend; and adds, that he had not ſeen the Face of One *Norman* Biſhop ſince his Advancement to the Pontifical Throne [m]. In 1081 he wrote a threatening Letter to *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, wherein he tells him, that though he had been frequently invited to *Rome*, upon Matters that nearly concerned the Faith and Religion, he had out of Pride or Contempt declined complying with that Invitation; that he had not alledged, nor ſo much as pretended to alledge, any canonical Impediment; that he had been too long ſuffered thus to go on abuſing his Patience, but if he did not appear at *Rome* by the Feaſt of *All Saints* next enſuing, and thus atoned for his paſt Diſobedience, he ſhould be excluded from the Protection and Favour of St. *Peter*, and ſuſpended from all the Functions of the Epiſcopal Office [n]. But *Lanfranc* choſe rather to obey the King than the Pope, who indeed continued to complain of the Conduct of the Archbiſhop; but, unwilling to quarrel with the King, contented himſelf with Menaces only; nay, his Legate in *France*, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Die*, having ſuſpended ſeveral of the *Norman* Biſhops for not aſſiſting at his Councils, *Gregory* immediately ordered him to abſolve them, directing him, at the ſame time, to do nothing for the future that might exaſperate the King of *England*, without a particular Order *In* Spain, *in* Germany, *and all Countries but* England.

[k] Nichol. Sueſſior. l. i. c. 26. [l] Greg. Epiſt. l. vii. ep. 2. [m] Idem, l. ix. ep. 1. [n] Idem ibid. ep. 20.

from

Year of Christ 1085.

from him o. Thus did the *Norman* and *English* Bishops, by the wise and resolute Conduct of their King, enjoy their antient Privileges and former Liberty, while all the Bishops around them were forced, through the Bigotry, Neglect, or Incapacity of their Princes, to submit to *Gregory*'s unjust Usurpations.

Gregory *canonized.*

Gregory has been stiled by some, and very justly, the Founder of the papal Grandeur. For by him it was first happily discovered, that God's Command, enjoining *every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers*, did not extend to the Successors of St. *Peter*, but, on the contrary, that our Saviour, by these Words, *Feed my Sheep*, made that Apostle, and those who were to succeed him in the See of *Rome*, supreme Lords and Monarchs of the whole Earth in Temporals as well as in Spirituals, vesting them as such with an unlimited Power of pulling down Princes, Kings, and Emperors, if they disobeyed their Commands, and setting others up, at Pleasure, in their room. Such extravagant Notions, utterly unknown to all *Gregory*'s Predecessors, as well as to the rest of Mankind, would, one would imagine, have been universally looked upon, even by his Successors, as the Ravings of a Man quite mad with Ambition, like those of the Madman at *Athens*, who had persuaded himself that all the Power and Wealth in the World were his own. But instead of that, the succeeding Popes have not only adopted those very Notions, but honoured *Gregory*, by whom they were first broached, with a Place in the Calendar, and yearly celebrate his Festival on the 25th of *May*, the Day of his Death, under the Title of St. *Gregory* VII. *Pope and Confessor*. Pope *Anastasius*, the Fourth of that Name, raised to the See in 1322, ordered him to be painted in a Church at *Rome* among the other Saints, which Pope *Gregory* XIII. looked upon as a Kind of Canonization, and therefore caused his Name to be inserted in the *Roman* Martyrology in 1584. However he was no-where publicly worshipped as a Saint till the Year 1609, when *Paul* V. by a special Bull, permitted *John de Guevara*, Archbishop of *Salerno*, and his Chapter, to solemnize his Festival. Leave was afterwards granted by *Alexander* VII. and *Clement* XI. to several Communities to honour him as a Saint. But *Benedict* XIII. ordered him to be acknowledged for a Saint by the whole Church, and by his Appointment a Prayer and a Legend were

o Greg. Epist. l. ix. ep. 5.

composed,

compoſed, to be every-where uſed on his Anniverſary. But as he is commended in the Legend for his invincible Conſtancy and Firmneſs in *oppoſing the wicked Attempts* of the Emperor *Henry* (that is, for maintaining his undoubted Right of granting Inveſtitures), for his Reſolution and Intrepidity in cutting him off from the Communion of the Church, depriving him of his Kingdom, and abſolving his Subjects from their Allegiance, that Piece has been forbidden in moſt Catholic Kingdoms as a ſeditious Libel, calculated to encourage Perjury, Sedition, and Rebellion [P]. To worſhip as a Saint the Pope, who had claimed, and had been ſainted for exerting, the depoſing Power, would be acknowledging that Power in his See (C). Year of Chriſt 1085.

As to the Writings of *Gregory*, 359 of his Letters have reached our Times, and are divided into Nine Books, containing thoſe he wrote from the Time of his Election in *April* 1073 to 1082. Mention is made by ſome of a Tenth Book, which is no more to be met with; and the Eleventh, as they call it, has but One Letter and the Fragment of another. The Commentary upon the Seven penitential Pſalms, commonly aſcribed to *Gregory the Great*, is thought by ſome to be the Work of *Gregory* VII. ſeveral Paſſages in that Piece being levelled againſt an Emperor, ſaid there to have revived Simony in the Church, to be the Author of a dangerous Schiſm, to have wickedly attempted to enſlave the Church, and ſubject even the Apoſtolic See to his Empire. All this they underſtand of the Emperor *Henry* IV. and probably the Author of the Commentary meant him. But as that Work is written in a very different Stile from that of *Gregory* VII. we can from thence only conclude it to have been compoſed, as in all Likelihood it was, in that Pope's Time. We know of no Emperor in the Days of *Gregory the Great*, that attempted to enſlave the Church, *&c.* nor indeed had the Church yet begun to claim any *His Writings.*

[P] See a Piece intitled, Avocat du Diable.

(C) In the Church of St. *Severino* at *Naples*, *Gregory* is to be ſeen painted among the other Popes of the *Benedictine* Order, holding a Croſier or paſtoral Staff in his Left, and a huge Scourge in his Right Hand, liſted up in a laſhing Poſture, with Imperial and Royal Scepters and Diadems under his Feet; to ſhew that he was the Scourge of Princes, and, in a manner, trampled upon Emperors and Kings: And leſt his thus treating the *higher Powers* ſhould be thought inconſiſtent with true Sanctity, over his Head are written in large Capitals theſe Words, *Sanctus Gregorius* VII. But it is not at all likely that Princes ever will be brought to allow him that Title, or ſuffer ſuch a Saint to be worſhipped in their Dominions.

Year of Christ 1085.

Exemption from the ſecular or civil Power; a plain Proof that the Piece in queſtion muſt be the Performance of a Writer that lived in much later Times. A Commentary in Manuſcript, written by *Gregory* VII. upon the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, is ſaid to be lodged in the Library of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*.

Gregory was buried at *Salerno*, where he died, and there his Reliques are worſhipped to this Day in the Cathedral dedicated to St. *Matthew*, whoſe Body is ſuppoſed to have been diſcovered in that City in 1080. *Marſilius Columna*, preferred to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Salerno* in 1574, aſſures us, that he ſaw with his own Eyes, and touched with his own Hands, *propriis oculis inſpeximus, propriiſque manibus contrectavimus*, the Remains of the holy Pontiff *Gregory*, quite entire, with all his Pontifical Ornaments yet freſh, though near Five hundred Years had elapſed ſince he was buried [o]; which might be true, were *Gregory* in a very different Place from that, in which he is ſuppoſed to be by thoſe who worſhip him.

Alexius Comnenus, *Emperor of the* East. **VICTOR III.** Henry IV. *Emperor of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and fifty-ſixth Bishop *of* Rome.

Victor } *choſen.* Year of Chriſt 1086.

GREGORY being, in his laſt Illneſs, conſulted about his Succeſſor by the Cardinals who attended him, recommended Three Perſons to their Choice, *viz. Deſiderius* Abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, and Presbyter Cardinal of the *Roman* Church, *Otho* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Hugh* his Legate in *France*, whom he had transferred from the See of *Die* to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Lions*, all Three Men of his own Principles, as well as Temper, and therefore judged by him the beſt qualified to complete the Work which he had begun, that of ſubjecting the temporal to the ſpiritual Power, and the one and the other to the Apoſtolic See. As by naming *Deſiderius*, in the firſt place he ſeemed to prefer him to the other Two, the Cardinals met at *Rome* ſoon after his Death, with a Deſign to raiſe him, in Compliance with the Recommendation of the deceaſed Pope, to the Pontifical Throne. But *Deſiderius* finding that the Cardinals and the reſt of the Clergy

[o] Marſil. Colum. de Vit. Geſt. & Tranſlat. Math. Apoſt.

as

as well as the leading Men in *Rome*, were resolved to chuse him, and even force him to acquiesce in their Choice, he privately left *Rome*, and returned to his Monastery. The Cardinals, determined to chuse him and no other, earnestly entreated him to return, but could not prevail upon him to quit his Monastery till the Month of *May* of the following year 1086, when the Cardinals being all summoned to *Rome*, in order to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, he was in the end persuaded by the Prince of *Salerno*, and by *Roger* Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who had lately succeeded his Father *Robert Guiscard* in that Dukedom, to comply with that Summons. Upon his Arrival the Cardinals, the Clergy, and the People met in great Numbers, and proclaimed *Desiderius* Pope, as having been chosen by *Gregory* his Predecessor of blessed Memory, they carried him by Force to the Church of *St. Lucia*, to acknowledge him there with the usual Ceremonies. But, still opposing his Election, he would not suffer them to clothe him with the Pontifical Robes; and the Fourth Day after he was chosen he left *Rome*, quitted at *Terracina* the red Cope, one of the Ensigns of the Pontifical Dignity, which they had forced upon him, and again withdrew to *Monte Cassino*. He was thus elected, and owned for lawful Pope under the Name of *Victor* III. on *Whitsunday*, which in 1086 fell on the 24th of *May*. He continued at *Monte Cassino*, protesting against his Election as null, since he had not consented to it. But a Council, consisting of the Bishops of *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, meeting the following Year, 1087, at *Capua*, to redress some Abuses that prevailed in those Parts, *Desiderius* repaired to it, and meeting there Duke *Roger*, with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerno*, he was, at last, in a manner, forced to yield to their Entreaties, joined to the Tears of all the Bishops of that Assembly, representing to him, in the most pathetic Terms, the distressed Condition of the Church, and the Dangers to which he exposed it, by his obstinate and ill-timed Resistance. He resumed the Cope, and appearing in the Council with the other Ensigns of his Dignity, he allowed them to acknowledge him for lawful Pope. This happened on *Palm Sunday*, the 21st of *March*. From *Capua* the Pope returned to *Monte Cassino*, and having kept his *Easter* there, set out from thence for *Rome*, attended by the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerno*. Upon his Arrival in that City he found the Church of *St. Peter* possessed by his Rival *Guibert*. But he being soon driven from thence by the Forces, which the two Princes had brought with

Year of Christ 1086.

Declines the Pontificate;

but is prevailed upon to accept it.

Year of Christ 1087.

Year of Christ 1087.

them, *Victor* was consecrated in that Basilic, on the Ninth of *May* 1087, Two Years, wanting a few Days, after the Death of *Gregory*. Thus far *Leo Ostiensis*, an Eye-witness of what he writes [a]. *Victor*, having spent Eight Days at *Rome*, left that City, and returned to *Monte Cassino*.

Hugh *Archbishop of* Lions *declares against him.*

Hugh, Archbishop of *Lions*, had approved of the Election of *Victor*, as well as the other Cardinals of that Party. But having, upon his long Resistance, conceived Hopes that he never would accept the offered Dignity, and consequently that he himself would, in all Likelihood, be chosen, as he had been recommended by *Gregory*, he was so provoked at his Disappointment, when *Victor* consented to his Promotion, that he declared against him, pretending that he had discovered many Things relating to his Conduct, which he was ignorant of when he approved his Election. In a Letter, which he wrote to the Countess *Mathilda*, he charged *Victor* in particular with favouring the Emperor, with disapproving the Decrees and censuring the Conduct of *Gregory*, and even with encouraging the Emperor under-hand to march to *Rome*, and lay waste the Lands of the holy *Roman* Church [b].

Victor *supported by the Countess* Mathilda.

But the Countess, whom *Hugh* flattered himself he should thus gain over to his Party, coming to *Rome* at the Head of her Army, declared for *Victor*, drove his Rival *Guibert* from all the Places he held beyond the *Tyber*; and, having recovered the Church of *St. Peter*, which he had retaken upon the Pope's Return to *Monte Cassino*, she invited his Holiness back to *Rome*; assuring him, that she was resolved to support him to the utmost of her Power against all his Enemies; and at the same time expressing great Desire to see him. *Victor* complied with the Invitation, and was, on his Arrival, received by the Countess and her Army with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem. At her Request he celebrated Mass in St. *Peter's*, at which she assisted, with all the chief Officers of her Army, who, on this Occasion, received the Papal Benediction. The Countess, having had several Conferences with the Pope, left *Rome*, in order to stop the Progress of the Emperor's Arms in *Lombardy*. She was no sooner gone than the Partisans of *Guibert* made themselves Masters of the Church of St. *Peter*, and most of the Places which she had taken from them, which obliged *Victor* to quit *Rome* anew, and return to *Monte Cassino* [c].

[a] Leo Ostien. l. iii. c. 65—67. [b] Chron. Virdun. tom. Concil. x. [c] Chron. Cassin.

Year of Christ 1087.

He sends a Fleet against the Saracens *of* Africa.

As the *Saracens* from *Africa* made frequent Deſcents upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, committing every-where dreadful Ravages, and carrying Multitudes of People into Captivity, *Victor*, touched with Compaſſion, applied to the *Italian* Princes; and having prevailed upon them to enter into a League againſt the common Enemy, a numerous Army was raiſed, and ſent by the Pope to *Africa* with the Standard of St. *Peter*, and Remiſſion of all the Sins they had committed till the Day of their Embarkation. Upon their Landing in *Africa* they committed as dreadful Ravages there as the *Saracens* had done in *Italy*, put an Hundred thouſand of them to the Sword, laid their chief City in Aſhes, and returned home loaded with an immenſe Booty. We are told that it was known at *Rome* they had gained a complete Victory over the *Saracens*, the very Day on which the Battle was fought; which plainly ſhews, ſays the Hiſtorian, that the Expedition was pleaſing to God [d]; that is, that God was pleaſed with the Maſſacre of ſo many Thouſands. Of this Expedition Mention is made by *Bertholdus*, and the glorious Succeſs that attended it is by him chiefly aſcribed to the People of *Genoa* and *Piſa*, both States being at this Time in a very flouriſhing Condition, and powerful at Sea. That Writer adds, that they obliged the Pagan King to take Shelter in a Strong-hold, which they attacked with ſuch Fury, that the King, fearing he ſhould fall into their Hands, agreed to acknowledge himſelf a Vaſſal and tributary to the Pope [e].

Council of Benevento.

Victor, ſoon after his Return to *Monte Caſſino*, appointed a Council to meet at *Benevento*; but it conſiſted only of the Biſhops of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the neighbouring Countries. However the Pope aſſiſted, and preſided at it in Perſon. In that Council the Pope, after a moſt furious Invective againſt *Guibert*, as the Fore-runner of Antichriſt, as a ravenous Wolf let looſe againſt the Flock of Chriſt, curſed, excommunicated, and anathematized him anew. In the next place the Pope, having acquainted the Biſhops of the Aſſembly with the Behaviour of *Hugh*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, who, he ſaid, had not acknowledged him, for no other Reaſon but becauſe he had accepted the Pontifical Dignity, which the other panted after, he forbad them to communicate with him, or with *Richard*, Abbot of *Marſeilles* and Cardinal, who had joined him for the ſame Reaſon, and jointly with him endeavoured to divide the Church with a new Schiſm. Laſtly, *Victor*, to ſhew himſelf a worthy Succeſſor of *Gre-*

[d] Leo Oſt. l. iii. c. 67.

[e] Berthold. in Chron. ad ann. 1088.

Year of Christ 1087.

Decree against Lay Inveſtitures.

gory, renewed in this Council the Decrees that Pope had made againſt Lay Inveſtitures, and the following Decree was iſſued. "If "any one ſhall henceforth receive a Biſhopric or Abbey from the "Hand of a Layman, let him not be looked upon as a Biſhop or "an Abbot, nor reverenced as ſuch. We deprive him of the Pro-"tection of St. *Peter*, and forbid him to enter the Church, till he "has reſigned the Place which he has accepted, and could not accept "without being guilty of Ambition and Diſobedience, which is Idola-"try. And this Decree extends to all inferior Dignities and Prefer-"ments in the Church. If any Emperor, King, Duke, Prince, or "Count, or any other Secular Perſon whatever, ſhall preſume to "diſpoſe of any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, we include him in the ſame "Sentence; and they too are included, who communicate with "ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, and Clerks. Let no Man receive the "Communion from any but a Catholic. If no Catholic Prieſt is "to be found, it is better to be deprived of the viſible Commu-"nion, and communicate inviſibly with God, than be ſeparated "from him by receiving it from a Heretic[f]." The Pope here ſuppoſes the receiving of any Eccleſiaſtical Preferment from a Layman to be Simony and Hereſy.

Death of Victor.

While the Council was ſitting the Pope was taken dangerouſly ill; and he thereupon returned in great Haſte to *Monte Caſſino*, attended by ſeveral Cardinals and all the Biſhops of the Council. As his Illneſs increaſed, he ordered the Monks to aſſemble in the Chapter-houſe, and having cauſed himſelf to be carried thither, he appointed *Oderiſius*, Monk of that Monaſtery, and Deacon of the *Roman* Church, Abbot in his room, forbad him and the Abbots, who ſhould ſucceed him, to alienate any Lands, Houſes, or Tenements, belonging to the Monaſtery, on pain of Excommunication, and commanded all the Monaſteries under the Juriſdiction of *Monte Caſſino* to entertain, once a Year, at Dinner all the Monks of that Monaſtery. The next Day he called together the Biſhops and Cardinals, and after a pathetic Speech upon the diſtracted State of the Church, he warmly recommended to them *Otto*, or *Otho*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, for his Succeſſor, as one, whom *Gregory* himſelf had nominated to ſucceed him. The Pope then taking *Otto*, as he was preſent, by the Hand, and preſenting him to the other Cardinals and Biſhops, ſaid, *Receive him in my Room, and place him in the* Ro-

[f] Leo Oſt. l. iii. c. 71.

man See. He then ordered his Grave to be dug in the Chapter-House, and died, Three Days after, on the Sixteenth of *September* 1087, having held the See from the Time of his Election, One Year, and from his Conſecration Five Months and Seven Days[g]. Year of Chriſt 1087.

Hugh of *Flavigni*, who was no Friend to this Pope, writes that he was ſtruck by the Hand of God while he was celebrating Maſs in St. *Peter's*, and that to atone for his Ambition in uſurping the Apoſtolic See, he reſigned his Dignity before he died, and ordered the Monks of *Monte Caſſino*, to bury him as Abbot and not as Pope [h]. But this Story is of a Piece with that of *Trithemius*, aſcribing *Victor's* Death to Poiſon, which he ſays the Emperor cauſed to be mixed with the Wine of the Sacrament [i]. He died, according to *Sigebert* [k], of a Flux, and as we learn from his Epitaph in One of the Chapels of *Monte Caſſino*, in the Sixtieth Year of his Age. He was deſcended from the illuſtrious Family of the Dukes of *Benevento*, embraced a monaſtic Life in the Monaſtery of *Cava* in 1050, ſucceeded Pope *Stephen* IX. as Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino* in 1058, and was created a Cardinal by Pope *Nicholas* II. in 1059. He is honoured by the *Benedictines* as a Saint, and his Reliques are worſhipped to this Day in the magnificent Chapel of St. *Bartharius* at *Monte Caſſino*. *Victor* had adopted all the Maxims of *Gregory*, and would have proved, had he lived longer, a no leſs dangerous Enemy to the Emperor.

Victor wrote, while he was Abbot, Four Books of Dialogues upon the Miracles of St. *Benedict* and the other Monks of *Monte Caſſino* [l]. The Three firſt Books have reached our Times [m], but the Fourth is ſuppoſed to be loſt; and, as far as we can judge from the Three that are ſtill extant, we have no Reaſon to grieve for the Loſs of the Fourth. He wrote very many Letters, ſays *Petrus Diaconus*, after his Promotion, to *Philip*, King of *France*, and to *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny* [n]. But thoſe Letters have all undergone the ſame Fate as his Fourth Book of Dialogues.

[g] Leo Oſt. l. iii. c. 71. [h] Hugo Flavin. in Chron. Virdun. [i] Trithem. de Viris illuſt. l. iv. c. 13. [k] Sigebert in Chron. ad ann. 1086. [l] Petrus Diac. c. 18. [m] Bibliothec. Patrum, tom. 18. [n] Idem ibid.

URBAN

ALEXIUS COMNENUS, *Emperor of the* East. **URBAN II.** HENRY IV. *Emperor of the* West.

The Hundred and fifty-seventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

Election of Urban. Year of Christ 1088.

VICTOR's Death was no sooner known than the *Romans*, who had sided with him against *Guibert*, and the Countess *Mathilda*, apprehending the dangerous Consequences of a long Vacancy, dispatched Messengers to all the Bishops of their Party, pressing them to meet, as soon as they possibly could, in what Place they should judge the most proper, it not being safe for them to come to *Rome*, and to proceed, without Delay, to the Election of a new Pope. Hereupon it was agreed by the Cardinals who had attended the deceased Pope at *Monte Cassino*, and by *Oderisius*, Abbot of that Monastery, that they should assemble at *Terracina* in *Campania* the first Week in Lent of the following Year 1088. This Resolution they notified to all the Bishops and Abbots of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, and likewise to the Clergy and People of *Rome*, desiring the Bishops, who could not attend in Person, to send Deputies with a Power in Writing to agree, in their Name, to the Resolutions, that should be taken by the Assembly for the Good of the Church. They met at the Time and Place appointed, *John*, Bishop of *Porto*, representing the Clergy, and *Benedict*, Prefect of *Rome*, the Laity of that City. The Bishops and Abbots were in all Forty, and it was agreed, at their first Meeting, that they should spend Three Days in Prayer and Fasting, beseeching the Almighty to direct them in their Choice. They met again on *Sunday* the Twelfth of *March*, when *Otto* was unanimously chosen, and placed on the Bishop's Throne, amidst the loud Acclamations of all who were present. They named him *Urban* II. and after his Election he said solemn Mass in the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Cesarius*, where he was elected [a].

His Birth, Education, &c.

That *Otto*, or, as some call him, *Otho* and *Odo*, was born in the Province of *Reims*, is agreed on all Hands, but whether at *Chatillon* on the *Marne*, or at *Lageri*, or in the City of *Reims*, is uncertain, some calling him a Native of One of these Places, and some

[a] Petrus Diacon. in Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 2.

of

of another. He is ſaid by all Writers, who ſpeak of him, to have been brought up in the Church of *Reims* under the famous *Bruno*, Founder of the Order of *Carthuſians*, and at that Time Chancellor of that Church. He was afterwards made a Canon of the Church of *Reims*; but tired of the World he ſoon embraced a monaſtic Life in the Monaſtery of *Cluny*, and was there appointed Prior by the famous Abbot St. *Odo*. In 1078 *Gregory* VII. who had been acquainted with him while he lived in that Monaſtery, called him to *Rome*, raiſed him ſoon after to the See of *Oſtia*, and ſent him, as a Man of his own Principles and Temper, into *Germany*, to foment and improve the Miſunderſtanding that then ſubſiſted between the Emperor and his *German* Subjects. Year of Chriſt 1088.

His circulatory Letters.

Urban wrote ſoon after his Election circulatory Letters, addreſſed to all the Faithful, to acquaint them with his Promotion, and at the ſame time to let them know, that he was reſolved ſtrictly to obſerve all the Regulations, and inviolably adhere to all the Decrees of his Predeceſſor *Gregory*. Theſe Letters have not reached us, the Regiſter of *Urban*'s Letters being loſt; but expreſs Mention is made of them by *Ordericus Vitalis*, who tells us, that *Urban* wrote Letters and ſent Legates into all the Parts of the World, that *Henry*, Prince of the *Germans*, was the only One that adhered to *Guibert*, that the *French*, the *Engliſh*, and all other Nations upon the Earth acknowledged *Urban* [b]. But that Writer was certainly miſinformed with Reſpect to the *Engliſh*, nothing being more certain, than that neither of the Pretenders to the Papacy was owned in *England* till ſeveral Years after, as I ſhall have Occaſion to relate in the Sequel.

He appoints the Archbiſhop of Toledo *Primate of all* Spain.

The Pope wrote in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year to *Alphonſus* Son of *Idelphonſus* V. King of *Leon* and *Caſtile*, on the following Occaſion. That Prince having in 1085 recovered, after a long Siege, the City of *Toledo* from the *Moors*, who had held it, ſays the Pope in his Letter, for the Space of 370 Years, he appointed all the Lords, Biſhops, and Abbots of his Kingdom to meet there, in order to chuſe a Biſhop capable of reſtoring the Chriſtian Religion to its antient Splendor in that Metropolis. By that Aſſembly was unanimouſly choſen *Bernard*, a Monk of the *Benedictine* Order, a Man held by all in great Eſteem for the Sanctity of his Life and his Learning. The King, pleaſed with the Election, endowed the Church,

[b] Orderic. l. viii.

ſays

Year of Christ 1088.

ſays the Hiſtorian, very richly, and in 1088 ſent the Archbiſhop to *Rome* for the Pall, entreating his Holineſs, in the Letter he wrote to him on that Occaſion, not only to grant him the Pall, but to appoint him Primate of all *Spain* and *Gothic Gaul*. The Pope received the Archbiſhop with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, gave him the Pall, when he was firſt introduced to him, and a few Days after iſſued a Bull, reſtoring to the See of *Toledo* all the Privileges that it had ever enjoyed, declaring *Bernard* Primate of all *Spain* and *Gothic Gaul*, and commanding all the Biſhops in thoſe Parts to conſult and obey him as ſuch[c]. This Bull is dated *Anagni* 1088, the firſt Year of Lord *Urban*'s Pontificate. This Bull the Archbiſhops of *Taracon* and *Narbonne* rejected as ſurreptitious, maintaining that the Archbiſhops of *Toledo* had never exerciſed any Sort of Juriſdiction in the other Provinces of *Spain*, as they were ſuppoſed to have done in that Bull. But the Pope, reſolved to gratify the King, in order to put a Stop at once to that Diſpute, declared *Bernard* his Legate, veſting him with the Legatine Power over all the Provinces of *Spain*, and that of *Narbonne*[d]. The Primacy, granted by *Urban* to *Bernard*, was confirmed by Seven Popes to that Biſhop's Succeſſors in the See of *Toledo*, but it has ever been diſputed by the *Spaniſh* Biſhops and the Archbiſhops of *Narbonne*[e].

Council of Rome. Year of Chriſt 1089.

The following Year 1089 *Urban* aſſembled a Council at *Rome*, ſaid to have conſiſted of One hundred and Fifteen Biſhops; and by that Council *Guibert* was excommunicated, and with him the Emperor, and all who adhered to the one or the other. Thus were all the Biſhops of *Germany*, but Five, cut off from the Communion of the Church; for at this Time all but Five, *viz.* thoſe of *Wirceburg*, *Paſſau*, *Worms*, *Conſtance*, and *Metz*, adhered to *Guibert* and the Emperor. As theſe Excommunications produced great Confuſion in *Germany*, and furniſhed the Malecontents with a plauſible Pretence to take up Arms againſt their Sovereign, many of *Henry*'s Friends adviſed him to come to an Agreement with the new Pope, and forſaking *Guibert* to acknowledge him. The Emperor was not averſe to a Reconciliation; but the Biſhops of his Party were all to a Man againſt it, ſenſible that, as they had received their Biſhoprics from him, the Pope would inſiſt on their reſigning them: and thus were all Thoughts of a Reconciliation laid aſide.

[c] Roderic. l. vi. c. 23. [d] Concil. tom. x. p. 459. [e] See Marca Diſſert. de Primatibus, Num. 125.

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The Pope, upon the breaking up of the Council at *Rome*, left that City, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, and after a ſhort Stay at *Terracina*, went from thence to *Melfi* in *Apulia*, where he held a Council, at which were preſent Seventy Biſhops, Twelve Abbots, *Roger*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and all the *Norman* Lords. By this Council the Decrees of *Gregory* againſt Lay Inveſtitures, and the Marriage of the Clergy, were confirmed; and it was, beſides, decreed, that none ſhould be admitted to Orders, who had been twice married; that no Subdeacon ſhould be ordained under Fourteen Years of Age, no Deacon under Twenty, and no Prieſt under Thirty, that no Perſon of ſervile Condition ſhould be received among the Clergy; that Abbots ſhould exact no Money of thoſe, who take the monaſtic Habit; that Laymen might make the Wives, or, as they are called, the Concubines, of the Clergy, Slaves; and that the Sons of the Clergy ſhould not be admitted into the ſacred Order, unleſs they embraced a monaſtic Life[f]. In this Council the Pope inveſted *Roger*, the Son of *Robert Guiſcard*, in the Dukedom of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, by delivering to him the Standard of St. *Peter*, after he had ſworn Allegiance to his Lord *Urban*, and to his Succeſſors canonically elected[g]. From *Melfi* the Pope repaired to *Bari*, and there, at the Requeſt of Duke *Roger* and his Brother *Boamund*, conſecrated *Elias* lately preferred to that See.

Year of Chriſt 1089. *Council of* Melfi.

As the Emperor's Party gained daily new Strength, the Pope, to ſtrengthen his, propoſed to *Guelph*, Duke of *Bavaria*, a Marriage between his Son, named likewiſe *Guelph*, and the Counteſs *Mathilda*. As the Counteſs poſſeſſed large Territories in *Italy*, the Duke readily agreed to the Propoſal, and ſo did *Mathilda*, though ſhe was then Forty Years of Age, merely to gratify the Pope, and engage the Duke of *Bavaria* in his Intereſt; for we are told, that ſhe lived with her Husband as with a Brother[h]. The Emperor no ſooner heard of this Marriage, than marching into *Italy* he attacked and reduced ſeveral Strong-holds belonging to the Counteſs in *Lombardy*, and the City of *Mantua* among the reſt after an Eleven Months Siege. As many were killed on both Sides in this War, *Godfrey*, who had ſucceeded *Anſelm*, in the Biſhopric of *Lucca*, applied to *Urban* to know, how he ſhould deal with thoſe, who had killed excommunicated Perſons, what Penance he ſhould impoſe upon them, or whether he

The Marriage of Mathilda.

The Emperor reduces ſeveral Places in Italy.

Year of Chriſt 1090.

[f] Concil. t. x. p. 478. ad ann. 1089.

[g] Romuald. Salern. in Chron.

[h] Bertold.

Year of Chriſt 1090. Guibert *recalled to* Rome.

ſhould impoſe any. The Pope anſwered that they were to be judged according to their Intention; and that he did not hold thoſe to be guilty of Murder, who, burning with Zeal for their Catholic Mother againſt her Enemies, had happened to kill ſome of them, but nevertheleſs that ſome Penance ſhould be enjoined them, in Compliance with the Diſcipline of the Church, that they may thus atone for their Frailty in caſe they had not been actuated by Zeal alone[i]; which was declaring, that any Man might, with a ſafe Conſcience, put thoſe to Death, whom the Pope had excommunicated, provided he was or thought he was prompted to it by Zeal for the Church. To this helliſh Principle are owing ſo many Maſſacres and the Extirpation of whole Nations. The Reduction of *Mantua* encouraged the Emperor's Friends in *Rome*; and they took by Surpriſe the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, recalled *Guibert*, and put him again in Poſſeſſion of St. *Peter*'s Church and the *Lateran* Palace.

Council of Benevento. Year of Chriſt 1091.

In the mean time *Urban*, continuing in *Apulia*, under the Protection of Duke *Roger* and the other *Norman* Princes, held a Council at *Benevento* on the Twenty-eighth of *March* 1091. By this Aſſembly the Anathemas againſt *Guibert* and all his Accomplices were repeated, and the following Regulations were made relating to the Diſcipline of the Church, *viz.* that for the future none ſhould be elected Biſhops who were not in holy Orders, that is, who were not Prieſts or Deacons; that as to Subdeacons, they ſhould be elected very rarely, and never conſecrated without the Approbation of the Pope, as well as the Approbation of the Metropolitan; that no Layman ſhould eat Fleſh after Aſh-Wedneſday; that the Faithful, Laymen as well as Clerks, Women as well as Men, ſhould, on that Day, have their Heads ſprinkled with Aſhes, a Ceremony that is obſerved to this Day; that no Marriages ſhould be celebrated from Septuageſima till after the Octave of Pentecoſt, nor from Advent till after the Octave of the Epiphany[k].

Council of Troia. Year of Chriſt 1093.

From *Benevento*, *Urban* repaired to *Salerno*, where he conſecrated the Church of the Holy Trinity, and from *Salerno* to *Troia* in *Apulia*, in which City he held a Council conſiſting of about One hundred Biſhops; and by them Marriages within the forbidden Degrees were declared null, and they, who had contracted ſuch Marriages, were allowed, if young, to marry again[l]; which is contrary to the Doctrine now taught and practiſed in the Church of *Rome*.

[i] Ivo, part xx. c. 54. [k] Concil. t. x. p. 484. [l] Gratian 35. Gueſt. v. c. 4. Magiſt. Sent. c. 41.

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In the mean time the Emperor purſued, with great Succeſs, the War in *Lombardy*, againſt the united Forces of the Counteſs *Mathilda* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, defeated them in the Field, and reduced the whole Country beyond the *Po*. But being obliged to return to *Germany*, where new Diſturbances were raiſed by the Friends and Emiſſaries of the Pope, he left his Son *Conrad* to carry on his Conqueſts in *Lombardy* till his Return. But he was ſcarce gone, when the young Prince, gained by the artful Inſinuations of *Mathilda*, rebelled againſt his Father, and taking upon him the Title of King of *Italy*, was crowned, according to Cuſtom, at *Milan* by *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of that City [m]. *Conrad* is ſaid by moſt of the contemporary Writers to have been inſtigated to this unnatural and highly criminal Rebellion not by the Pope but the Counteſs. However that be, it is certain, that the Pope approved, if he did not adviſe it. For upon the Archbiſhop's refuſing to crown him till he was abſolved by the Pope from the Excommunication, which he had incurred by ſiding with his Father, he applied to *Urban*, and was by him immediately abſolved [n]; which was evidently conſenting to his Rebellion, nay and rewarding it with the Kingdom of *Italy*. *Dodechinus* and *Helmoldus*, Two Writers who lived near thoſe Times, but were both avowed Enemies to the Emperor, to excuſe the Rebellion of his Son tell us, that the Emperor, having conceived an irreconcileable Averſion to the Empreſs *Adelais*, called alſo *Praxedes*, ordered ſeveral of the Lords of his Court, and among the reſt his Son *Conrad*, whom he had by his firſt Wife *Bertha*, to raviſh her, and that upon his refuſing to obey ſo wicked a Command, the unnatural Father gave out that he was not his Son, but the Son of a *Suabian* Lord, whom he greatly reſembled. This Affront, ſay thoſe Writers, ſo provoked the young Prince, that, in order to revenge it, he took up Arms againſt his Father, and joined his Enemies [o]. We read in other Writers, that the Emperor obliged ſome to commit, by Force, the Crime of Adultery with the Empreſs, hoping he ſhould, by that means, procure a Divorce, and from the Acts of the Council of *Placentia* in 1095 it appears, that *Adelais* applied to the Biſhops of that Aſſembly for Abſolution from the Impudicities, which ſhe had involuntarily committed. But none, even of the Emperor's moſt inveterate Enemies, beſides the Two I have mentioned, take any Notice

Year of Chriſt 1093. Conrad *rebels againſt the Emperor his Father.*

[m] Auctor. Anonym. Vit. Henrici. et Helmold. ad ann. 1093.

[n] Dodechin. in Chron.

[o] Dodechin.

Year of Christ 1093.

of his commanding his Son to offer any Violence to the Empress, which they would not have passed over in Silence had it been true. To this Crime *Aventinus* probably alluded, when he wrote, that the Emperor's Enemies had charged him with Crimes, that were not so much as known by Name to the *French* and *Germans*, and could only be met with in the Lives of the *Cæsars* written by *Suetonius* [p].

Advantages gained over the Emperor in Italy.

The Party of *Urban* and *Mathilda* being greatly strengthened by the Rebellion of *Conrad*, whom many of the *Italian* Lords readily joined, they recovered, jointly with the Forces of the Duke of *Bavaria*, *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Lodi*, *Placentia*, and most other Places that the Emperor had taken. The People of *Toul* and *Metz* drove out the Bishops, whom the Emperor had preferred to those Sees. In *Germany* several Lords followed the Duke of *Bavaria*, and declaring against the Emperor, appointed a Diet to meet at *Ulm*, in order to consult together about the Measures they should pursue against the Schismatics and Rebels to the Holy Apostolic See. To this Assembly the Pope dispatched *Gebehard*, Bishop of *Constans*, with the Character of his Legate. In this Diet, which is said to have been very numerous, it was agreed, that they should in all Things obey the Legate, and act according to his Directions [q].

Diet of Ulm.

Urban *returns to* Rome.

As the Affairs of the Emperor daily declined, the Friends of *Urban* in *Rome* drove out *Guibert*, recalled him, received him with all possible Marks of Joy, and put him again in Possession of the Church of St. *Peter*, where he celebrated Mass on Christmas-Day 1093. But *Guibert*'s Party still held the Castle of St. *Angelo* and the *Lateran* Palace, and the Pope was obliged to lie concealed in the House of a *Roman* Nobleman named *Frangipane*. In the mean time *Geffrey*, lately chosen Abbot of the Trinity at *Vendome*, hearing that the Pope was reduced to great Straits for Want of Money, set out for *Rome* in Disguise, taking with him a considerable Sum to lay at his Holiness's Feet. He had the good Luck to reach *Rome* undiscovered; but being introduced to the Pope in the Night, he found him not only quite destitute of Money, but overwhelmed with Debt. The Arrival of the Abbot proved very seasonable; for the Money he brought with him, not only served to supply all the Pope's Wants, but to recover the *Lateran* Palace, which *Guibert* had held ever since the Year 1084. *Guibert*, upon his leaving *Rome*, had committed the Custody of the *Lateran* Palace to one *Ferru-*

[p] Aventin. l. v. [q] Bertold. in Chron.

chius, who, betraying the Truſt repoſed in him, ſent privately One of his Friends to let the Pope know, that he would deliver up the Palace to him for a certain Sum of Money. As his Demand did not exceed the Sum that the Abbot had ſupplied him with, he hearkened to the Propoſal, paid the Money, and got Poſſeſſion of the Palace, where he was immediately placed in the Pontifical Chair; and the Abbot was the firſt, who kiſſed his Foot after his Inthronation[r]. As the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* was ſtill in the Hands of *Guibert*'s Friends, *Urban* was eaſily prevailed upon by the Counteſs *Mathilda* to leave *Rome*, and repair to *Lombardy*, in order to encourage, with his Preſence, thoſe who had declared for him in thoſe Parts. He paſſed the Summer in *Lombardy* with the Counteſs, and retiring as Winter approached to *Tuſcany*, that belonged to her, he kept his Chriſtmas there, not caring to come to *Rome*, ſo long as the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* was held by the Friends of *Guibert*.

Year of Chriſt 1093. *Recovers the* Lateran *Palace.*

In the mean time ſome of the *Gallican* Biſhops, and *Ivo* of *Chartres* among the reſt, wrote to *Urban*, begging he would interpoſe his Authority, and remove the Scandals which their King, *Philip*, had given, by his new Marriage, to the whole Nation. *Philip* had, under Colour of Conſanguinity, diſmiſſed his lawful Wife *Bertha*, by whom he had *Lewis*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and married *Bertrada*, who leaving *Fulco*, Count of *Anjou*, her lawful Husband, had taken Refuge in his Court, apprehending, ſays *Ordericus*, that the Count would, in a ſhort Time, treat her as he had treated his Two former Wives[s]. This Marriage gave great Offence to the Biſhops, and the Pope was no ſooner informed of it than he wrote to them, commanding them to repreſent to the King the Enormity of his Crime, and at the ſame time to let him know, that unleſs he diſmiſſed *Bertrada*, and recalled *Bertha*, he would proceed againſt him according to the Rigour of the Canons. But the Biſhops not being able to prevail upon him to part with *Bertrada*, who is ſaid to have excelled in Beauty all the Women at that Time in *France*, the Pope, who had received *Hugh*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, into Favour, though excommunicated by his Predeceſſor, reinſtated him in the Legatine Dignity, which he had enjoyed in *France* under *Gregory*, and ordered him to enquire into the King's Marriage and Divorce, and to proceed in that Affair as was directed by the Canons. *Hugh*, no ſooner found himſelf reſtored to his former Dig-

Philip *King of* France *excommuuicated by the Pope's Legate.*

[r] Goffrid. ep. viii. ad Paſchal II.

[s] Orderic. l. viii. p. 699.

nity,

Year of Christ 1094.

nity, than aſſembling a Council at *Autun* on the Sixteenth of *October* of the preſent Year 1094, he firſt renewed the Excommunication againſt the Emperor, againſt *Guibert*, and all who adhered to the one or the other, and then, after exhorting the Biſhops to join him in vindicating the Honour of God and his Church, he thundered ou the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the King, for taking, in his lawful Wife's Life-time, another Woman to his Bed as his Wife [t]. Hereupon the King ſent immediately Deputies to *Rome* to aſſure the Pope, upon Oath, that though he had not diſmiſſed *Bertrada*, who had fled for Shelter to his Court, he had no longer any criminal Commerce with her, and therefore to beg that his Holineſs would revoke the Sentence, which his Legate had too raſhly pronounced againſt him. The Pope, pleaſed with the Submiſſion of the King, and probably apprehending he might, if provoked, declare for his Rival, ſuſpended the Sentence for the preſent, that he might have Time to ſatisfy him, by his Conduct, of the Sincerity of his Repentance.

Council of Placentia. Year of Chriſt 1095.

As the Pope daily gained Ground, he appointed a Council to meet at *Placentia*, in the midſt of his Enemies, inviting to it all the Biſhops of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*. The Council met at the Time appointed, *viz.* on the Firſt of *March* 1095, and is ſaid to have conſiſted of Two hundred Biſhops, of near Four thouſand other Eccleſiaſtics, and Thirty thouſand Laymen, inſomuch that no Church being large enough to contain ſuch a Multitude, they were obliged to meet in the open Fields. The Empreſs *Adelais* was not aſhamed to appear before this numerous Aſſembly, and owning that, at the Command of her Husband, ſhe had been raviſhed by ſeveral Perſons, begged the Pope and the Council to abſolve her from the Sins which ſhe had committed againſt her Will. Abſolution was readily granted to her by the Pope and all the Biſhops of the Council; and ſhe thereupon withdrew, and returning to *Germany* retired to a Monaſtery, where ſhe ſpent the remaining Part of her Life [u]. Her Complaints and the Tears ſhe ſhed made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Minds of ſeveral of the Emperor's Friends, that they forſook him. *Philip*, King of *France*, had promiſed to aſſiſt at this Council; but not caring to have the Affair of his Divorce brought before ſo numerous an Aſſembly, he ſent Embaſſadors to excuſe his not attending it in Perſon, pretending that he had ſet out for that Purpoſe, but had been

[t] Concil. t. x. p. 463.

[u] Dodechin. ad ann. 1093.

prevented

prevented from purſuing his Journey by ſome unforeſeen Affairs of the utmoſt Importance. The Embaſſadors begged, in the King's Name, and obtained, that the Sentence pronounced againſt him by the Legate and the Council of *Autun*, might not take Place till Whit Sunday. *Hugh*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, Legate of the Apoſtolic See in *France*, was ſummoned as well as all the other *Gallican* Biſhops, to the Council. But of that Summons he took no Kind of Notice, we know not why, and he was, on that account, ſuſpended by the Pope and the Biſhops of the Council from all the Functions of his Office. *Alexius Comnenus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Pope and the other Biſhops of the Council, to repreſent to them the deplorable Condition which the Chriſtian Religion was reduced to by the Infidels in the Eaſt, and implore their Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. The Pope warmly eſpouſed the Cauſe of thoſe unhappy perſecuted Chriſtians; and ſeveral of the great Lords, who were preſent, promiſed, upon his applying to them, to go in Perſon to their Relief.

Year of Chriſt 1095.

By this Council the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was condemned anew, and it was defined that the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt were, by Conſecration, changed truly and ſubſtantially into the Body and Blood of our Lord; the Marriage of all in holy Orders was declared unlawful, and the Faithful were ſtrictly forbidden to be preſent at any Functions performed by ſuch of the Clergy as had not parted with their Concubines, that is, their Wives; Orders conferred by *Guibert*, or by Biſhops, whom the Pope had excommunicated by Name, were declared null, and the uſual Anathemas were thundered out, with lighted Candles, againſt *Guibert*, Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See, and all who ſupported him in his wicked Uſurpation [x].

Canons of this Council.

Upon the breaking up of the Council, the Pope from *Placentia* ſet out for *France*, not caring to return to *Rome* ſo long as his Enemies were Maſters of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. As he approached *Cremona*, he was met by the Emperor's Son *Conrad*, and attended by him, as his Equerry, into the City. *Urban* received him with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem and Affection, acknowledged him King of *Italy*, and exacted of him, as ſuch, an Oath of Allegiance to the Apoſtolic See. The Pope at the ſame time promiſed to maintain him in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of his Power, in obtaining the Imperial Crown, but upon Condition

Interview of the Pope and Conrad.

[x] Concil. t. x. p. 503.

that

Year of Christ 1095.

that he ſhould give up the Inveſtitures y. From *Cremona* the Pope purſued his Journey to *France*, and *Conrad* repaired to *Piſa* to receive there the Daughter of *Roger*, Duke of *Sicily*, whom his Friends had obliged him to marry, in order to engage, by that Alliance, the Aſſiſtance and Protection of the *Norman* Princes againſt his Father.

Urban owned in England.

The *Engliſh* Nation had not yet acknowledged either of the Pretenders to the Papal Chair, but they were brought this Year by the Art and Addreſs of *Urban* to own him. This Event is thus related by *Eadmer*, who lived at this Time, and was Secretary to Archbiſhop *Anſelm*, whoſe Life he wrote. That Prelate being preferred to the See of *Canterbury* in 1093, applied the following Year to the King, *William Rufus*, for Leave to go to *Rome* to receive the Pall of the Pope. The King asked, *Of which of the Popes:* and upon *Anſelm*'s anſwering, *of Urban*, the King told him, that *Urban* was not owned for Pope in *England*; that by the Laws of the Kingdom no one could go to *Rome*, or acknowledge any Pope without the King's Leave, and that to deprive him of that Right was to deprive him of his Crown. *Anſelm* replied, that while he was Abbot of *Bec* he had acknowledged *Urban* for lawful Pope, and never would depart from the Obedience he owed him. Your Subjection to *Urban*, replied the King, is inconſiſtent with that which you owe to me as my Subject. The Archbiſhop boldly anſwered, that if his Subjection to the Pope was inconſiſtent with that, which he owed to him as his Subject, he would rather leave *England*, than with-hold, for one ſingle Moment, his Obedience to St. *Peter* and his Vicar. The King was already highly diſſatisfied, on other Accounts, with the Archbiſhop's Conduct; and being provoked, beyond Meaſure, at his preſent haughty and inſolent Behaviour, he reſolved to rid himſelf of a Man of his turbulent and inflexible Temper. In order to that he ſent privately Two of his Chaplains to *Rome*, charging them to get the Pope, if by any means they could, to ſend the Pall, not to the Archbiſhop, but to him. The two Envoys applied to *Urban*, who upon their acquainting him with the King's Requeſt, and aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that, if it were complied with, the King would cauſe him to be owned by the whole Kingdom, readily promiſed to ſend over the Pall to be diſpoſed of as the King ſhould think good.

y Bertold in Chron.

The

The Pall was accordingly ſent by *Walter*, Biſhop of *Albano*, who, coming to *England* with the Envoys, avoided ſeeing the Archbiſhop as he paſſed through *Canterbury*, and went ſtrait to the King, who immediately granted him an Audience. In that Audience the Legate, who was a Man of great Addreſs, taking no Notice of the Pall, nor ſpeaking a ſingle Word in Favour of the Archbiſhop, aſſured the King, that his Holineſs was diſpoſed to grant him his Requeſt, and ready to gratify him in every Thing elſe that lay in his Power, provided he owned him, and cauſed him to be owned by all his Subjects for lawful Pope. The King did ſo, not doubting but the Legate would faithfully perform what he had promiſed in the Pope's Name, and that the Pall would be delivered to him with full Power to diſpoſe of it to whom he pleaſed. But inſtead of that the Legate, having obtained all he wanted, undertook to reconcile the King to the Archbiſhop; and in that too he ſucceeded, the King reſtoring, in Appearance, the Archbiſhop to his Favour, leſt the World ſhould know, that he had been ſo groſly impoſed upon. He begged that, at leaſt, the Pall might be delivered to him, and that the Archbiſhop might receive it from his Hands. But he could not obtain even that Favour of the Legate, pretending that he was charged by the Pope to deliver it to him with his own Hand; and he went accordingly to *Canterbury*, and there delivered it to him with more Pomp and Solemnity than uſual[f]. Year of Chriſt 1095.

We left *Urban* on his Journey from *Cremona* to *France*. He arrived at *Puy* in *Velay* about the Middle of *Auguſt*, celebrated there the Feſtival of the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, and appointed a Council to meet at *Clermont* in *Auvergne* on the 18th of *November* of the preſent Year. In the mean time he viſited ſeveral Places, *viz.* *Chaiſedieu*, *Tarraſcon*, *Avignon*, *Maçon* on the *Soane*, and *Cluny*. As he had been Prior of the Monaſtery of *Cluny* he continued there till the Meeting of the Council, conſecrated the high Altar, confirmed all the Privileges granted to that Monaſtery by his Predeceſſors, and added ſome new ones to them. Urban *in* France.

As the Time appointed for the Council to meet drew near, the Pope, leaving *Cluny*, repaired to *Clermont*. There the Biſhops all met for the firſt Time on *Sunday*, the 18th of *November*, and aſſiſted in a Body at Divine Service. The next Day they aſſembled again, *Council of* Clermont.

[f] Eadmer. Noor. l. i. p. 25, et ſeq.

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when the Council was opened by the Pope, who presided at it in Person. It consisted of 12 Archbishops, 80 Bishops, and 90 Abbots, besides an infinite Number of the inferior Clergy and Laymen, who were allowed to be present. The Pope had invited all the Bishops in the West to this Council. But none came to it from *Lorraine*, *Germany*, or *Hungary*, the Bishops in those Parts being unwilling to disoblige the Emperor, who did not acknowledge *Urban*. Neither does it appear that any went from *England*, the King being, probably, too much provoked at the late Conduct of the Pope and his Legate to grant them Leave; and they could not go out of the Kingdom without his Permission. As *Philip*, King of *France*, had not yet dismissed *Bertrada*, the Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against both by the Pope in the present Council. But we do not find, that the King was less respected or obeyed while under that Sentence, than he was before. *Fulk*, the Husband of *Bertrada*, was so incensed against the King for detaining her, that he caused the Instrument of a Donation, which he made this Year to the Monastery of St. *Sergius* in the City of *Anjou*, to be closed with these Words; *this Donation was made in the Year of our Lord* 1095, *in the Third Indiction, on* Saturday, *the 25th Day of the Moon,* Urban *being Pope, and* France *contaminated with the Adultery of the worthless King* Philip g. It was upon *Fulco*'s complaining to the Council of the Injury done him by the King, that the Pope excommunicated him, though many, who were present, endeavoured to divert him from it, apprehending that *Philip*, provoked at such a Step, might declare for his Rival.

Philip *of* France *excommunicated.*

Canons of this Council.

By this Council Thirty-two Canons were issued, whereof the following are the most remarkable; *viz.* the 1st, forbidding Priests, Deacons, and Archdeacons, to keep Concubines, that is, commanding them to part with their Wives, on pain of being suspended from all the Functions of their Offices; the 15th and 16th, forbidding the Clergy to receive Investitures from Laymen, and Kings and Princes to give Investitures, as was ordained by Pope *Gregory*, of holy Memory; the 17th, declaring it unlawful for a Bishop or a Priest to promise Fidelity, that is, to take an Oath of Allegiance to Kings, or to any Layman. Thus were Priests and Bishops exempted from the Obligation of obeying their lawful Sovereigns, while Bishops were required, at their Consecration, to swear Obedience to the Pope.

g Peiriskius in Regists. 57.

The

The 25th Canon forbad the Sons of Prieſts, Deacons, or Subdeacons, to be admitted to Holy Orders, unleſs they were Monks or regular Canons. By the 28th it was ordained, that they, who received the Euchariſt, ſhould receive the Body and the Blood ſeparately. By this Canon was condemned the Cuſtom lately introduced of receiving the Bread dipt in the Wine, as contrary to the Inſtitution of our Saviour, who, at his laſt Supper, gave the Bread and Wine ſeparately. The Cuſtom of receiving the Euchariſt, in one Kind only, obtained, at this Time, in ſome Places, as appears from *Rodulph*, Abbot of St. *Trudo*, who wrote in this Century (B); and it was afterwards approved, nay and even commanded by the Council of *Conſtans*, though no leſs repugnant to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, who adminiſtered the Euchariſt to his Apoſtles in both Kinds, than that, which the Council of *Clermont* condemned. Year of Chriſt 1095.

By this Council the Obſervance of what they called *Treuga Dei*, or *Truce of God*, was warmly recommended, and the Decrees, made by ſeveral Provincial Councils concerning it, were all confirmed. To underſtand what was meant by that Expreſſion the Reader muſt know, that every Lord and even every private Man, eſpecially in *France*, under the weak Government of their later Kings, claimed a Right of revenging, by Force of Arms, any Injury that was done them; which filled the whole Kingdom with Murders and Rapines, the great Lords being conſtantly at War with one another, and ſparing in their Wars neither Churches nor Monaſteries. As the Kings were not, for want of Power, in a Condition to put a Stop to theſe civil Diſſenſions, the Biſhops, who ſuffered the moſt by them, as they were not allowed to repel Force by Force, made ſeveral Decrees, in their Provincial Synods, againſt them, declaring it unlawful for any private Perſon whatſoever to do himſelf Juſtice by Force of Arms, and threatening thoſe with Excommunication who ſhould attempt it. But no Regard was had by the Parties at War to their Decrees, or their Menaces, till the Year 1041, when the Biſhops, deſpairing of being ever able to root out entirely ſo deſtructive a Practice, contented themſelves with bringing the Lords to *The* Treuga Dei.

(B) The Abbot wrote in Verſe; and his Words, as quoted by *Groppcrus*, are,

Hic et ibi cautela fiat, ne preſbyter ægris
Aut ſanis tribuat laicis, de ſanguine Chriſti:
Nam fundi poſſet leviter; ſimplexque putaret,
Quod non ſub ſpecie ſit totus Ieſus utraque (1).

(1) Gropper. c. 44.

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conſent to a Truce for certain Days in the Week: And it was accordingly, with their Approbation, agreed, that no Hoſtilities ſhould be thenceforth committed from *Wedneſday* Evening till *Monday* Morning, that, during the Four Days of Truce, no Violence whatever ſhould be uſed, and that they, who offended againſt this Convention, ſhould be puniſhed with Death, or excommunicated and ſent into Exile. This Agreement was made in a Council held in *Aquitaine* in 1041, and was called *Treuga Dei*, or *the Truce of God*, as having been ſuggeſted by God, and afterwards approved by exemplary Puniſhments, miraculouſly inflicted, as was believed, upon ſuch as tranſgreſſed it[h]. This truce, called in *Latin Treuga* from the *Spaniſh* Word *Tregua*, as ſome conjecture, was confirmed by the preſent Council of *Clermont*, and afterwards by the Council of *Rome* under *Paſchal* II. in 1102, by the *Lateran* under *Innocent* II. in 1139, and by the *Lateran* under *Alexander* III. in 1180. By theſe Councils ſeveral holy Days were added to the Four Days of each Week, all Devaſtation by Fire was forbidden, and Clerks, Monks, Pilgrims, Merchants, Husbandmen, and Women were exempted from all Violence, and they excommunicated, who ſhould offer them any. It is to be obſerved, that the Decrees of theſe Councils related to the Wars, that the Barons or other private Perſons made upon one another, and not, as *Baronius* imagined, to Wars between Sovereign Princes.

The Primacy of Lions *confirmed.*

The Primacy, which *Gregory* had granted to *Gebuin*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, was confirmed, by the preſent Council, to *Hugh* and his Succeſſors in that See; and *Walter*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, was ſuſpended from all Sacerdotal and Epiſcopal Functions, and threatened with an Anathema if he did not quit that See, as he had bought it of the Emperor, and received the Inveſtiture from him, in Defiance of the Decrees of ſo many Councils.

The Cruſade *ſet on foot by the Council of* Clermont.

By this Council the Expedition for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, known by the Name of the *Cruſade*, was ſet on foot, and it is, on Account of the Encouragement it gave to that wild, chimerical, and deſtructive Undertaking, the moſt famous of all the Councils that were held to the preſent Time. The Infidels had, as has been obſerved above, made themſelves, in a few Years, Maſters of above One Half of the Eaſtern Empire, had ſubdued both *Cilicias*, *Syria*, *Iſauria*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, the one and the

[h] Glaber. l. iv. c. 5.

other

other *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, with Part of *Asia Minor*, and wanted only Shipping to attack the Imperial City itself. By them the Churches and Monasteries were plundered and burnt, the Priests and Monks either inhumanly massacred or condemned to perpetual Slavery, and the Pilgrims, who came to visit the Holy Sepulchre, exposed to the same cruel Treatment [i]. *Alexius Comnenus*, at this time Emperor of *Constantinople*, sent Embassadors, as has been said, to the Council of *Placentia*, to lay before that Assembly the deplorable Condition which the Christian Religion was reduced to in the East, and implore their Assistance. The Pope had already been informed of the Calamities the Christians suffered under the Yoke of those Barbarians, and most earnestly pressed to relieve them by the famous Hermit *Peter*, whom I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of in the Sequel. He was a Native of the Diocese of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, had gone in Pilgrimage to visit the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, according to the Devotion then in vogue, and as he staid some time in that City, he was an Eye-witness of the inexpressible Miseries the Christians groaned under there, and besides found, from the Account the Patriarch *Symeon* gave him of the State of Affairs, that the whole Empire would, without the Assistance of the Western Princes, in a very short time, fall a Prey to the sworn Enemies of the Christian Name. Hereupon the Hermit, fired with Zeal, offered to sollicit Succours of the Pope and all the Western Princes in the Patriarch's Name, if he approved of it. To this the Patriarch readily agreed, as we may well imagine; and the new Commission was confirmed to *Peter* by our Saviour himself appearing to him while he was praying in the Church of the Resurrection. Thus *Guillelmus Tyrius*, or *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, in his History of the *Holy War* [k]; and *Baronius* chuses to believe him rather than those who will have the Hermit's Commission to have been sent him from Heaven [l]. *Peter* returned by Sea to *Rome*, and hearing that the Pope was in that Neighbourhood, he immediately went to him, and acquainted him with the lamentable State of Religion in the East, begged he would interpose his Authority, and bring all the Christian Princes in the West to enter into an Alliance in Defence of their helpless persecuted Brethren in the East. The Pope promised to promote, in due time, so holy an Undertaking to the utmost of his Power: And the Her-

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Chiefly by Means of Peter *the Hermit.*

[i] Guill. Tyr. l. i. c. 9. [k] Idem, ibid. c. xxi. 12. [l] Baron. ad ann. 1095.

mit

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mit paſſing, in the mean while, the *Alps*, viſited the Courts of all the ultramontane Princes, being charged with Letters to them from the Patriarch *Symeon*, ſtirred them as well as their Subjects every-where up to the Defence of the Places, which our Saviour had conſecrated with his Preſence, and promiſed eternal Rewards to thoſe, who ſhould be the foremoſt in redeeming them from the ſacrilegious Pollution of the Enemies of God.

The Pope exhorts all to take the Croſs.

The Zeal of the Hermit was ſeconded by that of the Pope, firſt in the Council of *Placentia*, and afterwards in the preſent, that of *Clermont*, which was aſſembled chiefly to encourage this Undertaking. The Pope therefore, after ſettling what related to the Diſcipline of the Church, laid before that numerous Aſſembly, in a long and pathetic Speech, the deplorable Condition of the Chriſtian Religion under the Infidels in the Eaſt, the imminent Danger it was in of being in a very ſhort time utterly extirpated all over that extenſive Empire; urging, with great Vehemence, the indiſpenſible Obligation incumbent upon all Chriſtians to relieve their oppreſſed Brethren, and redeem the holy Places, which Chriſt had ſanctified with his Birth, his Actions, and his Death, from the ſacrilegious Pollutions of his ſworn Enemies; aſſuring them of Victory, as they were to fight under the Conduct and Command of Chriſt himſelf, and the great God of Armies; declared thoſe, who ſhould inliſt in ſo holy a War, abſolved from all their Sins, promiſed Life everlaſting to ſuch as ſhould die in it, *&c.* The Pope was frequently interrupted, in his Speech, by loud Cries of Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions from every Part of that numerous Aſſembly, offering themſelves ready to fly, at his Holineſs's Command, to the Relief of their perſecuted Brethren, and redeem them even at the Expence of their Lives, from the Tyranny they groaned under. *Urban* finding that the Project took even beyond his Expectation, ordained that they, who engaged in this holy Warfare, ſhould wear a Red Croſs on their Right Shoulder, to ſhew under whoſe Banner and for whom they fought, extended the *Truce of God* to the Perſons and Effects of all who ſerved in this Expedition, and threatened all with Excommunication, who ſhould on any Colour or Pretence whatſoever moleſt them, or any, who belonged to them, till their Return from the *Holy Land*. He then commanded the Biſhops, who were preſent, to publiſh, to preach, and promote, to the utmoſt

of

of their Power, the Holy War in their reſpective Dioceſes; and cloſed this famous Council on the 28th of *November* 1095 [m]. Year of Chriſt 1095.

The Biſhops, in Obedience to the Pope's Command, made it their whole Buſineſs to preach and promote the intended Expedition in all the Cities, Towns, and Villages under their Juriſdiction, and ſo magnified it, that Men, perſuaded that the taking of the Croſs would atone for every Sin, and ſo anſwer all the Purpoſes of Repentance and a holy Life, crowded, without Diſtinction of Age or Condition, from all Parts to ſerve under ſuch Princes as were willing to put themſelves at their Head. This Infatuation prevailed ſo univerſally in the Weſtern Kingdoms, that an Army was aſſembled the following Year, conſiſting of no fewer than Three hundred thouſand Men [n]. Women and even Children ſhewed no leſs Eagerneſs to ſerve in this Holy War than Men, and would, had they not been reſtrained, have doubled the Number of thoſe already too numerous Armies. Several great Lords, ſeized with this epidemical Phrenzy, ſold their Lordſhips and Demeſnes at half their Value, thinking they only wanted a little ready Money to provide themſelves with Arms and conquer Kingdoms in the Eaſt. Thus *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, among the reſt, ſold that Lordſhip to the Biſhop of *Liege*, whoſe Succeſſors poſſeſs great Part of it to this Day, and at the ſame time the Caſtle of *Stenay*, with the Lands belonging to it, to the Biſhop of *Verdun*, who likewiſe purchaſed of *Baldwin*, *Godfrey*'s Brother, the little he had in that Country. Thus while the temporary Princes, ſays Father *Maimbourg*, abandoned their Territories for the Love of God, the Clergy, improving their Devotion to their own Advantage, enriched themſelves with their Spoils [o]. This Deſign was firſt formed by *Gregory* VII. as has been obſerved above; and ſo far as we can judge from the Principles and Views of that Pope, as well as from the Uſe we ſhall ſee his Succeſſors make of it, we have but too much Reaſon to believe, that it proceeded from a very different Zeal from that for Religion, or for the Relief of the perſecuted Chriſtians in the Eaſt. The Holy War, as it is called, laſted near 200 Years, coſt perhaps more Chriſtian Blood than had been ſhed before in all the Wars the Chriſtians had made, and none in the end gained any thing by it but the Church and the Popes.

The Biſhops preach the Cruſade in their reſpective Dioceſes.

And with great Succeſs.

[m] Guill. Tyr. l. i. c. 15. Petrus Diac. Chron. Caſſin. l. iv. c. 11. [n] Spond. Epiſt. Baron. ad ann. 1095. [o] Maimbourg. Hiſt. des Croiſades, l. i. p. 46.

Year of Christ 1095.

Councils held by the Pope in France *in* 1095, 1096.

The Pope continued in *France* after the Council of *Clermont* in *November* 1095 till the latter End of *September* 1096, visiting different Places, consecrating Churches, holding Councils, and preaching every-where the Crusade. He held a Council at *Limoges* in *December*, in which he is said to have deposed *Humbald* Bishop of that City. He held Two other Councils, the One at *Tours* in the Third Week of Lent, the other at *Nismes* in *July*. In the latter he absolved King *Philip*, who had dismissed *Bertrada*, from the Excommunication, forbad Lay Investitures, and the receiving any Benefice whatever from a Layman, excommunicated those, who should presume to arrest a Clerk or imprison him, and declared the Monks, whom he compared to Angels, being himself a Monk, qualified to exercise the sacerdotal Functions, and as they had renounced the World to serve God in Retirement, more worthy than they, who lived in it, of the Power to preach, to baptize, to absolve Men from their Sins, to impose Penance, and administer the Eucharist [p]. The Pope visited several other Places, *viz. Angers*, *Poitiers*, *Toulouse*, *Saintes*, *Bourdeaux*, and the Isle of *Maguelore*, which he consecrated, absolving those from all their Sins, who were, or should be thenceforth buried there. At *Tours Urban* performed on the Fourth *Sunday* of Lent the Ceremony of Blessing a Golden Rose filled with Musk and Balsam, which he wore that Day, and then gave to *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*. Some will have the Custom of Blessing a Golden Rose on the Fourth *Sunday* in Lent, and afterwards sending it to some Prince, or Person of great Distinction, to have been first introduced by this Pope. But from a Bull of *Leo* IX. in 1050 it appears, that this Custom obtained then. For by that Bull the Pope grants many Privileges to a Monastery of Women built by him in the City of *Bamberg*, and obliges them to send yearly to *Rome* a Golden Rose to be blessed by him and his Successors on the Fourth *Sunday* of Lent, or the Value of such a Rose [q]. From *France* the Pope returned to *Italy* in the latter End of *September* of the present Year 1096, staid some time at *Lucca*, and went from thence to *Milan*, where he preached to an immense Multitude of People come from all Parts to hear him, shewing, in his Discourse, that the lowest Clerk is greater, and more to be respected than the greatest King [r]. All the Popes after *Gregory* having made it their Study to debase Princes

Urban *returns to* Italy *and* Rome.

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[p] Concil. tom. x. p. 605.
[q] Theophyl. Raynaud. de Rosa Mediana, &c.
[r] Landulph. in Chron. c. 28.

and

and exalt the Clergy. *Urban* returned ſoon after to *Rome*, and was there received by the People, the Clergy, and the Nobility, with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy, the Friends of his Rival *Guibert* being obliged to ſave themſelves in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, which they ſtill held [s]. Year of Chriſt 1096.

In the mean time the Cruſaders ſet out in vaſt Numbers from *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, on their March into the Eaſt. The firſt Hoard, as we may call it, conſiſting of near Three hundred thouſand Men, marched off in Three diſtinct Bodies, the One commanded by *Peter* the Hermit, the chief Promoter of this Expedition, the other by a Monk named *Godeſcald*, and the Third by *Gualterius ſine habere*, as he is called by the contemporary Writers, that is *moneyleſs Gualter*. As the End of this holy Undertaking was to extirpate the Enemies of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion, the Cruſaders, looking upon the *Jews* in that Light, began with them, and in paſſing through *Germany*, where great Numbers of that Nation reſided, they inhumanly murdered them all without Diſtinction of Sex or Age. We are told, that at *Verdun*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Cologne*, and *Mentz*, thoſe unhappy Wretches, finding they could no otherwiſe avoid falling into the Hands of their mercileſs Enemies, barricaded themſelves in their Houſes, and there killed one another, that the Mothers cut the Throats of their ſuckling Infants, that Husbands and Fathers put to death their Wives and Children, and that none of them eſcaped the Fury of the holy Warriors, but ſuch as abjured *Judaiſm* and embraced Chriſtianity [t]. As the Cruſaders burnt, plundered, and deſtroyed every Thing in the Countries through which they paſſed, and even maſſacred the Inhabitants for not ſtarving themſelves to ſupport the Soldiers of Chriſt with Plenty of Proviſions, the People flew every where to Arms in their own Defence, and falling upon thoſe Free-booters, made ſuch Havock of them, eſpecially in *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, that the Hermit, upon his Arrival at *Conſtantinople* on the Firſt of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, could ſcarce muſter 20000 Men. He was there joined by the other two Bodies, that had got thither before him, but were greatly weakened, having ſuffered no leſs for the Diſorders they committed on their March than the Body he commanded. They were kindly received by the Emperor *Alexius*, who ordered them to be ſupplied with all Neceſſaries; but he was againſt their croſſing the *Helleſpont*, the

The Cruſaders begin their March into the Eaſt.

Their Behaviour in the Countries through which they paſſed.

They arrive at Conſtantinople.

[s] Bertold. in Chron.

[t] Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1096. Albert. Agenſ.

Year of Christ 1097.

Turks being Masters of the whole Country beyond it, till they were reinforced by other Bodies; which, he heard, were on their March to join them. The Hermit acquiesced; but his Men, under no Kind of Discipline, began, in the mean time, to lay waste the neighbouring Country, to plunder and set on fire the Houses and Villas of the *Greek* Lords, as if they were come to make War upon them, and enrich themselves with their Spoils; nay these Soldiers of Christ, as they called themselves, regardless of all Religion, and prompted by the Love of Booty, which alone had induced most of them to engage in this Undertaking, even stript the Churches of the Lead, with which they were covered, and sold it to the *Greeks* themselves. In short there was no Evil, which they did not commit, *non cessabant agere omnia Mala*, says an anonymous Writer, who lived at this time, approved of the Expedition, and was no Friend to the *Greeks* [w]. This Behaviour made the Emperor change his Mind; and glad to get rid of such troublesome Guests, he supplied them with Shipping to cross the *Hellespont*, little caring what became of them. Being landed on the other Side the *Hellespont*, they directed their March, in Two Bodies, or Columns, towards *Nice* in *Asia Minor*, the One commanded by *Raymund* a *German* Lord, and the other by the Hermit. The Body under *Raymund* was attacked by the *Turks*, at a Castle called *Exceregorgos*; and they were all cut in Pieces with their General on St. *Michael*'s Day. The other Body fared no better; the *Turks* fell upon them at a Place called *Cinitot*, not far from *Nice*, and not one of them outlived the Slaughter of that Day besides their General, who had the good Luck to make his Escape, and return alone to *Constantinople*, where he was looked upon as a Madman. At *Cinitot Gualter sine habere*, who commanded under the Hermit as his Lieutenant-General, was killed, with several other Persons of Distinction [x]. The Hermit had, according to the anonymous Historian, resigned the Command of the Army, before that unhappy Affair, finding that his Men would no longer obey his Commands, and was, fortunately for him, returned to *Constantinople*. Such was the Fate of the first Army of the Crusaders. In this Year *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and his Brother *Baldwin* went into the East, and arrived at *Constantinople* on the First of *August* [y].

Pass the Hellespont *and are all cut to Pieces by the* Turks.

[w] Anonym. apud Mabill. Musæum Italic. l. i. par. 2. [x] Idem ibid. et Chron. Malleacens. ad ann. 1097. [y] Idem ibid.

Urban

Urban returned to *Rome*, as has been ſaid, in the latter End of the Year 1096, and no farther Mention is made of him by any of the contemporary Hiſtorians till the Year 1098, when he received at *Rome*, with extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs and Eſteem, *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. That arrogant Prelate, having, at laſt, obtained, or rather extorted Leave from the King *(William Rufus)* to go to *Rome*, embarked at *Dover* about the Middle of *October* 1097, and travelling through *France* in the Habit of a Pilgrim, was received at *Lions* by *Hugh*, Archbiſhop of that City with all the Reſpect that was due to his Character. He ſtayed there till Wedneſday before Palm-Sunday, and then purſuing his Journey to *Rome*, was admitted, the Day after his Arrival in that City, to the Pope, who, laying aſide all his Pomp and Grandeur, treated him, in a Manner, as his Equal, allotted him an Apartment in the *Lateran* Palace, appointed proper Perſons to attend him, nay, and ordered the ſame Honours to be paid to the *Apoſtle of another World*, as he called him, that were paid to himſelf. But *Anſelm* was ſoon obliged by the exceſſive Heat to leave *Rome*, and retire to a Villa, that belonged to a Monaſtery in the Dioceſe of *Capua*, and was ſituated on an Eminence at a ſmall Diſtance from that City. He was invited thither by *John*, formerly Monk in the Monaſtery of *Bec* in *Normandy*, and acquainted with him while a Monk in the ſame Monaſtery. *Anſelm* continued there till the Arrival of the Pope, who had appointed a Council to meet at *Bari* on the Firſt of *October* of the preſent Year, and had ordered him to aſſiſt at it. As *Roger* Duke of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, and his Nephew *Roger*, Duke of *Apulia*, were then beſieging *Capua*, that had revolted from the *Normans*, the Pope went with *Anſelm* to viſit thoſe Princes, who met them, at ſome Diſtance, attended by all the chief Officers of the Army, and entertained them ſome Days in their Camp with the greateſt Magnificence. The Pope did not fail to interpoſe his good Offices in Behalf of the beſieged; but upon their refuſing to hearken to the Terms, which he propoſed, he retired with *Anſelm* to *Averſa*, and there continued till the Reduction of the Place, when he went to *Salerno* to take his Leave of the Duke of *Sicily*, then upon the Point of returning to that Iſland [z].

Year of Chriſt 1098. *Anſelm Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *goes to* Rome. *How received by the Pope.*

The famous Bull of the *Monarchy of Sicily* is ſuppoſed to have been granted to the Duke at this Interview. The Pope had appointed *The Monarchy of* Sicily.

[z] Eadmer. Novor. l. ii. c. 3.

Year of Christ 1098.

Robert, Bishop of *Trani*, his Legate *a Latere* in *Sicily*. But the Duke, no Stranger to the Authority those Legates assumed, and the Disturbances which they frequently raised, earnestly entreated the Pope to revoke the Commission, plainly insinuating that he would suffer no Legate in his Dominions. As the Duke had done many signal Services to the Apostolic See, had driven the *Saracens* quite out of *Sicily*, and subjected all the Churches in that Island to the See of *Rome*, though claimed by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Pope not only recalled the Commission he had given to the Bishop, but to engage the Duke still more in the Defence of his See, he conferred upon him all the Power he had granted to his Legate, declaring him, his Heirs, and his Successors, *Legates born*, and vested with Legatine Power in its full Extent. The Bull, granting this unprecedented Privilege, is dated at *Salerno* in the Month of *July*, the Seventh Indiction, and in the Eleventh Year of Pope *Urban*, that is, in 1098; and *Baronius* has inserted it at Length in the Eleventh Volume of his Annals, to which I refer the Reader. Though this Bull is thought by most Men of Learning to be entirely fictitious, yet the Kings of *Arragon*, to whom *Sicily* was subject for many Years, claimed and exercised the Legatine Power as the Successors of Duke *Roger*. It has been likewise claimed, and sometimes exercised by all the Princes, who have been Masters of that Island since their Time, and even in our Days by the late Duke of *Savoy*. For *Clement* XI. having in 1715 published Two Bulls, the one abolishing the *Monarchy*, as it is called, and the other establishing a new Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Government, the Duke banished all, who received either; and on that Occasion Swarms of Jesuits were sent from *Sicily* to *Rome* as they have been lately from *Portugal* to *Rome*; so that no Change was made in the Ecclesiastic Polity, and the Monarchy still subsists in its full Force. In Virtue of *Urban*'s Bull, whoever is Master of *Sicily* is Pope of that Kingdom, is supreme Head of the Church there, has a Power to excommunicate and absolve all Persons whatever, Ecclesiastics as well as Laymen, and Cardinals themselves residing in that Island, to preside at all Provincial Councils, and, in short, to exercise all Jurisdiction, that a Legate *a Latere*, vested with the fullest Legatine Power, can exercise: and this extensive Jurisdiction the Kings of *Sicily* may exercise by their Lieutenants, Viceroys, and Governors. It is to be observed, that as the Kingdom of *Sicily* may fall to Females, a Woman may be at the Head of the Church in

Sicily as well as in *England*; which however is a ſtanding Joke with the *Roman* Catholics, and even, what has not a little ſurpriſed me, with that incomparable Hiſtorian *Pietro Giannoni*, though he finds no Fault with the ſpiritual Monarchy of *Sicily*, including more Power than any King of *England* ever claimed, and yet liable to fall to the Diſtaff, as it actually did in the Time of *Jane* of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*. Year of Chriſt 1098.

From *Salerno* the Pope repaired to *Bari* to preſide at the Council, which he had appointed to meet there on the Firſt of *October* of the preſent Year. It conſiſted of One hundred and Eighty-three Biſhops, among whom was *Anſelm*, and ſeveral *Greek* Biſhops, whom *Urban* had invited in order to attempt a Reconciliation between them and the *Latins*, who wanted their Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance to carry on the War againſt the Infidels with the wiſhed-for Succeſs. The Acts of this Council have not reached our Times, and all we know of it is, that the Point, which had been ſo often debated, was here debated anew, *viz.* whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only; that in this Diſpute *Anſelm* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt, and ſilenced the *Greeks* with Paſſages, not from the Fathers, but from the Scripture alone; that all were aſtoniſhed at his profound Knowledge, at the Strength and Perſpicuity of his Reaſonings, and that the Pope and the other Biſhops of the Council vied, in a manner, with each other in commending and extolling him [a]. *William* of *Malmsbury* writes that *Anſelm*, out of Modeſty, ſat ſilent, leaving the other Biſhops to diſpute with the *Greeks*, till the Pope, recollecting that he was preſent, (for in the Hurry of Affairs he had forgot to allot him his proper Place) addreſſed him thus; Anſelm, *Archbiſhop of the* Engliſh, *our Father and Maſter, where are you?* That *Anſelm* riſing up at theſe Words, the Pope bid him draw near, and placing him by the Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, who, according to the Cuſtom that then obtained, ſat before him, he told him aloud that his Eloquence and Knowledge were wanted to put an End to the preſent Diſpute, encouraged him to undertake the Defence of the Church his holy Mother as ſent by God for that Purpoſe, and ſatisfy the *Greeks* that the Opinion, which they ſo obſtinately maintained, was not only erroneous but heretical. The Hiſtorian adds, that upon the Biſhops of the Council asking, who he was, whom his Holineſs thus diſtinguiſhed,

Council of Bari.

Anſelm *diſtinguiſhes himſelf in that Council.*

[a] Eadmer. Novor. l. ii. c. 9.

Year of Christ 1098.

and whence he came, *Urban* took from thence Occaſion to honour *Anſelm* with the Title of *Pope of another World*, extolling him for his eminent Virtues, for his Humility, for his Learning, and above all for the Zeal, with which he had maintained, againſt the King of *England*, the undoubted Rights of the Apoſtolic See. Thus *Malmsbury* [b]; but *Eadmerus*, who was preſent, is ſilent with Reſpect to moſt of thoſe Particulars [c]. *Anſelm* was afterwards prevailed upon by his Friends to publiſh the Paſſages and Arguments, which he alledged in this Council againſt the Error of the *Greeks*; and they are to be met with in his Treatiſe upon *the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt*, which is ſtill extant.

Diverts the Pope from excommunicating the King.

As *Anſelm* had complained to the Pope of the King of *England*, charging him with extorting large Sums from the Churches in his Dominions, with ſeizing on the Temporalities of his Biſhopric after his Departure, and denying Biſhops Leave to go to *Rome*, his Complaints were by the Pope laid before the Council, as well as the ill Treatment which *Anſelm* pretended to have met with at his Hands. The Pope added, that he had admoniſhed the King Three times, and exhorted him to alter his Conduct, but that no Regard had been paid to his Admonitions, and that he therefore applied to them for their Advice. The Biſhops anſwered with one Voice, that ſince his Holineſs had admoniſhed him Three times, and he had hearkened to none of his paternal and repeated Admonitions, nothing now remained but to ſtrike him with an Anathema, that he might thus, at leaſt, be retrieved from his wicked Ways. At theſe Words *Anſelm*, who had hitherto kept Silence, ſtarting up, threw himſelf at the Pope's Feet, and what with his Tears, what with his Prayers and Entreaties, prevailed upon him, in the end, to ſuſpend the Sentence. *Urban* however wrote to the King, reproaching him with his Behaviour towards *Anſelm*, ordering him to reſtore the Temporalities of his See, which he had unjuſtly uſurped, and reinſtate him in his Dignity. *Anſelm* wrote at the ſame time to the King, who received the Pope's Letter, but would not receive his, looking upon him as an Enemy to the Peace and Welfare of his Kingdom, nay being informed, that the Bearer of thoſe Letters was the Archbiſhop's Servant, he ſwore by St. *Luke*'s Face, his uſual Oath, that if he did not immediately leave the Kingdom he would order his Eyes to be plucked out [d].

[b] Malmſ. de Geſt. Pont. Angl. l. i. [c] Eadmer. ubi ſupra. [d] Idem ibid.

From

From *Bari* the Pope returned with *Anſelm* to *Rome*, and there received, in the latter End of *December*, an Anſwer from the King of *England* to the Letter he had writ to him in Favour of the Archbiſhop. As in that Letter the King rather juſtified than excuſed his Conduct, the Pope ordered the Envoy to return, without Delay, to *England*, and tell his Maſter, in the Name of St. *Peter*, that if he did not reinſtate the Archbiſhop in all his Poſſeſſions, the Sentence of Excommunication would be inevitably thundered out againſt him. He added, that he had appointed a Council to meet at *Rome* the third Week after Eaſter, and therefore deſired the King would acquaint him, before the Meeting of that Aſſembly, with his final Reſolution. But the Envoy, named *William*, was a Man of Parts and Addreſs, and having brought with him many rich and valuable Preſents, he knew ſo well how to diſpoſe of them, that he not only obtained Leave to ſtay a long Time at *Rome*, but prevailed upon the Pope to ſuſpend the Sentence, with which he had threatened the King, till Michaelmas, that is, for Nine Months and upwards [e].

Year of Chriſt 1098.

The Pope threatens the King of England; but is appeaſed.

In the mean time the Council met at *Rome* on Sunday the third Week after Eaſter, which, in 1099 fell on the laſt Day of *April*. They aſſembled in the Church of St. *Peter*, being One hundred and Fifty Biſhops, beſides other Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks and Degrees, and an infinite Multitude of Laymen. By this Council were confirmed the Decrees of the Two former Councils of *Placentia* and *Clermont*, and Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced by the Pope and all the Biſhops, who were preſent, againſt all Laymen who ſhould preſume to give Inveſtitures, and all Eccleſiaſtics who ſhould dare to receive them, or ordain thoſe who had. This Sentence extended to ſuch Eccleſiaſtics as did Homage to Laymen for any Benefice or Preferment, it being thought beneath the Office and the Dignity of the Clergy to ſerve Laymen as their Slaves, and, in a manner, as their Hand-maids. The Decrees of other Councils againſt married Clerks were renewed, and all were forbidden to communicate with them till they had diſmiſſed their Concubines [f]. As the Church was greatly crowded, and the continual Noiſe of ſome coming in and others going out prevented the Decrees and Reſolutions of the Aſſembly from being heard by all, the Pope ordered *Reinger*, Biſhop of *Lucca*, who had a ſtrong and clear Voice, to ſtand up and read them aloud. The Biſhop obeyed, but ſtopping unexpectedly

Council of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1099.

[e] Ead. et Malmſ. ubi ſupra. [f] Concil. t. x. p. 615.

in

Year of Christ 1099.

The Cause of Anselm *warmly recommended by one of the Bishops.*

in the midst of the Decrees, and fixing his Eyes upon the numerous Audience, *But what are we about?* he said, *We are loading those with new Ordinances, who submit to us, but afford no Relief to those, who want our Protection and are come to implore it. The whole World complains, that the Head does not grieve with the Members. Behold, one sits here modestly and silently among us, but his Silence cries aloud: He has been stript of every thing he possessed, and hoped to be redressed here: But this is the Second Year of his being among us; and what Relief has he yet received? No Relief at all.* Anselm *is the Person I speak of,* Anselm *Archbishop of* England. Having uttered these Words, to shew his Zeal and Indignation he struck the Ground with his Crosier, fixing his Eyes again on the Audience. The Pope, whom he chiefly seemed to point at, heard him with great Calmness, and when he had done, calling him by the Name of *Brother Reinger*, he bid him give himself no farther Trouble, for a Remedy should be found and in due time applied. The Bishop replied, It is but fit, for the just Judge will not suffer such Things to go unpunished. *Reinger* then resumed the Decrees. The Historian adds, that *Anselm* had no Share in this Declaration, but on the contrary was greatly disturbed at it [g].

Second Army of the Crusade.

In the mean time another grand Army, consisting of better disciplined Troops, and commanded by more experienced Officers, took different Routs into the East. Among these were *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, elder Brother of *William Rufus*, to whom he mortgaged his Dominions for the necessary Money to equip himself for that Expedition [h]. *Hugh*, surnamed the *Great*, Brother to *Philip*, King of *France*, Count of *Flanders*, *Boamond*, the Son of the famous *Robert Guiscard*, his nephew *Tancred* [i], *Raimund*, Count of *Thoulouse*, Lord of *Languedoc*, and great Part of *Provence*, and many other Persons of great Distinction. *Raimund* led near a Hundred thousand Men, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* Seventy thousand Foot and Ten thousand Horse, *Boamond* Seven thousand Horse completely armed, with some Infantry, and the other Princes had all large Bodies under their Command; insomuch that this Second Army was far more numerous than the First. The Emperor *Alexius*, tho' greatly alarmed at the Arrival of such vast Armies in his Dominions, ordered them to be plentifully supplied with Provisions, and Markets

[g] Malmsb. l. i. [h] Eadmer. Novor. l. i. c. 2. [i] Anna Comnena, l. iv. c. 7.

to

to be erected for that Purpoſe in all the Places, through which they paſſed. He even ſent Interpreters, who underſtood their different Languages, to prevent any Miſunderſtanding between them and the Natives. But the Inſolence, with which they behaved even to the Emperor himſelf, can ſcarce be conceived. *Anna Comnena*, the Emperor's Daughter, tells us, that while her Father was one Day ſitting in his Throne at a public Ceremony, a *French* Count placed himſelf in the Throne by him, telling *Baldwin*, Brother to *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, upon his taking him by the Hand to remove him, that he thought it unmannerly in the *Greek* Clown to ſit down in the Preſence of Men of their Rank. His Words were interpreted to the Emperor, who inſtead of reſenting them, only ſmiled at the Ruſticity of the Count [k]. *Alexius*, wiſely overlooking their haughty Behaviour, and the many Diſorders they committed while in the Neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, treated their Princes with the greateſt Grandeur and Politeneſs, eſpecially *Boamund*, whom he feared the moſt, as he had experienced his Valour in the War, which his Father had made upon the Empire in *Epirus*, where he gained, in 1083, a complete Victory over the Imperial army, though in Number greatly ſuperior to his, and commanded by the Emperor in Perſon. But *Boamund*, in ſpite of all the Emperor's Civilities and many rich Preſents he ſent him, was for beginning the War with the Siege of *Conſtantinople*, painting the Emperor as a crafty deſigning Man, as a ſworn Enemy to the *Latin* Name, and one from whom they had no leſs to fear than from the Infidels themſelves. He had inherited of his Father an Averſion to the *Greeks*, had engaged in this Enterpriſe merely to better his Fortune, his Father having only left him the ſmall Principality of *Tarentum*, and was therefore for enriching himſelf with the Spoils of the Imperial City. But his Propoſal was rejected with great Indignation by the *French*, declaring that they had left their Country and all that was dear to them to make War upon the Infidels, and redeem their Chriſtian Brethren from the Tyranny they groaned under, and that it was fit they ſhould live in Amity with them, and reſtore what the common Enemy had taken from them [l]. *Boamund* acquieſced, and an Agrement was concluded between them and *Alexius*, who bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to aſſiſt, and ſupply them with Proviſions ſo far as in him lay,

Year of Chriſt 1099.

Their Behaviour.

[k] Ann. Comnena, l. iv. c. 7. [l] Orderic, l. ix.

Year of Christ 1099

while they, on their Side, promiſed to abſtain from all Hoſtilities in the Countries ſtill ſubject to the *Greek* Empire [m]. Soon after this Agreement the Emperor, no leſs impatient to get rid of this than of the firſt Army, loſt no time in ſupplying them with Shipping to croſs the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia Minor*, and take the Field againſt the *Turks*, Maſters of almoſt that whole Province. They were found, upon a Muſter after their Landing, to amount to an Hundred thouſand Horſe, and near Five hundred thouſand Foot, including Servants, Victualers, Prieſts, and Women, whom thoſe pious Soldiers of Chriſt made no Scruple, as the Hiſtorian informs us, criminally to converſe with [n]. The *Turks* drew together all the Forces they could muſter, but were in Two pitched Battles defeated with the Loſs, as we are told, of Two hundred thouſand Men, whereas there fell on the Side of the Chriſtians but Thirteen thouſand, among whom was *Monteil*, Biſhop of *Puy* in *Auvergne*, and the Pope's Legate [o]. Encouraged with theſe Two ſignal Victories, they inveſted the City of *Nice*, and made themſelves Maſters of that important Place after a Seven Weeks Siege. This happened in 1097, and the ſame Year they laid Siege to *Antioch*, which City the *Turks* defended with great Reſolution and Intrepidity for the Space of Eight Months. But the Chriſtians having in the mean time gained a Third Victory, as complete as either of the other Two, the Garriſon was thereby ſo diſheartened, that they thenceforth made but a faint Reſiſtance, and the Place was carried by Aſſault on *Thurſday* the Third of *June* 1098 [p]. The City of *Antioch* was taken by the *Turks* in 1089, and the Princes of the Cruſade ought, in Juſtice, to have reſtored it to the Emperor, from whom the Infidels had taken it. But inſtead of returning it to the lawful Owner, they all, with One Conſent, gave it, with its fertile Territory, to *Boamund*, who had no leſs diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Conduct than his Courage. No Wonder that the Emperor was not ſo hearty in their Cauſe as might have been expected, when he found that they were to keep the Countries, which they conquered, and he was to get nothing by their Victories. Had he foreſeen the Conſequences of his applying to the Pope for Relief, he would have contented himſelf with defending his Dominions, in the beſt Manner he could, with his own Forces. The

[m] Orderic, l. ix. [n] Guill. Tyr. l. i. c. 17. [o] Chron. Malleac. ad ann. 1097. [p] Idem ad ann. 1098.

Princes

Princes of the Cruſade continued Five Months at *Antioch* and in that Neighbourhood, to allow ſome Reſpite to their Men, quite ſpent with the Fatigues they had undergone. But they took the Field again early in the Spring, and having, not without great Loſs of Men, reduced ſeveral Strong-holds, they at laſt approached the City of *Jeruſalem*, which was inveſted to the North by *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, and to the South by *Raimund* Count of *Thouloufe*. The Siege laſted Five Months, and the City was taken, in Spite of the obſtinate Reſiſtance of a numerous Gariſon, by Scalade, on *Friday* the Fifteenth Day of *July* 1099. A Soldier, named *Letot*, was the firſt that ſcaled the Wall, and Duke *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* the ſecond. The *Turks* were all maſſacred, and while the Streets were yet ſtreaming with their Blood, a ſolemn Proceſſion was made, to return Thanks to the Almighty for the Recovery of the holy City and the holy Sepulchre. They ſpent Eight Days in Devotion, and in Maſſacres, and then proceded to the Election of a King of *Jeruſalem*, when *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* was unanimouſly elected. He accepted the Dignity, but rejected the Diadem, declaring that he would not wear a Crown of Gold where his Lord had worn one of Thorns [q]. As *Simeon*, the *Greek* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, died during the Siege, in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the Princes of the Cruſade appointed one *Arnulph*, a *Latin* Clerk, as the Hiſtorian calls him, for his Succeſſor [r]. *John*, the *Greek* Patriarch of *Antioch*, not chuſing to keep his See under the *Latins*, though he had kept it under the *Turks*, reſigned it at the End of Two Years after the Reduction of the Place, and retired to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his Reſignation *Bernard*, Chaplain to the Pope's Legate, was preferred to the Patriarchal See of *Antioch* in his room. And thus were Two of the Patriarchal Sees in the Eaſt filled with *Latins*. And thus far of the Cruſade, to the taking of *Jeruſalem*.

Year of Chriſt 1099.

Urban did not live long enough to receive the joyful Tidings of the Surrender of *Jeruſalem*. That City was taken, as has been ſaid, on the Fifteenth of *July* 1099, and the Pope died at *Rome* the ſame Year on the 29th of the ſame Month, after a Pontificate of Eleven Years Four Months and Eighteen Days, including the Dayo f his Death. He may be ſtiled another *Gregory* VII; for he adopted all his Principles, confirmed all his Decrees, and purſued, with no leſs

Urban's Death.

[q] Guill. Tyr. l. ix. c. 9. [r] Albert Aquens, l. vi.

Year of Chriſt 1099.

His Character.

Vigour than *Gregory* himſelf, though perhaps with more Art and Addreſs, the grand Work which that Pope had begun, that of eſtabliſhing the temporal as well as the ſpiritual Monarchy of his See. He was buried in the *Vatican*, and his Tomb being diſcovered in later Times, the following Epitaph was engraved upon it, *Urbanus* II. *Auctor Expeditionis in Infideles*, *Urban* II. Author of the Expedition againſt the Infidels. As he was a Monk, and a great Friend to the Monkiſh Orders, he is highly commended by them for his eminent Virtues, and even ſaid to have wrought ſome Miracles. But his Miracles have gained no Credit even in the Church. For though he has a Place in the *Benedictine* Martyrology, with the Title of *Bleſſed*, he has never been admitted into the *Roman*. In this Pope's Time, and in 1084 was founded the Order of the *Carthuſians* by *Bruno*, Canon firſt of *Cologne*, and afterwards of *Reims*. They were called *Carthuſians* from the Deſert, to which *Bruno* firſt retired with his Companions. By their Inſtitution they are to obſerve perpetual Silence. But as many of them, overcome with Melancholy, put an End to their own Lives, *Clement* XI. diſpenſed, in our Days, with the Obſervance of Silence one Day in the Week.

The Carthuſian *Order founded.*

ALEXIUS COMNENUS, *Emperor of the* East. **PASCHAL II.** HENRY IV. HENRY V. *Emperors of the* Weſt.

The Hundred and fifty-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Paſchal *elected.*

URBAN dying on the Twenty-ninth of *July*, the Cardinals, Biſhops, and Clergy of *Rome*, with the Heads of the People, aſſembled on the Thirteenth of *Auguſt* in the Church of St. *Clement*, to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, when Cardinal *Rainerius*, or *Ragingerius*, was unanimouſly elected. When he found they were determined to chuſe him, he privately withdrew, and concealed himſelf, hoping they might, in the mean time, prefer another to the Dignity, of which he thought himſelf of all the moſt unworthy. But as he did not conceal himſelf ſo as not to be diſcovered, he was ſoon brought back, and ſome of his Friends crying out, when he appeared again in the Aſſembly, *Paſchal is Pope*, *St. Peter has*

choſen

choſen him, the whole Aſſembly reſounded with the ſame Words, and he was immediately carried to the *Lateran* Palace, and there inthroned, or placed, with the uſual Ceremony, in the Pontifical Throne. He was conſecrated the very next Day, that is, on the Fourteenth of *Auguſt*, which in 1099 fell on a Sunday, in the Church of St. *Peter*, by the Biſhops of *Oſtia*, *Porto*, *Albano*, *Lavici*, *Præneſte*, and *Nepi* [a]. *Pandulphus Piſanus*, who wrote the Life of *Paſchal*, deſcribes here the Ceremony of the Pope's Inthronation. He put on, as ſoon as elected, a ſcarlet Mantle, the Cardinals wearing then only Purple, as all Biſhops do now, and a Cap of State being placed upon his Head, he went in that Attire, on Horſe-back, from the Place of the Election to the *Lateran*, attended by the Electors, and Crowds of People ſinging Hymns. He alighted at the South Gate of the Baſilic, and ſat down in a Chair, that was placed there. Then entering the Palace, he came to Two Chairs, and being there girt with a Belt, from which hung Seven Keys, and Seven Seals, Emblems of the Sevenfold Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, which was to direct him in looſing and binding, he was placed firſt in the one and then in the other; and the Ferula, Paſtoral Staff, or Croſier, was delivered to him. When this Ceremony was over he was Maſter of the *Lateran* Palace, and allowed to go alone into thoſe Apartments, which none but the *Roman* Pontiffs were allowed to ſet their Foot in. Thus *Pandulphus Piſanus*, who adds, that *Paſchal* was crowned as well as conſecrated in the *Vatican*, whereas other Popes were, ſo far as we can learn from *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, inthroned in the *Lateran* Palace, conſecrated in the *Vatican*, and from thence reconducted to the *Lateran* and crowned there [b]. We are told that the Election of *Paſchal* was miraculous, that it was foreſeen by a holy Biſhop named *Albert*, and that he knew by divine Revelation, that *Paſchal* would hold the See *four Times Four and Three*, that is, Nineteen Years [c]; which indeed happened, but the Prophecy was not made public till it was fulfilled.

Year of Chriſt 1099.

Paſchal was a Native of *Tuſcany*, the Son of one *Creſcentius*, and being brought up from his Infancy in the Monaſtery of *Cluny*, he there embraced, while yet very young, a monaſtic Life. He was afterwards ſent to *Rome* by his Abbot upon ſome Affairs relating to

His Birth, Education, &c.

[a] Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1099. Pandulph. Piſan. in ejus Vit. [b] Anaſt. in Nich. i. [c] Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1099. Dodechin. et Pandulph. Piſan. in vit. Paſch.

Year of Christ 1099.

the Monastery; and *Gregory* VII. in whose Pontificate he came, finding him, on that Occasion, to be a Man of uncommon Parts, kept him with him, and as he fully answered his Expectation, he caused him to be ordained Priest, preferred him to the Dignity of Cardinal, and made him Abbot of St. *Lawrence* [d].

Is informed by the Princes of the Crusade of their Success.

The Princes of the Crusade took Care to acquaint the new Pope with the Success that had attended their Arms in the East, by a Letter directed to his Holiness, to all the Bishops, and to all the Faithful in general [e]. *Paschal* was transported with Joy at the News of the Reduction of the Holy City, and no less at the Discovery of Part of the true Cross, and the Lance, with which the *Roman* Soldier pierced our Saviour's Side. But he did not at all approve of the Election of *Arnulph*, whom they had preferred to the Patriarchal See of *Jerusalem*, and he was therefore deposed in a Council held in that City, and *Diabert*, Bishop of *Pisa*, whom the Pope had appointed his Legate in the East, was chosen Patriarch in his room.

Guibert *dies.* Year of Christ 1100.

In the Beginning of the second Year of *Paschal*'s Pontificate, that is, in *September* or *October* 1100, died *Guibert*, who had assumed the Name of *Clement* III. and being supported by the Emperor and the Imperial Party, had given so much Trouble to Three Popes, *viz.* *Gregory* VII. *Victor* III. and *Urban* II. He maintained, at least, the Name of Pope for the Space of Twenty Years. But being driven from *Rome* by the *Romans* in *Urban*'s Time, and from his Bishopric of *Ravenna* by *Paschal*, he retired, according to some to *Citta di Castello*, according to others, to the Mountains of *Abruzzo*, and died suddenly. He is allowed even by his Enemies to have been a Man of Parts, of great Address, Eloquence and Learning [f]. *Guibert*'s Friends no sooner heard of his Death than they chose one *Albert* in his room. But he was taken the very Day of his Election, and confined by *Paschal* to the Monastery of St. *Lawrence*. In his room was chosen a *Roman*, named *Theodoric*, who fared not much better; for he too fell into *Paschal*'s Hands One hundred and Five Days after his Election, and was shut up in the Monastery of *Cava* near *Palestrina*. Lastly, the Partizans of *Guibert* elected an Archpriest called *Magninulph*, who took the Name of *Silvester* IV. But *Paschal*'s Party prevailing, *Silvester*, though he wanted not Friends,

Three Anti-Popes.

[d] Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1099. Dodechin. et Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Pasch.
[e] Dodechin. ad ann. 1100. [f] Usperg. Dodechin. &c.

was

was forced to leave *Rome*, and Death prevented his attempting, as he intended, to return to it g. Year of Chriſt 1100.

Paſchal, having now no Rival to contend with, began to apply himſelf to the Functions of his Office; and being informed that *Philip* of *France* had recalled *Bertrada* to Court, and lived in public Adultery with her, as he had done before, he ſent Two Cardinals to *France*, *John* and *Benedict*, with the Character of his Legates, to admoniſh the King, and, if he did not mend upon their Admonitions, to cut him off as a rotten Member from the Body of the Church. The Legates, on their Arrival in *France*, acquainted the King with their Commiſſion; but finding that he paid no Kind of Regard either to their Exhortations or their Menaces, they left the Court, and repairing ro *Poitiers* aſſembled a Council there, which is ſaid to have conſiſted of One hundred and Forty Biſhops. They met on the Eighteenth of *November* of the preſent Year, made Sixteen Canons, calculated to redreſs ſome Abuſes that obtained in the *Gallican* Churches, and when the Canons were read, One of the Legates ſtanding up acquainted the Aſſembly with the Endeavours they had uſed, by his Holineſs's Command, but uſed in vain, to retrieve the King from his Wickedneſs, expreſſed great Concern at his being obliged to proceed to ſuch Extremities, and then, with the Approbation of the Council, pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the King, and at the ſame time againſt his adulterous Concubine *Bertrada* h. At this Council was preſent *William*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, who, provoked at their preſuming to excommunicate the King, ordered his Servants and Attendants to fall upon them, and put them all, without Mercy, to the Sword. The Order would have been executed had not the Members of the Council, all but Two Abbots, diſappeared the Moment it was given; and theſe the Duke ſpared as the more worthy to live the leſs they valued their Lives i.

Philip *of* France *excommunicated.*

William Rufus, King of *England*, being this Year unfortunately killed, his Brother *Henry* I. got Poſſeſſion of the Crown in the Abſence of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, his elder Brother then in *Paleſtine*, was conſecrated at *London* by *Maurinus*, Biſhop of that City, and acknowledged by the Biſhops as well as the Nobility. But as he did not doubt that his Brother would return, and claim the Crown as the Elder of the Two, to gain the Pope, or, at leaſt, to prevent

Anſelm *returns to* England.

g Pindulph. Sigebert. Groſſin. vit. Bernard.

h Concil. t. x. p. 720, 721.

i Gaufred.

him

Year of Christ 1100.

him from openly espousing the Cause of his Brother, in whose Favour he knew him to be greatly prejudiced on account of his engaging in the Holy War, he recalled *Anselm*, than which he could do nothing more pleasing to the Pope, and reinstated him in his See. Of this Step, the King had soon Occasion to repent, though it appeared to him of Two Evils the least. For *Anselm* going to Court a few Days after his Arrival, and being there required to do Homage to the King after the Example of his Predecessors, and receive his Archbishopric from his Hand, he declared without the least Hesitation, against the one and the other, adding, that if the King was resolved to receive and observe the Decrees of the Apostolic See, nothing should interrupt the Peace and Harmony between them, but if he was not, he could not in Conscience, nor in Honour remain in *England*, since he should be obliged, if the King disposed of Bishoprics and Abbies, to deprive himself of his Communion, as well as of the Communion of those, who received them at his Hand. This Resolution in *Anselm* was entirely agreeable to the Decrees of the late Council of *Bari*, at which he had assisted, forbidding, upon Pain of Excommunication, Laymen to give and Ecclesiastics to receive Investitures from them, or to do them Homage. The King well knew that his Predecessors had Time out of Mind both nominated and invested all the Bishops of the Kingdom, and that their Right had never been disputed. However, as he was unwilling to quarrel with the Archbishop at so critical a Juncture, it was agreed between them, that both should send to *Rome* to consult the Pope, and the Point in Dispute should be dropt till Easter of the following Year 1101 [k]. In the mean time the King marrying *Mathilda*, the Daughter of *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, by his Queen St. *Margaret*, *Anselm* performed the nuptial Ceremony, and afterwards consecrated and crowned the Queen.

The Pope attempts to introduce the Legatine Power into England.

Year of Christ 1101.

During this Truce, as *Eadmer* calls it, between the King and the Archbishop, the Pope, knowing that the Archbishop was wholly in his Interest, resolved to lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity to introduce the Legatine Power into *England*, a Power above all other Power but that of the Pope himself. *Paschal* sent over accordingly *Guido*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, afterwards Pope under the Name of *Calixtus* II. with the Character of his Legate *a Latere*. But this

[k] Eadmer, l. i. c. 3.

was

was a Thing unheard of in *England*, ſays the Hiſtorian, it ſtruck all with Admiration, and as no Power had ever yet been known in *England* above that of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, all declared that they would own no other; and as the Legate came, ſo he returned, being by none acknowledged, or allowed to exerciſe any Function whatever of his Office[l]. Legates had been ſent from *Rome* into *England* long before this Time. *Gregory* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Theophylact* Biſhop of *Todi*, came into this Kingdom in the Reign of King *Offa*, in the Year 786, being ſent by *Hadrian* I. to enquire into the State of the *Engliſh* Church; and they told the *Engliſh* Biſhops, in the Speech which they made to them, that they were the Firſt Prieſts that had been ſent from *Rome* to *England* ſince the Time of *Auſtin*[m]. But it does not appear, that thoſe Legates exerciſed, or even claimed any Power over the *Engliſh* Biſhops: they only aſſiſted them with their Advice and Directions. In the Pontificate of *Alexander* II. and the Beginning of the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, Three Legates came from *Rome* to *England*; but it was at the King's Requeſt that the Pope ſent them, and they acted only as directed and inſtructed by him, deſirous of caſting upon them the Odium of his intended Innovations, and arbitrary Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* in Favour of the *Norman* Clergy. But *Guido* was ſent by *Paſchal*, unknown to the King and the whole Nation, to exerciſe here the ſame uncontrouled Power over all Perſons, Laymen as well as Eccleſiaſtics, as was exerciſed by the Legates in the Countries, that had unadviſedly admitted them. It is to be obſerved, that *Anſelm*, however zealous for the Papal Power, did not in the leaſt intereſt himſelf in behalf of the Legate, ſenſible that his own Power and Authority would be eclipſed by his; nay, *Eadmer*, who was his Secretary and inſeparable Companion, and may be therefore ſuppoſed to have ſpoken his Sentiments, exclaims againſt the Legatine Power, as a Thing altogether unprecedented in *England*[n].

Year of Chriſt 1101.

The Legate ſent back.

As the Envoys, ſent to *Rome* by the King and the Archbiſhop, did not come back by *Eaſter*, they conſented to prolong their Agreement till their Return. In the mean time *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, returning from the *Holy Land* upon the News of the Death of the King his Brother, and claiming the Kingdom, which *Henry*,

England *invaded by the Duke of* Normandy.

[l] Eadmer. l. i. c. 3. [m] Concil. Brit. l. i. p. 292. [n] Eadmer. ubi ſupra.

Year of Christ 1101.

his younger Brother had seized, as his Inheritance, landed in *England* with a considerable Force, determined to maintain his Right to the Crown by Dint of Arms. Many of the Nobility went over to him, many privately favoured his Cause, and much Blood would have been shed on both Sides, had not *Anselm* been prevailed upon by the Nobility to interpose. By his Mediation, as well as by the Address and prudent Conduct of the King, the Two Brothers were reconciled, and Peace was restored to the Kingdom [o].

The King and the Duke reconciled by Means of Anselm.

The Envoys of Anselm *and the King return from* Rome.

In the mean time returned the Envoys, sent by the King and the Archbishop to *Rome*, with a long Letter from the Pope to the King, calculated to prove Ecclesiastic Investitures to be the incommunicable Right of the Apostolic See. The Reasons he alleged to prove that Paradox were, 1. The Lord declares the Right of investing Bishops to be his alone, saying, *I am the Door*: if Kings therefore pretend to be the Door, says the Pope, they who enter through them, are not Pastors, but Thieves. 2. St. *Ambrose* would not suffer the Emperor to dispose of a Church, telling him that he had no Right to divine Matters, that Emperors might dispose of Palaces, but the disposing of Churches belonged to the Bishops. 3. God, and not Man, is the Author of the Marriage between the Bishop and his Church. 4. He quotes a Law of *Justinian* to prove, that Bishops should be elected by the People, and not by the Prince alone [p].

The Pope's Letter to the King.

These Reasons are all, as every Reader must be sensible, evidently unconcluding. For in the first Place, they, who ordain a Bishop, are the *Door*, through which he enters, and not the Prince, who by Investiture only puts him in Possession of the Temporalities of his Church. All Bishops, and among them many of great Sanctity and most exemplary Lives, had, Time out of Mind, received Investitures from the Princes, under whom they were to enjoy the Temporalities of their Churches, and to whom or to their Predecessors they were indebted for them. And were none of them Pastors? Were they all Thieves? The Emperors were, for several Ages, the *Door*, in *Paschal*'s Sense, through which the Popes themselves entered; for they were not to be ordained till their Election was confirmed by those Princes; and were they too all Thieves? Was *Gregory* VII. himself one, who was not consecrated till the Emperor's Pleasure was known? The Instance of St. *Ambrose* is quite foreign to the Purpose; for the Ques-

[o] Eadmer. in vit. Anselm, l. ii. [p] Ead. Novor. l. iii. c. 2.

tion was not, whether the Emperor had a Right to inveſt Biſhops, but whether he could grant a Church to the *Arians* that belonged to the Catholics? which *Ambroſe* maintained he had no Power to do. As to the Marriage of Biſhops, Princes did not pretend to marry them to their Churches, but only to put them in Poſſeſſion of the Dower of their Spouſe. With reſpect to the Law of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, the Method of Election was different in different Times and Nations. In ſome Places Biſhops were elected by the People and the Clergy of the Dioceſe, and the Biſhops of the Province. In other Places they were nominated by the Prince only, the People acquieſcing in his Nomination, and the Biſhops of the Province ordaining the Perſon, whom he had nominated, unleſs he was unqualified by the Canons, in which Caſe they remonſtrated againſt his Ordination. In the more early Times the Emperors frequently named the Perſon, whom they would have preferred, without ſo much as conſulting the People, to prevent popular Tumults, that often ended in Bloodſhed. Thus was *Nectarius* nominated by the *Elder*, and *Neſtorius* by the *Younger Theodoſius*, to the Patriarchal See of *Conſtantinople*. By the Council of *Arles*, in 952, it was ordained, that upon a Vacancy the Biſhops of the Province ſhould nominate Three, and the People and the Clergy ſhould be confined in their Choice to One of the Three. In *Spain*, about the Year 599, the People and Clergy were allowed to nominate Three, and the Metropolitan as well as the Biſhops of the Province were to caſt Lots, which of the Three ſhould be ordained. The Pope took, it ſeems, upon Truſt the Law of *Juſtinian*, requiring Biſhops to be elected by the People. For by Two of his Novels the common People were entirely excluded from the Elections on Account of the Diſturbances they raiſed, and the *Optimates* alone, that is, People of better Rank, were allowed to concur with their Suffrages[q].

Year of Chriſt 1101.

The Reaſons, alleged by the Pope to ſupport his Claim, did not, we may well ſuppoſe, ſatisfy the King and the *Engliſh* Nation. On the contrary, they only ſerved to ſhew the Weakneſs of his Cauſe. The King therefore, knowing he had Juſtice and immemorial Preſcription on his Side, ſent for *Anſelm*, and told him, that he muſt either do him Homage, as his Predeceſſors had all done before him, or quit the Kingdom, for he would ſuffer no Man to live in his Dominions, who refuſed, upon any Pretence whatever, to pay him

New Envoys ſent to Rome *by the King and the Archbiſhop.*

[q] Novel. 123, c. i. et Novel. 127.

Year of Christ 1101.

that Mark of Obedience and Subjection. *Eadmer* writes, that the King ordered him to ordain the Bishops, whom he should nominate, or to leave the Kingdom that Moment, and that *Anselm* boldly answered, he would do neither, and thereupon retired to *Canterbury*[r]. As the King had all the Bishops as well as the Nobility on his Side, no less steady than the King himself in asserting the undoubted Rights of the Crown against the unjust Usurpations of the Pope, he was determined not to yield. But not caring to proceed, at that Juncture, to Extremities, and willing to gain Time, he readily hearkened to the Advice of his Council; which was, that new Envoys should be sent to *Rome* both by him and the Archbishop to argue the Point in Dispute in the Presence of the Pope. For this important Embassy the King chose *Gerard*, Archbishop elect of *York*, *Robert*, Bishop of *Chester*, and *Herbert*, Bishop of *Thetford*. By the Archbishop were sent Two Monks, *Baldwin* and *Alexander*, the one a Monk of *Bec* in *Normandy*, the other of *Canterbury*[s].

Council of Rome. Year of Christ 1102.

While these Things passed in *England*, the Pope was wholly intent upon making his Party good against the Emperor and his Adherents. With that View he assembled a great Council at *Rome*, consisting of all the Bishops of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, *Sicily*, *Tuscany*, and a great many Bishops, or their Deputies, come from beyond the Mountains. They met in the *Lateran* about the latter End of *March*, and the Pope presiding in Person, the Decrees of the preceding Popes, especially of *Gregory* VII. were all confirmed, and on Maundy-Thursday, being this Year the Third of *April*, the Sentence of Excommunication was, with great Solemnity, pronounced against the Emperor by the Pope himself in the Presence of an immense Multitude. This Sentence the Pope ordered to be published in all Churches, especially beyond the Mountains, that none might plead Ignorance, and thereupon communicate with the Person, who called himself Emperor, and by that Means partake of his Wickedness. In the same Council the Pope exacted the following Oath of all the Bishops; *I anathematize all Heresies, and chiefly that, which at present disturbs the Peace of the Church, teaching that no Regard is to be had to the Censures and Anathemas of the Church. I promise Obedience to Lord* Paschal, *Pontiff of the Apostolic See, and to his Successors, in the Presence of Christ and his Church,*

The Emperor excommunicated.

[r] Ead. l. iii. c. 2. [s] Idem, ibid.

affirming

affirming what the Holy Univerſal Church affirms, and condemning what She condemns[t]. As Anathemas and Excommunications were, at this Time, thundered out on every trifling Occaſion, Men began not only to pay no Kind of Regard to them, but to teach, that no Kind of Regard ought to be paid to them; and it was to ſuppreſs that Hereſy, as they called it, that the preſent Oath was drawn up, and required of the Biſhops of the Council. Year of Chriſt 1102.

As all, who received the Pall, were required, upon receiving it, to take this Oath, and likewiſe the Oath, that was preſcribed by *Gregory* VII. of which I have ſpoken above[u], the Archbiſhop of *Colocza* in *Hungary* refuſed to take either, when both were ſent him, ſoon after this Council, together with the Pall, alledging that all Oaths were forbidden in the Goſpel, that none were ever taken by the Apoſtles, and none preſcribed or required by any of the General Councils. The Archbiſhop objected chiefly to the Clauſe, in the Oath preſcribed by *Gregory*, obliging thoſe, to whom Legates or Nuncios were ſent, to bear their Charges, and *ſupply them with all Neceſſaries in coming and returning*. For they were, for the moſt Part, Men, as the Writers of thoſe Times witneſs, of an inſatiable Avarice, and made it their Study not to promote the Service of God, but to plunder the Churches and enrich themſelves, as if they had been ſent only to accumulate Wealth and carry back with them to *Rome* the Treaſures of *Cræſus*[w]. The Pope in his Anſwer to the Archbiſhop's Letter explains the Uſe of the Pall, extolls the Authority of the *Roman* Church, becauſe ſhe gives Law to all other Churches, and Authority to all Councils. As to the Oaths, he tells the Archbiſhop, that they are lawful when neceſſary; that it is not for his own private Intereſt he requires them, but to preſerve the Unity of the Church, by uniting all the Members to the Head. He adds, that the *Saxons* and *Danes* are more diſtant from *Rome* than they (the *Hungarians*), and yet receive, with Honour, the Legates of the Apoſtolic See, defray the Expences of their Journies, and chearfully furniſh them with whatever they want.

The Pope's Letter to the Archbiſhop of Colocza.

Rapaciouſneſs of the Apoſtolic Legates.

The following Year 1103 the Envoys of the King of *England* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* returned from *Rome*; but very different were the Accounts they gave of their Negotiations there. The three Biſhops poſitively affirmed, that the Pope had declared to them

The Engliſh *return from* Rome, *but diſagree in the Account of their Negotiations.*

[t] Abbas. Uſperg. in Chron. Iterat. l. v. c. 16.

[u] See p. 277.

[w] Joan. Saliſbur. Po-

Year of Christ 1103.

them that he would allow the King to grant Investitures, and would not excommunicate those, who received them from him, provided he gave him no other Occasion to complain of his Conduct. The Two Monks affirmed no less positively that the Pope had declared the quite contrary to them, and appealed to the Letters, which he had written by them to the Archbishop, and by the Bishop to the King. The Letters were produced, and by them was confirmed what the Monks had asserted. For the Pope in his Letter to the King promised him an inviolable Friendship, provided he renounced his Pretensions to Investitures, Laymen being forbidden by his holy Predecessors as well as by himself, and not without a particular Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to give them, and Ecclesiastics to receive them at their Hands. In his Letter to the Archbishop he encouraged him to persevere in his Opposition to all, who should attempt to encroach on the just Rights of the Church of Christ, tells him that, in the Council, which he had lately held in the *Lateran*, he had renewed and confirmed the Decrees of his Predecessors forbidding Lay Investitures, and that he would ever religiously adhere to their Ordinances, being sensible that the Desire of pleasing Laymen was the Source of all Simony, from which the Church, he said, never could be free, so long as the Laymen were allowed to dispose of Bishoprics, Abbies, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments. Such were the Pope's Letters to the King and the Archbishop. But the Envoys of the King maintained, in Answer to these Letters, that they had had several Audiences of the Pope, at which the Envoys of *Anselm* were not present, and that his Holiness had contradicted, by Word of Mouth, in the private Conferences they had with him, what he said in his Letters, but that he would commit nothing to Writing, lest other Princes, hearing of his Condescension and Indulgence to the King of *England*, should claim the same Favours, as due to them as well as to him. The Lords and the Bishops of the King's Council were divided upon these opposite Reports. Some were for standing to the Pope's Letters, and the Account given by the Archbishop's Envoys, and confirmed by those Letters; while others looked upon the Testimony of Three Bishops as an irrefragable Proof, in which they ought all to acquiesce. Most of the Lords as well as the Bishops were of this Opinion, and *Anselm*, not chusing to give the Bishops the Lye, nor shew to the World, that he placed more Confidence in his Monks than in them, proposed the sending of new Envoys to *Rome*, promising

miſing that, if the King ſhould, in the mean time, grant Inveſtitures, he would neither look upon him, nor upon thoſe, who received them, as excommunicated. But at the ſame time he declared, that he would not conſecrate them. This Propoſal was readily agreed to, and in the mean time the Controverſy lay dormant [x]. Year of Chriſt 1103. *Other Envoys ſent to* Rome.

Upon the Departure of the Envoys *Anſelm* retired to *Canterbury*, and there continued till their Return, which happened this Year. They brought with them a Letter from the Pope to the Archbiſhop, wherein he declared what the Biſhops had reported was notoriouſly falſe, "We take Jeſus Chriſt, ſaid he in his Letter, who ſearches the "Reins and Hearts of Men, to witneſs, that no ſuch criminal "Thought, as we have been charged with by our Brethren, the En-"voys of the King of *England*, has ever entered into our Mind, "and God forbid we ſhould ever utter with our Mouth what is not "in our Heart. As to the Biſhops, who have changed Truth into "Falſhood, we exclude them from the Grace of St. *Peter* and our "Communion, till they repair the Injury they have done to the *Ro-*"*man* Church [y]." Whether the Envoys or the Pope ſpoke the Truth, I ſhall leave the Reader to judge. *The Pope writes by them to the King.*

As during the Interval between the Departure and Return of the laſt Envoys, *Anſelm* refuſed to conſecrate ſome Biſhops, the King, who had nominated them, went in Perſon to *Canterbury*, to try, whether he could by any Means get the better of his Obſtinacy, and gain him over to his Cauſe. He repreſented to him how ſhameful and diſhonourable it would be in him tamely to part with the undoubted Rights of his Crown, which his Predeceſſors had all enjoyed undiſturbed. He even deſcended to Prayers and Entreaties, begging he would no longer oppoſe him, as he could not but know that he had Juſtice on his Side. But all was in vain, the Archbiſhop remained inflexible. The King therefore, no leſs determined to maintain, than he was to oppoſe his juſt Claim, reſolved to deliver himſelf and his Kingdom, as ſoon as poſſible, from ſo dangerous and obſtinate a Bigot. With that View, as he did not chuſe to proceed to open Violence, he deſired that *Anſelm* would go himſelf to *Rome*, and try whether he could obtain of his Holineſs what he had refuſed to others. *Anſelm* underſtood the Meaning of this Propoſal, and looking upon his being ſent to *Rome*, at this Juncture, as an honour- *The King tries in vain to gain* Anſelm. *Sends him to* Rome *and* William *of* Warleweſt *at the ſame time.*

[x] Eadmer. ibid. [y] Idem ibid.

able

Year of Chriſt 1103.

able Exile, deſired the Affair might be reſpited till the Meeting of the Biſhops and the Lords at Eaſter, that he might know, after hearing them, what Anſwer he ſhould return. His Requeſt was granted; but the Advice of the whole Aſſembly, not one excepted, concurring with the Deſire of the King, the Archbiſhop conſented, though much againſt his Will, to undertake that Journey. He embarked accordingly at *Dover* in the latter End of *April* of the preſent Year 1103, and having firſt viſited the Monaſtery of *Bec* in *Normandy*, he purſued his Journey, by Land, to *Rome*. The Pope, when informed of his Arrival in that City, ſent him Word, that to recover himſelf from the Fatigue of ſo long a Journey, he would have him to paſs that and the next Day in Quiet in the Lodging, that was alloted to him near the Church of St. *Peter*. The Third Day *Anſelm* was admitted to the Pope, and received by him with all poſſible Marks of Confidence and Eſteem. As the King placed no Confidence in the Archbiſhop, and his ſending him to *Rome* was only a Pretence to remove him out of the Way, he diſpatched, at his Departure, *William Warleweſt*, Biſhop Elect of *Exeter*, with the Character of his Embaſſador to the Pope, knowing that he would plead his Cauſe with more Zeal than the Archbiſhop, ſhould he even undertake it. A Day being fixed by the Pope to hear *Anſelm* and the Biſhop, the latter harangued with great Energy and Eloquence in Favour of the King, urging the eminent Services, which the Kings of *England* had, in all Times, rendered to the Apoſtolic See, their having ever been diſtinguiſhed, on that Account, by the *Roman* Pontiffs above all other Princes, the Advantages, which *Rome* had always reaped and continued to reap from their Generoſity, but would certainly forfeit, and might never afterwards recover, if they diſobliged the King. The Biſhop repreſented at the ſame Time how diſhonourable it would be for the King to give up the Rights of the Crown, which his Predeceſſors had all enjoyed undiſputed, and tranſmitted, with the Crown, to him. This Speech made no ſmall Impreſſion upon all who were preſent. Some however roſe up to anſwer it; but the Biſhop ſtopped them ſhort, ſaying aloud, with a determined Air, *Let either Side urge what they will, I would have all here preſent to know, that the King of* England, *my Maſter, will not ſuffer Inveſtitures to be taken from him, were it even to coſt him his Kingdom.* At theſe Words the Pope ſtarting up, and fixing his Eyes upon the Biſhop, addreſſed him thus with Anger and Reſolution in his Countenance,

William's *bold Speech to the Pope.*

tenance, *if your King will not, as you ſay, part with Inveſtitures, were it to coſt him his Kingdom, I would have you to know, before God I ſay it, that Pope* Paſchal *will not ſuffer him to keep them with Impunity, were it to coſt him his Head.* Theſe Words were, no doubt, put in the Mouth of the Holy Father, and the Wrath, or rather Rage, with which he uttered them, was put in his Heart by the Holy Ghoſt. However, he ſoon returned to himſelf, and at the preſſing Inſtances of the *Romans*, no doubt, apprehending that this Quarrel might be attended with the Loſs of the Wealth which their City drew from *England*, he allowed the King to retain ſome ancient Uſages in his Kingdom, which, it ſeems, he had ſued for. As to Inveſtitures, he abſolutely forbad them, and abſolved the King from the Excommunication he had incurred by granting them; but would not abſolve thoſe, who had received them from him, till they had done Penance, and given Satisfaction for ſo enormous a Crime. It is obſervable, that *Anſelm* ſpoke not a ſingle Word at this Audience either for or againſt the King's Claim [z].

Year of Chriſt 1103.

The Pope's reſolute Anſwer.

Anſelm left *Rome*, ſoon after this Conference, on his Return to *England*; and the Pope gave him, at his Departure, a Letter or Bull, dated the 16th of *November* 1103, confirming all the Privileges, that his Predeceſſors had granted to his See. The Biſhop ſtaid at *Rome* under Pretence that he had made a Vow to viſit the Tomb of St. *Nicholas* at *Bari*, a Saint famous in thoſe Days, and ſtill famous in ours. But his true Motive was to try whether he could perſuade the Pope to grant him in the Abſence of *Anſelm* what he had not been able to obtain while he was preſent. But he found that *Paſchal* meant what he ſaid, *that he would not for his Head part with Inveſtitures.* When the Biſhop took his Leave, the Pope charged him with a Letter for the King, wherein he begged, entreated, and conjured him, as he tendered the Welfare of his Soul, and his own Happineſs in this Life and hereafter, not to claim, as his Right, what belonged to God alone, repeated what he had ſaid in his former Letter, *viz.* that Chriſt alone is the Door, *&c.* and promiſed, if he renounced what he could not claim, in Conſcience or in Juſtice, *viz.* Inveſtitures, to take him, and his new born Son *William*, into the immediate Protection of St. *Peter* and the Apoſtolic See, and to look upon their Enemies as the Enemies of the *Roman* Church [a]. In the mean time *Anſelm* purſuing his Journey to *England*, arrived at

The Pope writes again to the King.

[z] Eadmer. Novor. l. iii. [a] Idem, in vit. Anſel.

Year of Chriſt 1103.

Anſelm *forbidden to return to* England.

Lions a little before *Chriſtmas*, and there *William Warleweſt*, who had travelled with him from *Placentia*, where he overtook him, to that City, notified to him, agreeably to his private Inſtructions, the King's Reſolution in the following Words; *The King has ordered me to let you know, that if you are reſolved to behave towards him as your Predeceſſors are known to have behaved towards his, he will receive you willingly.* This was forbidding him, and ſo *Anſelm* underſtood it, to return to *England*, unleſs he was reſolved to ſubmit to the King. He therefore ſtaid at *Lions*, and was there entertained by Cardinal *Hugh*, the Archbiſhop, as if he had been Archbiſhop and Lord of the City [b]: And there we ſhall leave him for the preſent, and relate what paſſed in the mean time in *France*.

Philip *of* France *abſolved from the Excommunication.*

Year of Chriſt 1104.

King *Philip* had been excommunicated by *Hugh*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, in a Council held at *Autun* in 1094, for marrying *Bertrada*, while his own Wife and her Husband were ſtill living; and this Sentence was confirmed by Pope *Urban* in the Council of *Clermont* in 1095. But he was abſolved the following Year 1096 by the ſame Pope, upon his diſmiſſing *Bertrada*, and promiſing to break off all Correſpondence with her. However, he recalled her in 1099, and cohabited with her as he had done before; which drew upon him a Third Excommunication in 1100. Under that Sentence he continued, no leſs reſpected and obeyed by his Subjects, even by the Biſhops and the Clergy, as if no ſuch Sentence had been pronounced againſt him, till the Year 1104, when he applied to *Paſchal* for Abſolution. Upon his Application the Pope ſent *Richard*, Biſhop of *Albano*, to enquire, upon the Spot, whether the Repentance of the King, who had deceived his Predeceſſors, was ſincere, empowering him, if it was, to abſolve him, upon Condition that he promiſed upon Oath to have thenceforth no Kind of Intercourſe with *Bertrada*. The Legate upon his Arrival in *France* aſſembled a Council at *Raugenci*, about Ten Miles from *Orleans*, at which were preſent moſt of the *Gallican* Biſhops. At this Council the King appeared in Perſon, and applying to the Legate and the other Biſhops for Abſolution, declared that he was ready to ſwear upon the Holy Goſpel, that he would from that time forward avoid all Commerce with *Bertrada*, and never ſee or converſe with her alone. *Bertrada* too was preſent, and ſhe offered to take the ſame Oath with reſpect to the King. But the Legate and the Biſhops diſagreeing, the Council broke up, and the Legate left

[b] Eadmer Novor. l. iii.

the

the Place before the King was abſolved. The Pope was no ſooner acquainted with what had paſſed, than he wrote to the Biſhops of the Provinces of *Reims*, *Sens*, and *Tours*, ordering them to meet at the Place the Legate ſhould appoint, if he was ſtill in *France*, and, if he had left that Kingdom, to follow, in every thing, the Directions of *Lambert*, Biſhop of *Arras*, and, with his Advice and Approbation, abſolve both the King and *Bertrada*. The Legate was gone, and in his Abſence *Lambert* appointed a Council to meet at *Paris* on the 2d of *December*, in order to abſolve the King, provided he took the Oath preſcribed by the Pope. That Oath *Lambert* took care to ſend to him by *John*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *Galo*, Biſhop of *Paris*, that he might know before-hand what the Council would require of him. He read it, and expreſſing great Sorrow and Compunction for the Scandal he had given, declared he was willing to atone for his Crimes, and convince the whole World of his Sincerity by taking that Oath, and performing what Penance ſoever it ſhould pleaſe the Church, the Pope, and the Council, to impoſe upon him. Not ſatisfied with this Declaration, he walked bare-footed to the Place of the Council, and there, laying his Hand upon the Goſpels, pronounced the following Oath, addreſſed to *Lambert* and the other Biſhops. Year of Chriſt 1104.

Oath he took on that Occaſion.

" Hear, you *Lambert*, who art here the Repreſentative of the Pope;
" hear all ye Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who are here preſent, that I,
" *Philip* King of *France*, ſhall henceforth abſtain from the carnal
" and criminal Commerce, which I have hitherto carried on with
" *Bertrada*, and ſincerely renounce that Crime. I ſhall never co-
" habit with her, nor ſhall I ever converſe with her, except in the
" Preſence of unſuſpected Witneſſes. All this I promiſe to obſerve,
" without Fraud or Deceit, as is preſcribed in the Pope's Letters.
" So help me God, and theſe Holy Goſpels of *Jeſus Chriſt*." The like Oath was taken by *Bertrada*; and the Sentence of Abſolution, with reſpect to both, was then pronounced, with the Conſent of the Biſhops, by *Lambert*, in the Name of the Holy Pope *Paſchal* c. As Queen *Berta* died in 1094, and *Fulk*, Earl of *Anjou*, had married *Bertrada*, within the forbidden Degrees, without a Diſpenſation from the Pope, *Philip*, it ſeems, flattered himſelf that the Pope might, in Conſideration of his Submiſſion, be prevailed upon to declare her Marriage with *Fulk* null, and allow him to marry her. Thus ſome account for the King's mean Behaviour on the preſent Occaſion; nay,

c Concil. t. x. Ivo. ep. 144.

Year of Chriſt 1104.

ſome are of Opinion, that though *Bertrada* was as nearly related to the King as ſhe was to the Earl, the Pope diſpenſed with the King's marrying her [d]. But of that Marriage no Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Writers.

The Archbiſhop of Treves *depoſed and reſtored in a Council at* Rome.

In the ſame Year 1104 *Paſchal* held a Council at *Rome*: But all we know of that Aſſembly is, that *Bruno*, Archbiſhop of *Treves*, was depoſed, and reſtored in it to his Dignity. He had been nominated to that See by the Emperor in 1102, and had received the Inveſtiture from him. Two Years after, being deſirous to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles, he went to *Rome*, and arrived in that City while the Council was ſitting. The Pope received him with all the Marks of Diſtinction that were due to the Metropolitan of the Firſt Province of *Belgic Gaul*. But as he had been nominated by the Emperor, had received the Inveſtiture at his Hands, and had beſides conſecrated Churches, and promoted Clerks before the Bull was ſent him, which were all enormous Crimes at *Rome*, he was, with great Severity, reprimanded by the Pope, and depoſed, with his own Conſent, by the Biſhops of the Council. To this Sentence *Bruno* readily ſubmitted, delivering up to the Pope and the Council his Paſtoral Staff and Ring, But the Pope, well pleaſed with his Humility and Submiſſion, and only wanting the Archbiſhop to receive the Enſigns of his Dignity from him, reſtored them to him the Third Day, and at the ſame time gave him the Pall. However, that he might be made ſenſible of the Heinouſneſs of his Crime in receiving the Badges of his ſacred Dignity from the Hand of a Layman, he was ordered by the Pope and the Council to forbear, for the Space of Three Years, the Uſe of the Dalmatic, an Ornament worn by all Archbiſhops in the Celebration of Maſs [e]. This Penance the Archbiſhop is ſaid to have punctually performed.

Council of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1105.

The Archbiſhop of Milan *cleared from Simony.*

The following Year the Pope held another Council in the *Lateran* Palace during *Lent*, at which were preſent moſt of the Biſhops of *Italy*; and by all *Groſulanus*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, was cleared from the Charge of Simony, brought againſt him by a Prieſt of that Church called *Liprand*, though the Prieſt had undergone, with great Solemnity, and quite unhurt, the Ordeal by Fire to prove him guilty. That *Liprand* had undergone that Trial was proved by numberleſs Eye-witneſſes, but that the Pope and the Council did not think ſo convincing a Proof of his Guilt, as the Teſtimony of ſeveral Per-

[d] Blondel Diatrib. de reg. Chriſt. paragraph 10.

[e] Anonym. Auctor. Hiſt. Trevir. apud Dacher. Spic. tom. xii.

ſons,

ſons, witneſſing the Sanctity of his Life, was of his Innocence [d]. By the ſame Council the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out againſt the Count of *Meulan* and his Accomplices, ſaid to have perſuaded the King of *England* not to part with Inveſtitures, which they called an enormous Crime. All Biſhops were likewiſe excommunicated who had received Inveſtitures from the King's Hand. But the Sentence againſt the King himſelf was delayed till the Arrival of the Envoys, whom he had diſpatched to *Rome*, and the Pope expected daily. This the Pope himſelf notified by a Letter to *Anſelm*, who was ſtill at *Lions* [e]. Year of Chriſt 1105.

Agreement between the King of England *and* Anſelm.

In the mean time *Anſelm*, tired with the Delays and ſlow Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* in his Affair, and no longer expecting any Aſſiſtance or Relief from thence, left *Lions* and retired to a Place that belonged to the Monaſtery of *Cluny*. Being informed ſoon after his Arrival there, that *Adela*, Counteſs of *Blois* and Siſter to the King of *England*, lay indiſpoſed in the Caſtle of *Blois*, he went thither to pay her a Viſit. The Counteſs, who was quite recovered of her late Illneſs, received him with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and being not a little ſurpriſed to ſee him, as ſhe had not heard of his leaving *Lions*, ſhe enquired, as was natural, into the Motives of his Journey. *Anſelm* anſwered without Heſitation, that he was come to excommunicate the King of *England* for the Injury he had done to God and to him. He had no ſuch Commiſſion from the Pope, nor durſt he take ſuch a Step without it. But he knew that the Fear of an Excommunication, at the preſent Juncture, would make the King hearken to an Accommodation, and agree to it almoſt upon any Terms. And ſo it happened. For the King, who was come over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army to ſubdue that Country, apprehending that the Excommunication might, at ſo critical a Juncture, not only defeat his Deſign, but be attended with more fatal Conſequences, no ſooner heard from his Siſter, of *Anſelm*'s Intention, than he ſent for him, and an Agreement was concluded between them upon the following Terms; That the King ſhould give up his Right to Inveſtitures, and *Anſelm* ſhould be allowed to return to *England*, but ſhould not excommunicate thoſe, who had received the Inveſtiture from the King, nor exclude them from his Communion. Againſt this laſt Article *Anſelm* urged the Decrees of the late Popes, forbidding all Communion with ſuch as

The King gives up Inveſtitures.

[d] Law. Tulp. c. xi. [e] Paſch. ep. 100, et Eadmer. Novor. l. iv.

had

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had received Inveſtitures from Laymen. It was therefore agreed that Envoys ſhould be ſent on the Part of both to conſult the Pope with reſpect to that Point, and to have their Agreement confirmed by him. On this Occaſion the King reſtored to *Anſelm* the Temporalities of his See, which he had ſeized at his Departure from *England*. But he nevertheleſs declined returning till the Sentiments of the Pope were known concerning the Article in Queſtion [f]. This Agreement was not executed till Two Years after, the King being wholly intent upon the Conqueſt of *Normandy*.

Henry, the Emperor's younger Son, rebels againſt his Father.

In the mean time the Emperor, though excommunicated and anathematized by Four Popes ſucceſſively, continued ſtill to aſſert his Right to that invaluable Prerogative, which the King of *England* ſo meanly gave up through Fear of an Excommunication. But what Wickedneſs, what Treachery or Treaſon will not a Pope countenance, if not adviſe and command, when any-ways conducive to the aggrandizing of his See! The Emperor had Two Sons, *Conrad* and *Henry*. *Conrad*, the elder of the Two, was ſeduced by the Partizans of *Gregory* VII. and not without his Approbation, as has been ſhewn, to rebel againſt his Father and his Sovereign. But he dying in 1102, the Party began to tamper with the younger Son *Henry*. He had ſerved his Father with the greateſt Fidelity, and gained a complete Victory over the Counteſs *Mathilda* in 1080, and had, upon the Rebellion of his elder Brother, been taken by the Emperor for his Partner in the Empire. But the ambitious Youth, not ſatisfied with a Share of the Power, readily gave ear to the wicked Suggeſtions of Three great Lords, zealous Partizans of the Pope, *Dezbold* Marquis, *Berenger* Count, and *Otto* or *Otho*, a Nobleman of great Authority, and nearly related to him on his Mother's Side. Theſe Three, abuſing the Confidence the young Prince, at this time in the 22d or 23d Year of his Age, placed in them, laid hold of every Opportunity to ſtir him up againſt his Father as an Enemy to the Church. The Pope too, ſays *Herimannus*, a Writer of thoſe Days, wrote artful Letters to him, encouraging him to reſcue the Church and the Apoſtolic See from the Servitude they groaned under, and reſtore Peace and Tranquillity to the Empire. This was encouraging him to take up Arms againſt his Father, and he underſtanding it ſo accordingly, unexpectedly withdrew from Court with his Three

[f] Idem ibid.

above-

above-mentioned Counſellors, and repaired to *Bavaria*, where the Pope had a ſtrong Party. He there publicly abjured the Hereſy proſcribed by the Pope, that is, the Right to give Inveſtitures, and declared himſelf an obedient Son of the Apoſtolic See. This Declaration drew Growds of People to him from all Parts, eſpecially from *Suabia*, *Saxony*, and *Franconia*; and he ſaw himſelf in a very ſhort time at the Head of an Army capable of facing his Father's in the Field. To ſtrengthen his Party ſtill more, and ſeduce ſuch of the Emperor's Subjects as ſtill adhered to him, he cauſed Manifeſtos to be diſperſed all over *Germany*, proteſting therein, that it was not the Deſire of reigning that had induced him to take up Arms againſt his Father, that he had nothing in his View but to bring about a Reconciliation between the Church and the Empire, and was therefore ready to obey the Emperor, as the meaneſt of his Subjects, provided he ſubmitted to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, and got himſelf abſolved from the Cenſures he had incurred by his Obſtinacy and Diſobedience. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel, this Prince, more diſobedient to the Apoſtolic See than his Father, purſuing the very ſame Meaſures, and with more Vigour and better Succeſs than he had ever done.

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Henry over-ran, in a very ſhort time, all *Saxony*, and having made himſelf Maſter of all the Strong-holds in that Country, he kept his *Eaſter* at *Quintilenburg*, and was there abſolved by *Rothard*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and *Gebehard*, Biſhop of *Conſtance*, the Pope's Legate in *Germany*, from the Cenſures he had incurred by obeying his Father, and adhering to him againſt St. *Peter* and his Church. Was not this declaring the Duty a Son owes to his Father, and Subject to his Sovereign, criminal and worthy of Excommunication, where either interferes with the Duty and Obedience, that the Pope claims as due to him? Young *Henry*, who wanted neither Parts, nor Cunning, nor Addreſs, to engage the Pope and all his Party ſtill more in his Intereſt, appointed a Council to meet at a Royal Villa in *Thuringia*, called *Northuſum*, in order to redreſs ſeveral Abuſes, that prevailed in the *German* Churches, and were connived at by his Father. The Council met in the Week before *Whitſunday*, and the Decrees of former Councils againſt Simony, and the Marriage of the Clergy, were all confirmed by it, and ſeveral other Regulations were made relating to the Diſcipline of the Churches in thoſe Parts. *Henry* would not, out of an affected Humility, aſſiſt at this Council, till he

Over-runs all Saxony.

Aſſembles a Council at Northuſum.

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was preſſed to it by the Biſhops, and he then made the ſame Proteſtations as he had done in his Manifeſtos, calling God to witneſs, that it was not to deprive his Father of the Imperial Crown, but only to oblige him to ſubmit to the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, that he had taken up Arms againſt him. In this Council the Biſhops of *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborn*, and *Halberſtat*, throwing themſelves at the Feet of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, their Metropolitan, owned their Fault in having adhered to the Emperor, and received Inveſtiture from him; but their Cauſe was referred to the Pope.

His artful Conduct.

Henry, upon the breaking up of this Council, repaired to *Merſburg*, and there cauſed *Henry*, who had long before been appointed Archbiſhop of *Magdeburgh*, to be ordained. He had refuſed, it ſeems, to receive Inveſtiture from the Emperor, and the Biſhops dared not conſecrate him till he had ſubmitted to that Ceremony. Thus did *Henry*, to attain his Ends, tacitly give up his Right to Inveſtitures. But when he found himſelf in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown, he obliged the Pope to give it up in his Turn. From *Mersburg Henry* marched at the Head of his Army to *Mentz*, with a Deſign to reinſtate in that See *Rothard*, who had been driven from it by the Emperor for adhering to the Pope. Some Writers tell us, that *Henry* entered the City without Oppoſition, and reſtored the Biſhop after an Eight Years Exile. But others ſay, that the young Prince, finding his Father had ſhut himſelf up in the City with a numerous Garriſon, did not think it adviſeable to lay ſiege to it. Be that as it will, he made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral other Places, and among the reſt of *Nuremberg*, after a Siege of Two Months obliging the Inhabitants every where to ſubmit to the Pope, that is, to receive the Decrees. The Emperor, having aſſembled his Forces, took the Field, and engaging the Rebels in the Neighbourhood of *Ratisbon*, put them to Flight, purſued them with great Slaughter, and recovered moſt of the Places they had taken, reſtoring everywhere the Biſhops, whom they had driven out, and driving out thoſe, whom they had placed in their room. The young Prince is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that Action above all the reſt; but having nevertheleſs the good Luck to ſurvive it, he retired to *Saxony*, recruited his Army there, and hearing that his Father was encamped on the Banks of the *Regen*, he came and encamped on the oppoſite Side of that River. It was not his Deſign to venture a Second Engagement, but to try whether he could not compaſs by Treachery, what he

Reduces ſeveral Places.

The Rebels defeated and put to Flight by the Emperor.

he deſpaired of being able to obtain by Dint of Arms. And he ſucceeded therein beyond his Expectation. The Emiſſaries he ſent into his Father's Camp, as the two Armies were only ſeparated by the River, gained over, in a very ſhort Time, moſt of the chief Commanders; inſomuch that the Emperor, finding himſelf forſaken by them as well as their Vaſſals, and left almoſt alone, was forced to ſave himſelf by Flight from falling into the Hands of his Son. Young *Henry*, ſeeing himſelf now Maſter of the Field, marched ſtrait to *Spire*, and there ſeized on all his Father's Treaſures.

Year of Chriſt 1105.

Henry gain over moſt of the Commanders in his Father's Army, and ſeizes on all his Treaſures.

The Emperor finding himſelf thus abandoned even by thoſe, whom he looked upon as his beſt Friends, reſolved to attempt a Reconciliation with the Pope, as his Diſagreement with him ſerved his Son and the other Rebels with a Pretence to deprive him of his Crown. He wrote accordingly to *Paſchal*, declaring in his Letter, that he was ready to ſubmit to his Holineſs ſo far as was conſiſtent with his Dignity, and to pay the ſame Obedience to him, that had been paid by his Predeceſſors in the Empire to his in the Apoſtolic See. In that Letter he taxes thoſe, who had encouraged, or who any-ways countenanced the unnatural Rebellion of his Son, with Treachery, Perjury, and an utter Contempt of all Laws human and divine; aſſures the Pope, that he has nothing ſo much at Heart as to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace between the Church and the Empire, and by that Means prevent the unſpeakable Calamities, that threatened both; deſires his Holineſs to let him know whether he is ready to concur with him in ſo meritorious a Work, and ſolemnly declares, in the Cloſe of his Letter, that nothing ſhall be wanting on his Side, that can be reaſonably required of him, to attain ſo deſirable an End as the Unity of the Church, and an uninterrupted Harmony among all its Members under the ſame Head.

The Emperor attempts a Reconciliation with the Pope.

What Anſwer the Pope returned to the Emperor's Letter we know not, nor whether he returned any. But the Princes of the Empire, foreſeeing the Evils that would inevitably attend a War between the Father and the Son, agreed to meet at *Mentz*, and attempt a Reconciliation between them. They met accordingly at the Place appointed on Chriſtmas-Day; and it was one of the moſt numerous Diets that had ever been ſeen in *Germany*, all the *German* Lords being preſent, except the Grand Duke of *Saxony*, as he is called, who could not attend on Account of his great Age. The Emperor came in Perſon to a Place in that Neighbourhood with a

A numerous Diet meets at Mentz.

Year of Chriſt 1106.

The Emperor betrayed, ſeized, and impriſoned, by his Son.

Deſign to lay before the Lords of the Empire the cruel Treatment he had met with from his Son, and leave them to determine whether the Father ſhould ſubmit to the Son, or the Son to the Father. But the Prince, apprehending that his Preſence, and the mean Condition to which he was reduced, might raiſe Compaſſion in many, and prejudice them in his Favour, reſolved to prevent his appearing at the Diet. With that View he went privately to the Place where the Emperor had taken up his Abode, and being admitted to him, threw himſelf at his Feet, and begging Pardon, with all the ſeeming Marks of a ſincere Grief, for his paſt Conduct, promiſed to ſerve him thenceforth with all the Fidelity that was due from a Subject to his Sovereign, and all the Duty, Obedience, and Submiſſion, that was owing from a Son to his Father. The Emperor readily forgave him, and embracing him with many Tears, only told him, that were a Father ever ſo wicked, Heaven would never employ a Son to call him to an Account for his Wickedneſs, or to puniſh it. They then ſet out together for *Mentz*, the Prince pretending to have come on Purpoſe to attend his Father to the Diet. They had gone but a little Way, when they were met by Meſſengers, upon Meſſengers, pretending, as had been agreed before-hand between them and young *Henry*, to have been ſent by the Emperor's Friends at *Mentz*, to give him Notice of the Arrival of many Lords from *Saxony* and *Suabia* his avowed Enemies, and divert him, as he tendered his Life and Liberty, from venturing himſelf among them. This raiſed ſome Jealouſy in the Emperor; but the Son renewing, in the moſt awful Manner, the Proteſtations he had made of filial Duty and Obedience, and declaring that he was ready even to lay down his own Life for his, he acquieſced, and placing an entire Confidence in the Son, retired by his Advice to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Binghen*, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Mentz*, as a Place, where he might bid Defiance to all his Enemies. But no ſooner did he enter the Caſtle than the Gate was ſhut, and all his Attendants excluded. The perfidious Son having thus by the blackeſt Treachery got him into his Power, cauſed him to be cloſely confined, and placing thoſe about him, whom he knew to be his moſt bitter Enemies, would allow none of his own Friends or Servants to come near him. When he had been thus kept ſome Days, inſulted by his Enemies, and ready to periſh with Hunger and with Thirſt, for he was ſcarce allowed the neceſſary Food to ſupport Nature, a *German* Prince, named *Wigbert*, came from his

Son,

Year of Chriſt 1106.

Son, and entering the Priſon told him abruptly, that he muſt forthwith deliver up all the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, for ſuch was the Will of the Princes aſſembled at *Mentz*, and he could no otherwiſe ſave his Life but by complying with it. He was now in their Power, and thought it adviſeable to yield. But the Son, not ſatisfied with his thus diveſting himſelf, as it were in a private Manner, of the Imperial Dignity, repaired with the Lords of his Party and the Biſhops of *Conſtance* and *Albano*, the Pope's Legates, from *Mentz* to *Ingelheim*, and having cauſed his Father to be brought thither under a ſtrong Guard, he obliged him to deliver the Regalia to him, in the Preſence of all, with his own Hand. The Emperor then asked, whether they deſigned to take his Life away as well as his Dignity. At theſe Words, One of the Legates, riſing up, *You have*, ſaid he, *juſtly forfeited your Dignity by rebelling againſt the Apoſtolic See, and you ſhall no otherwiſe eſcape with your Life but by owning, that you have perſecuted* Hildebrand *unjuſtly, that you have unjuſtly ſupported* Guibert, *and have raiſed and carried on a moſt unjuſt Perſecution againſt the Apoſtolic See and the whole Church.* The Emperor begged that he might be allowed to plead his Cauſe in the Preſence of his Friends as well as his Enemies, but was anſwered by the Legate, that the Affair muſt be finally determined upon the Spot, and if he did not own himſelf guilty, and unworthy of the Empire, he might be made to atone for his Obſtinacy with his Life. The Emperor entreated the Legates to abſolve him, at leaſt, from the Excommunication, but was told by them, that with reſpect to his Abſolution, they had no Inſtructions from the Pope, and he might, if he pleaſed, go to *Rome* for it. The Father being thus depoſed in this Aſſembly, the perfidious and Rebel Son was acknowledged, by all who compoſed it, for ſole King of *Germany*, and conſecrated, as ſuch, by the Pope's Legates. He immediately diſpatched Six Biſhops, and ſome of the great Lords of the Empire, to acquaint the Pope with the Reſult of the Diet, with the Depoſition of his Father, and his own Promotion to the Crown in his room; and his Holineſs approved and confirmed the one and the other in the Name of St. *Peter*; which was approving and ratifying one of the moſt ſhocking Inſtances of Treachery, Perfidy, Treaſon, and Rebellion, that occurs in Hiſtory.

Obliged to deliver up to him the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity.

Haughty Behaviour of the Pope's Legates.

The Pope approves the Depoſition of the Father, and Promotion of the Son.

Such is the Account, which the Emperor himſelf gave of his Depoſition and the Promotion of his Son, in a Letter, which he wrote

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this Year to the King of *France* [b], and it is entirely agreeable to what we read in the anonymous Writer of his Life, who lived at this Time, and seems to have been an Eye-witness to what he writes. But the Abbot of *Usperg*, supposed by *Baronius* to have likewise writ at this Time, though nothing is more certain than that he was not yet born, taking no Notice of the Emperor's Imprisonment in the Castle of *Binghen*, says, that the Lords of the Diet, hearing that he was coming to plead his Cause in Person, and apprehending, as he had a strong Party at *Mentz*, his Presence might occasion great Disturbances in that City, went all in a Body to meet him at *Ingelheim*, and there deposed him with one Consent. The Abbot adds, that when he delivered the Regalia to his Son, he wished him a prosperous Reign, and warmly recommended him to the Princes of the Empire, that throwing himself at the Feet of the Bishop of *Albano*, the Pope's Legate, as soon as he had laid down the Ensigns of his Dignity, begged and conjured him to take off the Excommunication, and restore him to the Communion of the Church; that the Laity, touched with Compassion, all interceded for him, but that the Legate, unaffected with the Prayers and Entreaties of so great a Prince prostrate at his Feet in the utmost Distress, still refused him the so much wished and so humbly sued for Absolution, referring him to the Pope. Strange! that what melted the Emperor's Enemies among the Laity into Mercy, should have made no Impression upon his Enemies among the Clergy; for that the Abbot seems to insinuate, saying that the *Laity were touched with Compassion.* Upon the breaking up of the Diet, *Henry* retired, says the same Writer, to lead a private Life at the Place, which his Son had assigned him for his Abode. Thus did this great Prince's Quarrel with the Popes, and his maintaining the undoubted Rights of his Crown against their Tyranny and Encroachments, cost him his Kingdom, and it would have cost him his Life too, had he not found more Compassion in the Laity than in the Priesthood.

Account of the Deposition of the Emperor, as by the Abbot of Usperg.

The Emperor escapes from the Place of Confinement, and retires to Liege.

He had not been long at the Place of his Confinement, when he was privately informed, by some of his Friends, that his Son, not satisfied with depriving him of the Empire, was resolved to deprive him of his Life, or at least to keep him closely confined so long as he lived. That Intelligence he received, as is supposed, from *Henry*

[b] Apud Baron. ad ann. 1106.

of

of *Limburg*, Duke of *Lower Lorraine*; for having made his Eſcape undiſcovered, as ſoon as he received it, he took Refuge in that Prince's Territories, and was entertained by him as his lawful Lord and Sovereign. As moſt of the Cities in thoſe Parts declared for him, and among the reſt the City of *Liege* with its Biſhop *Obert*, he choſe that City for the Place of his Reſidence, and wrote from thence to his Son, to the King of *France*, and to the Princes, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of *Germany*. In his Letter to his Son he reproaches him, but without the leaſt Bitterneſs, with treating him, his Sovereign and his Father, who had always loved him with the greateſt Tenderneſs, as the worſt of his Enemies; declares that he is ready to pay all the Reſpect, Obedience, and Submiſſion to the Apoſtolic See, that can be reaſonably required of him, and therefore that his Diſobedience to St. *Peter* and his Vicar, is only made Uſe of by his Enemies as a Cover to conceal their wicked Deſigns from the leſs diſcerning; conjures him by his Allegiance, and the Duty he owes to him as his Prince and his Father, to diſmiſs the evil Counſellors about him, and follow the Advice of One, whoſe Intereſt, Welfare, and Glory are linked inſeparably with his, and cloſes his Letter with putting him in mind of the ſtrict Account he muſt one Day give, perhaps ſooner than he expects, of all his Actions at a Tribunal, that rewards and puniſhes every Man according to his Deſerts. The Direction of this Letter was, *Henry Emperor of the Romans to his Son Henry.* In his Letter to *Philip* of *France*, whom he ſtiles King of the *Celtæ*, he gives the above Account of his Sufferings, and of the cruel Treatment he had met with from his Son, and implores his Aſſiſtance, not for his own Sake only, but for that of all Princes as well as his own, ſince Treaſon committed againſt him was committed againſt them all, and ought to be reſented by each of them as committed againſt himſelf. In his Letter to the Biſhops and Princes of *Germany* he proteſts that he wiſhes for nothing ſo much as to ſee that perfect Harmony reſtored, which once ſubſiſted between the Church and the Empire; that to put an End to the preſent Troubles he is ready to give what Satisfaction ſoever the Pope ſhall require, and they ſhall think it conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Head of the Empire to grant; and that with reſpect to the Diſpute between him and the Apoſtolic See, which alone has occaſioned the Troubles they complained of, he is willing to acquieſce in the Judgment and Deciſion of *Hugh*, the holy Abbot of *Clumy*, his ghoſtly Father, and of other

Year of Chriſt 1106.

His Letter from thence to his Son.

His Letter to the King of France;

and to the Biſhops and Princes of Germany.

Year of Christ 1106.

other religious Persons, who free, like him, from all sinister and ambitious Views, have only the public Welfare at Heart.

Answer of the Lords of the Prince's Party to the Emperor's Letter.

To this Letter the Lords of the Prince's Party returned a most insulting and abusive Answer, charging the Emperor with Sacrilege, Perjury, Rapines, Conflagrations, and even with Apostacy from the Catholic Faith; tax him with applying to the *French*, to the *English*, and the *Danes*, in order to engage them in his Quarrel, and thus complete the Ruin of the Empire; but nevertheless declare, that, to leave no Room for Complaints, they are not averse to the assembling of another Diet, and allowing him to plead his Cause in Person, if he chose it, before the Lords and Bishops of the Empire. In the mean time the Son laid siege to the City of *Cologne*, that had declared for the Emperor, with a Design to march, as soon as he had reduced it, against the People and City of *Liege* for affording his Father an Asylum. But the Garrison and Inhabitants of *Cologne* repulsed the Aggressors in their repeated Attacks with so much Bravery, for Two whole Months, that the Prince was upon the Point of raising the Siege, when he received the News of his Father's Death.

The Emperor dies, and his Body dug up after his Death.

He died at *Liege* on the Seventh of *August* of the present Year 1106, in the Fifty-fifth Year of his Age, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp by the Bishop and the Clergy of *Liege*. But the Partizans of the Pope, carrying their Revenge even beyond the Grave, caused the Body, which the Bishop had buried in consecrated Ground, to be dug up as that of an excommunicated Person, unworthy of a Place there. It was dug up accordingly, and, by an Order from the Son, sent in a Stone Coffin to *Spire*, where it remained Five Years without the Church [c]. Thus was this great Prince, *Henry*, the Fourth Emperor of that Name, in Defiance of all Laws human and divine, persecuted to his Grave, and beyond it, by his own Subjects and his own Children, with the Approbation, if not at the Instigation, of Four Popes successively, for not yielding up to them a Prerogative, that his Predecessors had all enjoyed as their undoubted Right, and no Pope, how daring soever and ambitious, had presumed to claim till the Time of that Incendiary *Gregory* VII. Great were the Virtues of that unhappy Prince, and great were his Vices; but he is better known by his Misfortunes than either by his Virtues or his Vices. The Pope, imitating the Zeal of those, who had caused the Empe-

[c] Usperg. ad ann. 1106.

ror's Body to be taken out of the Grave, cauſed the Body of the Antipope *Guibert*, dead Six Years before, to be dug up and thrown into the River, and in the ſame Manner were treated by his Holineſs's Partizans the Bodies of all the Biſhops, who had received Inveſtitures from the Emperor's Hand [d]. Year of Chriſt 1106.

The Pope no ſooner heard of the Death of the Emperor than he ſet out for *Germany*, being invited thither by the Ambaſſadors of the new King, promiſing, in their Maſter's Name, an entire Submiſſion and Obedience to the Apoſtolic See, and begging his Holineſs to come and receive, in Perſon, the Homage, which all in thoſe Parts were ready to pay him. On his Arrival at *Florence* he was informed, that the Biſhop of the Place maintained that the Antichriſt was born, and the End of the World was at Hand. The Pope was deſirous to know, upon what the Biſhop grounded his Opinion, and therefore, ſtopping a few Days at *Florence*, he aſſembled the neighbouring Biſhops, and held a Council there. But the Novelty of the Subject drew ſuch Crowds to the Place where the Biſhops were aſſembled, and the Noiſe was ſo great, that the Queſtion could not be debated, and the Council broke up. However the Pope had a private Conference with the Biſhop, and finding that he only wanted to make himſelf remarkable by holding and preaching that Opinion, he enjoined him perpetual Silence concerning it [e]. *Council of* Florence.

From *Florence* the Pope purſued his Journey, and, arriving at *Guaſtalla* on the *Po*, he held another Council there on the Twenty-ſecond of *October*. As moſt of the Biſhops and the Clergy in *Lombardy* had adhered to the late Emperor, and had been ordained by Biſhops, whom he had nominated or inveſted, it was decreed by this Council, that all thus nominated and ordained ſhould keep their reſpective Stations, and exerciſe the Functions of their Office, provided they were neither Uſurpers, nor guilty of Simony, nor of any other Crime. Another Decree was iſſued, importing, that the Hereſies, which had lately prevailed, being now extinct, together with their Author, meaning the Emperor, it was fit that the Church ſhould recover her antient Liberty, and the Decrees, reſtoring her to it, ſhould be renewed, confirmed, and enforced. After this Preamble, they forbad Laymen, upon Pain of Excommunication, to give Inveſtitures, and Clergymen to receive any at their Hands, on Pain of forfeiting the *Council of* Guaſtalla.

[d] Uſperg. ad ann. 1105. [e] Pandulph. Piſan. vit. Paſch.

Benefices

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Benefices and Dignities, which they had thus received. By the same Council it was decreed, that the whole Province of *Æmilia*, containing the Cities of *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Modena*, and *Bologna*, should be no longer subject to the See of *Ravenna*, which had, for the Space of near a Hundred Years, set up against the *Roman*, and usurped its Lands as well as its Jurisdiction. At this Council were present the Embassadors sent by *Henry*, King of *Germany*, to assure the Pope anew of his sincere Attachment to the Apostolic See, and his earnest Desire of maintaining a perfect Harmony between the Church and the Empire [f]. From *Guastalla* the Pope repaired to *Parma*, at the Request of the Inhabitants, and there ordained *Bernard* Bishop of that City, declared his See immediately subject to the *Roman*, and appointed him his Legate over all *Lombardy*. Thus was all *Lombardy* reunited to the Apostolic See, from which the whole Country, except the Places held by the Countess *Mathilda*, had been separated ever since the Year 1080, when they all declared for the Antipope *Guibert* chosen that Year at *Brixen* [g].

Lombardy reunited to the Apostolic See.

The King of Germany *resolves to maintain his Right to Investitures.*

The King and the *German* Lords, concluding that the Pope intended to keep his Christmas in *Germany*, met at *Metz*, in order to receive his Holiness and celebrate that Festival with him there. But *Paschal*, instead of continuing his Journey to *Germany*, took unexpectedly the Road to *France*, pretending that new Difficulties were started there, concerning Investitures, which he wanted to remove before he went to *Germany*. But this was a mere Pretence; for he had laid aside all Thoughts of going to *Germany*, and putting himself in the Power of the young King, who, as he was informed, seemed determined to maintain his Right to Investitures, notwithstanding all his Protestations of Obedience, and Subjection to the Vicar of St. *Peter* and his See. He found himself firmly established on the Throne by the Death of his Father, and thinking he no longer wanted the Assistance of the Pope, had resolved to assert, to the utmost of his Power, that very Right, the asserting of which by his Father had served him for a Pretence to take up Arms against him, and drive him from the Throne [h]. This Intelligence the Pope received from Persons of known Zeal for the Apostolic See, and therefore, saying with a deep Sigh when he received it, *the Door into Germany is not yet open to us*, he altered his Design, and

[f] Usperg. ad ann. 1106. Domnizo in vit. Mathild. [g] Domnizo, ibid.
[h] Suger. in vit. Ludovic. apud Ducheſn. t. iv. p. 288, et Usperg.

taking

taking the Road to *France*, arrived at *Cluny* a little before Chriſtmas, which he kept in that Monaſtery. From *Cluny* he ſet out for St. *Dennis*, to meet there *Philip*, King of *France*, and his Son *Lewis*, the Sixth of that Name. In his Way he viſited a great many Places at the Invitation of the Inhabitants, conſecrating Churches and Monaſteries, and celebrating Maſs with the ſame Pomp, Ceremonies, and Solemnity, as he did at *Rome*. On the Fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, which, in the preſent Year 1107, fell on the Twenty-fourth of *March*, he was at *Tours*, and from thence repaired to St. *Dennis* attended by a great Number of Biſhops, and almoſt all the Nobility of *France*. At St. *Dennis* he had an Interview with the Two Kings, who, paying the ſame Reſpect to him as to St. *Peter* himſelf, fell on their Knees before him. But the Pope, raiſing them up with his Hand, expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Reception he had every-where met with in their Dominions, commended them for treading in the Footſteps of their Anceſtors, the Defenders and Protectors of the Apoſtolic See, and then entering upon the Motives of his Journey, told them that he was come to implore their Protection againſt the Enemies of the *Church*, particularly againſt *Henry*, King of *Germany*, who, notwithſtanding the Obligations he owed to the *Roman* See, threatend the Church with the ſame Calamities that it had ſuffered under his Father. The Two Kings aſſured the Pope that he ſhould find them no leſs ready to aſſiſt him, when called upon, than his Predeceſſors had found the moſt zealous among theirs to aſſiſt them.

The Pope goes to France. Year of Chriſt 1107.

In the mean time *Henry*, hearing of the Pope's Journey into *France*, and not doubting but he had undertaken it to engage the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Princes, in Caſe of a Rupture between him and the Apoſtolic See, convened a Diet at *Mentz*, conſiſting of all the Lords and Biſhops of his Kingdom; and by all the inveſting of Biſhops and Abbots was declared a Right inherent in the Crown, and it was reſolved, that a ſolemn Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the Pope, to put an End, if poſſible, in an amicable Manner, to that Diſpute. For this Embaſſy were choſen the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, the Biſhops of *Halberſtad* and *Munſter*, *Albert* Great Chancellor of the Empire, and many other Perſons of the firſt Rank and Diſtinction. They met the Pope at *Chalons* on the *Marne*, and in the Audience they had, the Biſhop of *Treves*, who ſpoke for the reſt, after wiſhing his Holineſs all Proſperity in the King's Name, and offering him

Solemn Embaſſy from the King of Germany *to the Pope.*

Year of Christ 1107.

his Service, so far as was consistent with the Rights of his Crown, he declared, that ever since the Time of *Gregory the Great* the Election of a Bishop was notified to the Emperor before it was made public; that if he confirmed it, it was then published, the Elect was ordained, and after Ordination applied to the Emperor, and was by him invested with the Crosier and the Ring, in the Temporalities of his See, paying Homage for them, and taking the usual Oath of Allegiance; that it was but reasonable he should hold upon these, and no other Terms, Demesnes, Cities, Castles, *&c.* that were given by the Emperors, and depended upon the Empire, and that the King, his Master, was disposed to render all the Respect, Obedience, and Submission, that was due to his Holiness, provided his Holiness was, in his Turn, disposed to render unto *Cæsar* what was *Cæsar*'s. The Bishop of *Placentia* answered the Archbishop in the Pope's Name, that the Church, redeemed by the Blood of Christ, and set at Liberty, ought not to be enslaved anew; that she would be the Prince's Slave, if she could not chuse her own Ministers without his Consent; that the Staff and Ring belonged to the Altar, and consequently could not be disposed of by Laymen; and that it was highly unbecoming, that Hands, consecrated by the Body and Blood of Christ, should receive the Ensigns of their Dignity and Power from Hands imbrued in Blood shed by the Sword. The Bishop was going on, when his Embassadors, interrupting him, said aloud, *This is not the Place where we are to decide the Dispute; the Sword must decide it at* Rome. With these Menaces they left the Assembly abruptly, and returned to their Lodgings. The Pope sent some of the Bishops, who attended him, to confer with the Chancellor *Albert*, in whom he knew the King reposed an entire Confidence. But they found him no less determined than the rest to maintain the King's Right to Investitures, which, he said, all the other Emperors and Kings of *Germany* had enjoyed, and the present King was determined never to give up. The Embassadors set out the next Day on their Return to *Germany*: and the Pope leaving *Chalons*, repaired first to *Chartres*, where he kept his Easter with *Ivo*, the celebrated Bishop of that City, and from thence to *Troyes*, to preside at a Council, which he had appointed to meet there [i].

The King maintains his Right to Investitures.

Lay Investitures condemned in a Council at Troyes.

The Council met about the End of *May*, consisted of most of the Bishops of *France*, *Burgundy*, and the neighbouring Countries; and

[i] Suger. ubi supra. Usperg. Orderic. l. ii. p. 820.

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the Pope, to ſhew that he was reſolved, notwithſtanding the Menaces of the *Germans*, to maintain his pretended Right to Inveſtitures, cauſed all the Decrees, relating thereunto, to be confirmed by the Aſſembly. This the King of *Germany* foreſaw, and therefore ſent Embaſſadors to declare to the Pope and the Council, in his Name, that ever ſince the Time of Pope *Gregory the Great*, his Predeceſſors had inveſted Biſhops with the Staff and the Ring; that this Prerogative had been confirmed by *Charlemagne*, and in him to all his Succeſſors, by Pope *Hadrian* I. and that he would not ſuffer his Right to it to be determined by the Subjects of another Prince. The Pope would not allow the Decree of his Predeceſſor *Hadrian* to be genuine, but nevertheleſs granted the King the Delay of a whole Year, that he might, when moſt convenient during that Time, go to *Rome*, and there plead his Cauſe, in Perſon, before a general Council, which ſhould be convened to hear his Reaſons and do him Juſtice. The King acquieſced; and we hear no more of this Diſpute till the Year 1110, when we ſhall have Occaſion to reſume the ſame Subject. Year of Chriſt 1107.

The Pope found the King of *England* more pliant than the late Emperor, or the preſent King of *Germany*. *Henry* had declared, by his Embaſſador at *Rome*, as has been related above, that he would not for his Kingdom, part with his Right to Inveſtitures. He nevertheleſs parted, or rather promiſed to part with that Prerogative, upon the Terms I have ſpoken above, *viz.* that *Anſelm* ſhould not excommunicate thoſe who had received Inveſtitures from him nor exclude them from his Communion. As *Anſelm* would not agree to theſe Terms without conſulting the Pope, Envoys were ſent in 1105 both by him and the King, for that Purpoſe, to *Rome*. The Pope, overjoyed to hear that the King was diſpoſed to renounce Inveſtitures upon any Terms whatever, readily agreed to thoſe he demanded, and the Envoys returned in 1106 with the following Agreement, *viz.* That Biſhops and Abbots might be conſecrated, notwithſtanding their doing Homage to the King upon their Election; that *Anſelm* ſhould communicate with ſuch of them, as had, till the Time of the preſent Agreement, received Inveſtiture from the King; and that thenceforth the King ſhould renounce all Right to Inveſtitures. As the Clergy were forbidden by the Decrees of *Gregory* and *Urban* to do Homage to Princes, *Paſchal* tells *Anſelm* in a Letter, which he wrote on this Occaſion, that, out of the great Regard he had for

Agreement between the King of England *and* Anſelm *concerning Inveſtitures.*

Year of Christ 1107.

the King of *England*, he connived at the Homage that was paid him, till he could persuade him to give it up. *Anselm*, who waited in *Normandy* for the Return of the Envoys sent to *Rome*, no sooner received the Pope's Letter, containing the Articles which he was to agree to, than he prepared to set out for *England*, in order to have them approved and ratified by the King. But he was taken ill, and in the mean time the King arrived in *Normandy*, to pursue the Conquest, which he had so successfully begun. Before he took the Field, he went to the Monastery of *Bec*, where *Anselm* still continued, not being yet well recovered from his late Indisposition. However, upon the Arrival of the King he celebrated Mass with great Solemnity, and in the Conference they had before the King left the Place, all Things were settled to the entire Satisfaction of both, the King being pleased with the Pope's allowing the Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastics to do him Homage, while *Anselm* was no less pleased with the King's renouncing a Right of the utmost Importance to the Apostolic See, and as such so strongly insisted on by so many Popes. On this Occasion the King, at the Request of *Anselm*, freed all the Churches in *England* from the heavy Impositions, which his Brother, *William Rufus*, had laid upon them, promised never to touch the Revenues of vacant Sees, to return to *Anselm* the whole Sum that had accrued from the Income of his See during his Absence, and, as to the Tax laid on the Parochial Clergy, to exact nothing of those, who had not yet paid it, and exempt such as had already paid it, from all Imposts for the Space of Three Years. All Differences being thus composed, *Anselm* set out on his Return to *England* in the latter End of *August* or the Beginning of *September* 1106; and the King, a few Days after, completed, by a signal Victory, the Reduction of all *Normandy*. The Duke's Army was entirely defeated, the Duke himself and most of the *Norman* Lords were taken Prisoners, and sent to *England*, where they were shut up in different Castles till Death delivered them [k]. The King immediately acquainted *Anselm* with his Victory, ascribing the Success of as unjust a War as, perhaps, was ever undertaken, to the particular Protection of Heaven. It is to be observed, that neither the Pope nor *Anselm* ever once offered to divert the King from that War, unjust and unnatural as it was, while they threatened him with Ex-

[k] Eadmer. Novor. l. iv. c. 3.

communication,

communication, and left nothing elſe in their Power unattempted to divert him from giving Inveſtitures, as if they had thought the delivering of a Staff and Ring to a Biſhop, or an Abbot, more criminal than ſuch a War, and the Shedding of ſo much Chriſtian Blood. Year of Chriſt 1107.

The King did not leave *Normandy* till a little before Eaſter 1107, being employed in ſettling the Affairs of his new Conqueſt. He no ſooner arrived in *England* than *Anſelm*, deſirous of having the above Agreement approved and confirmed by the whole Nation, perſuaded the King to aſſemble, for that Purpoſe, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Lords of the Kingdom; and he accordingly appointed them to meet on the Firſt of *Auguſt* 1107. They met at the Time appointed in the King's Palace at *London*, and the Affair of Inveſtitures was warmly debated for Three Days together, ſome being for the King's inveſting Biſhops and Abbots with the Staff and the Ring, in the ſame Manner as they had been inveſted by his Two immediate Predeceſſors, his Father and his Brother; while others, gained by the Artifices of *Anſelm*, but more by his good Offices in perſuading the King to eaſe the Churches of the heavy Impoſitions laid upon them, approved of the King's laying aſide the uſual Method of inveſting, and contenting himſelf with the Homage, that the Biſhops and the Abbots were allowed to pay him upon their Election. But the King had already renounced his Right to Inveſtitures, by his Agreement with *Anſelm*, and therefore made a formal Reſignation of it in the preſent Council, contrary to the Advice of many of the Biſhops as well as the Lords. The Council being ended, ſeveral Sees, that had long been vacant, on Account of this Diſpute, were immediately filled, and the Ceremony of inveſting the new Biſhops, by the Delivery of the Staff and Ring, was omitted. Thus were no fewer than ſix Biſhops ordained, in one Day, by *Anſelm*, and *Gerard*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *after they had been canonically elected*, ſays the Hiſtorian, *by their reſpective Churches* [m]; which Words ſeem to inſinuate that the King gave up his Right to the nominating as well as to the inveſting of Biſhops. Thus ended this Controverſy in *England*, the King tamely parting with one of the moſt undoubted Rights, and moſt valuable Prerogatives of his Crown. But finding, that the King of *Germany* ſtill continued to aſſert the Right, that he had given up, he threatened to reſume it, complaining to *Anſelm* *The King makes a formal Reſignation of his Rights to Inveſtitures.*

[m] Continuator. Ingul. p. 126.

of

Year of Christ 1107.

of the Pope's Partiality in requiring him to resign a Prerogative, which he allowed another Prince to enjoy, who had no better Right to it. *Anselm* acquainted the Pope with the King's Complaints; and his Letter was immediately answered by *Paschal* in the following Terms: "Know that I never did, that I never will suffer the King "of *Germany* to give Investitures. I only wait till the Fierceness of "that Nation be somewhat tamed: but if the King continues to "follow the wicked Example of his Father, he shall feel, in due "Time, the Weight of the Sword of St. *Peter*, which we have al- "ready begun to draw [n]." We shall see, in the Sequel, the Issue of this Dispute with the King of *Germany*, and in the mean time return to *Paschal*, whom we left at *Troyes*, giving Audience to the *German* Embassadors in the Council, which he held in that City.

Paschal *returns to* Rome.

From *Troyes Paschal* returned to *Rome* about the latter End of the present Year 1107, and was there received, says the Abbot of *Usperg*, by all Ranks of Men, as if he had returned from the Dead. He continued at *Rome* the greater Part of the following Year 1108, and during his Stay there, restored the See of *Braga* to the Metropolitan Dignity, which it had formerly enjoyed [o], and anulled the Marriage of *Urraca*, Daughter of *Alphonsus* VI. King of *Castile* and *Leon*, with *Alphonsus*, King of *Arragon*, to whom she was related in the third Degree of Consanguinity. The Pope, in his Letter to *Didicus*, Bishop of *Compostella*, orders him to command *Urraca*, in his Name, to depart from the King on Pain of being excluded from the Communion of the Church, and deprived of all secular Power. However, in 1110 she had not yet obeyed that Order, as appears from a Grant of King *Alphonsus*, her Husband, to the Monastery of St. *Mary* of *Balvanera*, bearing that Date, wherein the King calls her his Wife, saying, *I and my Wife* Urraca, *the Daughter of the most valiant King* Alphonsus, *and related to me by Blood, who jointly rule with Royal Authority, from the* Pyrenean *Mountains to the Reflux of the Ocean, grant*, &c. [p] From *Rome* the Pope repaired to *Beneventum* to hold a Council there; but of that Council we know no more than what we read in the Chronicle of *Petrus Cassinensis*, *viz.* that *Paschal* came to *Monte Cassino* in the Month of *October* of the present Year 1108, and taking with him *Bruno*, Bishop of *Segni*, and Abbot of that Monastery, went from thence to *Beneventum*, and in a Council, which he held there,

Council of Beneven- um.

Ye ar of Christ 1108.

[n] Pasch. ep. 44. [o] Bernard. in vit. Gerald. [p] Sandoval, fol. 120.

excommu-

excommunicated, as his Predeceſſors had done, all Laymen, who ſhould preſume to give, and all Clerks, who ſhould receive Inveſtitures at their Hands, and beſides forbad Clerks to wear Lay or coſtly Habits [q]. *Paſchal*, upon his Return to *Rome*, appointed *Gerard*, Biſhop of *Angouleſme*, his Legate over all *France*, who is ſaid to have held no fewer than eight Councils, during the Time of his Legation, and to have reformed many Abuſes, that prevailed in thoſe Churches [r]. *Paſchal* entertained a very high Opinion of *Gerard*'s Sanctity, as well as his Abilities. But we ſhall ſee him adhering to an Anti-pope, when he could not prevail upon the true Pope to confirm to him his Legatine Power.

Year of Chriſt 1108.

In the mean time the young King of *Germany*, deſirous of having an End put to the Quarrel between him and the Pope, and not a little provoked at *Paſchal*'s excommunicating in all his Councils, Laymen, who gave, and Eccleſiaſtics, who received, Inveſtitures from them, ſent *Frederic*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Bruno*, Archbiſhop of *Treves*, *Herman* of *Winceburch*, in whom he repoſed great Confidence, and ſeveral other *German* Lords, with the Character of his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to try whether they could, upon any reaſonable Terms, conclude an Agreement with his Holineſs, and reſtore by that Means, the Union that had formerly ſubſiſted between the Apoſtolic See and the Empire. The Pope received them on their Arrival at *Rome* with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, declared that it was his ſincere Deſire to live in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip with his beloved Son the King of *Germany*, and that he ever ſhould, provided the King on his Part behaved as became a Catholic King, a Son and Defender of the Church. The Embaſſadors continued at *Rome* all this Year and Part of the next, negotiating an Agreement between the Pope and the King; and an Agreement was, in the End, concluded upon the following Terms: That the Emperor (for ſo he is ſtiled by *Petrus Diaconus*) ſhould renounce all Right and Title to Inveſtitures by a Writing, which he ſhould deliver to the Pope in the Preſence of the Clergy and the People; that he ſhould leave the Churches free with their Oblations, and ſuch Demeſnes as did not belong to the Empire before the Church poſſeſſed them; that he ſhould abſolve the People from their Oaths, which they had been forced to take againſt their Biſhops; that he ſhould reſtore the Patrimonies and Poſſeſſions of St. *Peter*, as was done by *Charles*, *Lewis*, *Henry*, and the other

Solemn Embaſſy from the King of Germany *to the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 1109.

Articles of the Treaty concluded between the Pope and the King.

[q] Petrus Caſſin. Chron. lib. iv. c. 35.

[r] Paſch. ep. 37.

Emperors,

Year of Chriſt 1109.

Emperors, and maintain, to the utmoſt of his Power, the ſaid Apoſtle in Poſſeſſion of them; that he ſhould not contribute, by Word or Deed, to deprive the Pope of his Pontificate, of his Life, his Limbs, or his Liberty, and that in this Article ſhould be included *Peter of Leo* (that is, *Peter* the Son of *Leo*, a Man of great Power in *Rome*, and zealouſly attached to the Pope), his Children, and ſuch others as the Pope ſhould name; and laſtly, that the Emperor ſhould deliver to the Pope *Frederic*, his Siſter's Son, and Twelve Lords of the Empire, who are all named in the Treaty, as he ſays, for the Obſervance of theſe Articles. The Pope, on his Side, engaged, if the Emperor fulfilled what he had promiſed, to order the Biſhops, who ſhould be preſent at his Coronation, to reſign and deliver up to him whatever had belonged to the Crown in the Time of *Lewis*, *Henry*, and the other Emperors his Predeceſſors; to forbid them, on pain of Excommunication, to uſurp or claim the Royalties, that is, Cities, Duchies, Marquiſates, Counties, the Right of Coinage, of holding Markets, levying Taxes, exacting Tolls; to give him no Trouble for holding the Lordſhips, and whatever elſe had belonged to the Empire; to receive him with Honour, and crown him in the ſame manner as his Predeceſſors had been crowned by other Popes; and laſtly, that *Peter* of *Leo* ſhould continue with the King till the Pope had fulfilled all the Articles of this Agreement [s].

Alliance between the Pope and the Normans.

As the Pope did not know whether the King would ratify the Treaty he had concluded with his Embaſſadors, he applied, in the mean time, to the *Norman* Princes of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who readily engaged to aſſiſt him with all their Forces, and to march, at a Moment's Warning, to his Aſſiſtance, by whomſoever attacked. In like manner the chief and moſt powerful Citizens of *Rome* declared, all to a Man, that they would ſtand by his Holineſs to the laſt, in caſe the Agreement between him and the King ſhould not take place. The Pope, thus encouraged, held a Council in the *Lateran* Palace, and there excommunicated anew all Laymen who ſhould, from that Hour, give Inveſtitures, and all Eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould, upon any Pretence whatſoever, receive them at their Hands. At the ſame time they were ſuſpended from all the Functions of their Office, who ſhould ordain any, that had been thus promoted [t].

Lateran *Council.*

Year of Chriſt 1110.

The King ſets out for Italy.

The King was no ſooner informed by his Embaſſadors of the Iſſue of their Negotiations with the Pope, than he reſolved to go to *Rome*,

[s] Petrus Damian. Chron. Caſſin. lib. ii. c. 37. [t] Concil. t. x.

in order to be crowned there, and put the finiſhing Hand to the Treaty, which they had begun. This his Intention he notified to the States of the Empire in a General Diet, which he had appointed to meet for that Purpoſe, at *Ratisbon*, inviting all the Lords and Princes, who were preſent, to attend him, in the moſt ſplendid manner they could, that the Ceremony of his Coronation might thus be rendered the more auguſt. He ſet out from *Germany* in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, at the Head of a very numerous Army, conſiſting of 30,000 Horſe, beſides Foot, and entering *Italy* on the Day of the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, that is, on the 15th of that Month, he obliged all the Cities and Countries, through which he paſſed, to do him Homage, and ſuch Places as refuſed to admit him he beſieged, took, and laid in Aſhes, and, among the reſt, the Two Cities of *Novara* in *Lombardy*, and *Arezzo* in *Tuſcany*. As the Seaſon was far advanced, and his Army had ſuffered greatly in paſſing the *Apennine* Mountains, he ſtopt ſome time at *Florence*, kept his Chriſtmas there, and after the Holidays reſumed his March, and arrived at *Sutri*. He was there met by the Embaſſadors he had ſent to *Rome*, who delivered to him the Treaty, which they had concluded with the Pope. As by One of the Articles of that Treaty the Biſhops were to deliver up to the King all the Towns, Caſtles, Eſtates, and Lordſhips, that had been given them by the Emperor his Predeceſſor, or had ever belonged to the Empire, and he, in Exchange, was only to renounce the Right of delivering to them a Staff and a Ring, he immediately ratified it, and ſwore ſtrictly to obſerve every Article it contained; but upon Condition, that the Biſhops agreed to it of their own Accord, or that his Holineſs obliged them to agree to it.

Year of Chriſt 1110.

Ratifies the Treaty concluded by his Embaſſadors.

The Treaty being thus ratified and ſworn to by the King, and by *Peter* of *Leo* in the Pope's Name, the King approached the City with his Army, and encamped, on the 11th of *February* 1111, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Walls. The next Day, being *Quinquageſima Sunday*, he made his Entry into the *Leonine* City, was received without the Gate by the *Jews*, under it by the *Greeks*, and within by the whole *Roman* Clergy, and an Hundred Nuns with burning Tapers in their Hands; when, alighting from his Horſe, he was attended by them, and an infinite Multitude of People, with loud Acclamations, to the *Vatican*. The Pope waited for him upon the Steps of St. *Peter's* Church, which the King aſcended, and proſtrating himſelf before him, kiſſed his Feet. The Pope raiſed him, and they then embraced

Enters the Leonine City.

Year of Chriſt 1111.

How received by the Pope

Year of Chriſt 1111.

His Interview with the Pope.

embraced and kiſſed each other Three Times, and then proceeded together, the King holding the Pope's right Hand, to the Silver Door, one of the Doors of St. *Peter*'s Church. There the Pope appointed him Emperor, kiſſed him again, and the Biſhop of *Lavini* ſaid the Firſt Prayer over him. They then entered the Church, and coming to a Place called the *Porphyry Wheel*, the Pavement being inlaid with Porphyry in Circles, they both ſat down in Two Chairs placed there by the Pope's Order, while the Cardinals, the *Roman* Clergy, and the *Germans*, ſtood round them. Being thus ſeated, the Pope deſired the King to reſtore to the Church her juſt Rights, and renounce Inveſtitures, purſuant to the Treaty, which he had ratified and ſworn to obſerve. The King anſwered, that as he had engaged to renounce Inveſtitures, upon Condition that the Biſhops gave up to him all the Eſtates and Lordſhips, which they held of the Empire, he muſt firſt know whether they were diſpoſed to comply with that Condition. He accordingly roſe up, and, leaving the Pope, retired, with ſuch of the *German* and *Lombard* Biſhops as were preſent, to the Veſtry, to confer with them there. As the Conference laſted a long time, the Pope, weary of waiting, ſent to the King to deſire he would return and perform what he had promiſed. He returned, and the Biſhops with him, all to a Man proteſting againſt the Treaty, and declaring that they would not part with their Eſtates, that the Pope had no Right to diſpoſe of them, and that as the Emperor had given them to the Church they were unalienable. The Pope ſtrove in vain to ſatisfy them, ſaying, *It was juſt to render unto* Cæſar *the Things that were* Cæſar's; *that he, who ſerves God, ought not to be taken up with the Affairs of this World; that the Uſe of Arms, and conſequently the Poſſeſſion of Caſtles and Strongholds, is, according to St.* Ambroſe, *foreign to the Office of a Biſhop.* The Biſhops, ſenſible that the Pope's whole Conduct, in this very Affair, was a manifeſt Contradiction to the Maxims which he inculcated to them, and that he only wanted to acquire the diſputed Prerogative at their Expence, kept to the Reſolution they had taken in Spite of all his Holineſs's Exhortations as well as Menaces. However the Pope, pretending to have fulfilled, on his Side, all the Articles of the Treaty, challenged the King to fulfil them in like manner on his. This occaſioned a warm Diſpute between the King and the Pope, in the Heat of which a *German* of the King's Retinue ſtepping up to the Pope, *To what Purpoſe*, ſaid he with a haughty Air,

ſo

Year of Chriſt 1111.

ſo many Speeches? What have we to do with your Articles and Treaties? Know that our Lord the Emperor will have you to crown him, without any of your Articles or Conditions, as your Predeceſſors crowned Charles, Lewis, *and* Pepin. The Pope anſwered with great Compoſure, that he neither could, nor would crown him, till he had executed the Treaty, which he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to obſerve. As the King had ratified the Treaty, and ſworn to obſerve it, only upon Condition that the Biſhops reſigned their Lordſhips, which they refuſed, and would not by the Pope himſelf be prevailed upon to do, he was ſo provoked at the Pope's unfair Proceeding, that he ordered his Guards to ſurround him that Moment, ſaying, that he ſhould crown him. The Pope however was allowed to celebrate Maſs as it was *Quinquageſima Sunday*; but as he was going to retire, when the Service was ended, the Soldiers ſtopt him, and all the Cardinals who were with him, and kept them in the Church till the Dusk of the Evening, when they were all conveyed, under a ſtrong Guard, to a Houſe at a ſmall Diſtance from the Church [u].

He arreſts the Pope.

In the mean time Two of the Cardinals, *John* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, and *Leo* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, having made their Eſcape, and got, in the Diſguiſe of two *Plebeians*, into *Rome*, inflamed the Inhabitants to ſuch a Degree againſt the *Germans*, that they flew immediately to Arms, and murdered every *German* they met in the Streets, who, being ignorant of what had happened, were either innocently viſiting the Holy Places out of Devotion, or viewing the Rarities of the City out of Curioſity. The enraged *Romans* did not ſtop there, but paſſing the Bridges of the *Tyber*, in Battle-array, attacked the King with ſuch Fury, that it was with great Difficulty he kept his Ground. The *Romans* however were repulſed at laſt: but they ſoon returned, in greater Numbers, to the Charge, the Fight was renewed, and ſuch was the Slaughter on both Sides, that the *Tyber* was tinged with the Blood of the Slain. The King himſelf was wounded in the Face, was unhorſed, and would have fallen into the Hands of his mercileſs Enemies, had not *Otho* Count of *Milan*, flying to his Reſcue, given him his Horſe, and thus enabled him to put himſelf again at the Head of his Cavalry, who had begun to give way. The Count was taken, and carried into the City by the *Romans*, where they cut

The Romans *ſtrive to reſcue him.*

[u] Acta Vatican. apud Baron. ad ann. 1111, et Petrus Diacon. Chron. Caſſin. l. 4. c. 38, 39.

Year of Chriſt 1111.

him to pieces, with the utmoſt Barbarity, and threw his mangled Members to the Dogs. The *Germans*, though encouraged by the King at their Head, were driven back to St. *Peter's*, and even from their Quarters in that Neighbourhood, which the *Romans* plundered. But the *Germans* falling upon them as they were paſſing the Bridge of St. *Angelo*, loaded with the Booty, a dreadful Slaughter enſued, the Booty was recovered, and great Numbers of the *Romans* were either ſlain on the Bridge, or forced to throw themſelves into the River, where they all periſhed. They, who eſcaped the Slaughter, being joined by others, ſtill rallied, and the Fight laſted till Night coming on parted the Combatants. In the mean time the Cardinal of *Tuſculum*, having aſſembled the *Romans*, and repreſented to them in an inflaming Harangue the unworthy Treatment the Pope had met with from the *Germans*, and the Obligation they were under of reſcuing him out of the Hands of his Enemies, even at the Expence of their Lives, worked them up to ſuch a Pitch of Fury and Rage, that they bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath to reſiſt the King to the laſt Drop of their Blood, and to look upon all as their Enemies, who ſhould join or aſſiſt him. The Cardinal promiſed, at the ſame Time Remiſſion of all their Sins to ſuch as ſhould die in ſo good a Cauſe, in ſo holy a War [x].

Great Slaughter on both Sides.

The Emperor retires and carries the Pope and the Cardinals with him.

The King, informed of the Diſpoſition of the *Romans*, and the Reſolution they had taken, thought it adviſeable to retire; and he left accordingly the *Leonine* City in the Night, carrying with him the Pope, the Cardinals, and ſeveral of the *Roman* Nobility. The King ſtrove, on his March, to bring the Pope to his Terms, that is, to crown him without requiring him to give up Inveſtitures. But finding that he ſtill refuſed to comply with theſe Terms, he cauſed him to be ſtript of his pontifical Ornaments, and bound like a Criminal. The Cardinals, and ſuch of the *Roman* Nobility and Clergy as were taken with the Pope, met with no better Treatment, and they were all bound and ſhut up in different Priſons, in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Soracte*, where the King firſt halted. From Mount *Soracte* the King entered the Country of the *Sabins*, with a Deſign to return againſt *Rome*. He left the Pope with the Two Biſhops of *Sabinia* and *Porto*, and Four Cardinals, under a ſtrong Guard, at a Caſtle called *Terbicum*, and the reſt of the Cardinals at the Caſtle of *Corcodiſum*, Places now utterly unknown.

[x] Petrus Diacon. Chron. Caſſin. l. iv. c. 38, 39.

The

The Pope was attended by ſome *German* Lords, and none but *Germans* were allowed to come near him. In the mean time, the King, by laying waſte the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with Fire and Sword, and preventing any Supplies of Proviſions from being conveyed into the City, had reduced it to the utmoſt Diſtreſs. But the *Romans*, encouraged by the Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, nay, and rejected, with Scorn, the large Sums, with which the King attempted to bribe them. Their Obſtinacy ſo provoked the young Prince, that he ordered the Pope, the Cardinals, and all the other Priſoners to be brought to his Camp, and, in the Preſence of his whole Army, ſwore, that if the Pope did not fulfil the Articles of their Agreement, he would put him to Death, and all who were with him. The Pope, not in the leaſt intimidated with theſe Menaces, anſwered, that he was in the King's Power, and he might therefore diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed; but that he would rather part with his Life, than what was dearer to him than Life itſelf, the Rights of his See. Hereupon the Emperor, finding that the Obſtinacy of the Pope was Proof againſt his Menaces, changed his Stile, and offered to releaſe him and the reſt of the Priſoners, provided he renounced his Claim to Inveſtitures, declaring that, by that Ceremony, he did not mean to confer any ſpiritual Power, Authority or Juriſdiction, but only to convey the Temporalities, and Demeſnes, that depended upon the Empire. But the Pope, no more moved by the Offers of the Emperor than by his Threats, ſtill returned the ſame Anſwer. However, the Cardinals and other Priſoners, no longer able to bear this Captivity, earneſtly beſought him to have Pity upon them, and comply for their Sakes, if not for his own, with the Demands of the Emperor. They repreſented to him the deplorable State of the *Roman* Church, that had loſt almoſt all its Cardinals, the Miſeries that ſo many Men of the firſt Diſtinction in *Rome* endured in the Priſons, to which they were confined, being, for their Attachment to him and his See, ſnatched from their Wives, their Children, their Country, and from every Thing that was dear to them, and the imminent Danger of a Schiſm, ſince the Emperor would not fail to cauſe another Pope, more pliant, to be choſen, if he could not obtain from him what he demanded. The Pope long withſtood the Prayers and Entreaties of all his Friends. But as they, laying before him the Calamities which the Church was threatened with, and the Hardſhips that they were forced to undergo,

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The Pope withſtands the Menaces of the Emperor.

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undergo, gave him no Respite, he yielded in the End, and bursting into Tears, *I am forced*, he said, *to suffer for the Peace and Liberty of the Church, what I had rather have lost my Life than have suffered.*

Yields at last.

Articles agreed to by him and the Emperor.

The Pope having thus consented to an Agreement with the Emperor, the following Articles were drawn up by his Order, and signed by Ten Cardinals, Two Bishops, and Three Deacons: "Pope *Paschal* "shall not molest King *Henry* on Account of giving Investitures to "the Bishops and Abbots of his Kingdom; he shall not concern him- "self with them, nor shall he ever excommunicate the King for grant- "ing them, or for any Injury he had done, on Occasion of this Dis- "pute, to him or his Friends and Adherents; the King shall invest, "as he has done hitherto, with the Crosier and the Ring, the Bishops "and Abbots, who shall have been elected freely, without Simony, "and with his Approbation; the Archbishops and Bishops shall conse- "crate those whom the King shall have thus invested, and none shall "be consecrated till he has invested them; the Pope shall crown the "Emperor forthwith, shall assist him to preserve his Kingdom, and "shall confirm to him, by a special Bull, the Right of investing." The Articles drawn up in the Emperor's Name, and sworn to by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, the Bishops of *Trent*, *Spire*, *Munster*, by *Albert* Chancellor of the Empire, and by Eight Counts and Marquisses, were as follows; "I *Henry*, on *Wednesday* or *Thursday* next, shall set "at Liberty Pope *Paschal*, and all the Cardinals, Bishops, and other "Persons, as well as Hostages who have been taken with him, and for "him; and shall cause them to be conducted safe to the Gate of the "*Transliberine* City. I shall not henceforth arrest, or cause any to be "arrested, who shall be faithful to Pope *Paschal*; and the *Roman* Peo- "ple, as well as the Inhabitants of the *Transliberine* City, shall enjoy "Peace and Safety, unmolested both in their Persons and Estates: "I shall restore the Patrimonies and Demesnes of the *Roman* "Church, which I have taken, shall help and assist her to recover and "to hold whatever in Justice belongs to her, as my Ancestors have "done, and shall obey Pope *Paschal*, saving the Honour of my King- "dom and Empire, as the Catholic Emperors have obeyed the Catho- "lic Popes".

The Bull granted by the Pope to the Emperor.

These Articles were drawn up and sworn to in the Emperor's Camp, at a small Distance from *Rome*. The Emperor, however, distrusting, it seems, the Pope, would not release him till he was in Possession

of the Bull, confirming to him the Right of Inveſtiture. *Paſchal's* Secretary, therefore, and his Seal, were ſent for from *Rome*, and as ſoon as the Secretary arrived, the Bull was drawn up, was ſigned by the Pope, and ſealed with his Seal. It was couched in the following Terms: " *Paſchal*, Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his " beloved Son *Henry*, King of the *Germans*, and by the Grace of God " Emperor of the *Romans*, Health and Apoſtolic Benediction. As " your Kingdom has been always diſtinguiſhed by its Attachment " to the Church, and your Predeceſſors have deſerved by their Probity " to be honoured with the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, it has pleaſed the " Almighty to call you my beloved Son *Henry*, in like Manner, to " that Dignity *&c.* We therefore grant to you that Prerogative, which " our Predeceſſors have granted to yours, namely, that you inveſt the " Biſhops and Abbots of your Kingdom with the Staff and Ring, pro- " vided they ſhall have been elected freely and without Simony, and " that they be conſecrated, after you ſhall have inveſted them, by the " Biſhops, whoſe Province it is. If any ſhall be choſen by the People " and the Clergy, without your Approbation, let him not be conſe- " crated till you have inveſted him. The Biſhops and Archbiſhops " ſhall be at full Liberty to conſecrate the Biſhops and Abbots, whom " you ſhall have inveſted. For your Predeceſſors have ſo endowed and " enriched the Church out of their own Demeſnes, that the Biſhops " and Abbots ought to be the foremoſt in contributing to the Defence " and Support of the State, and it behoves you on your Parts to ſup- " preſs the Popular Diſſenſions that happen at Elections. If any Perſon, " whether Clerk or Layman, ſhall preſume to infringe this our " Conceſſion, he ſhall be ſtruck with Anathema, and ſhall forfeit his " Dignity. May the Mercy of the Almighty protect thoſe, who ſhall " obſerve it, and grant your Majeſty a happy Reign [w]."

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All Things being thus ſettled, the Pope was ſet at Liberty, having been kept Priſoner for the Space of Eight Weeks, that is, from *Quinquageſima Sunday*, which in the preſent Year 1111 fell on the 12th of *February*, to the firſt *Sunday* after *Eaſter*. The Pope and the Emperor entered the *Leonine* City together, and proceeding ſtrait to the Church of *St. Peter*, the Emperor was there crowned by the Pope, on *Sunday* the 12th of *April*, with the uſual Solemnity, the Gates of *Rome* being all kept ſhut during the Ceremony, to prevent the *Romans* and the *Germans* from quarrelling anew. When

The Emperor crowned.

w Petrus Diacon. ibid. et c. 40.

the

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the Ceremony of the Coronation was ended, the Pope celebrated Mass, and coming to the Communion, divided the Host, took one Part of it himself, and gave the other to the Emperor, saying, *We give you, Emperor* Henry, *the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the same that was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and suffered on the Cross, as we are taught by the Holy Catholic Church; we give it you in Confirmation of the Peace we have made; and as this Part of the vivifying Sacrament is divided from the other, so may he, who shall attempt to break this Agreement, be divided from our Lord Jesus Christ, and excluded from his Kingdom.* The Emperor, before he took his leave of the Pope, insisted upon his delivering to him the above-mentioned Bull with his own Hand, in the Sight of all, who were present. This *Paschal* declined at first, but was in the end obliged to comply. With that Bull the Emperor returned in Triumph to his Camp, and soon after set out for *Germany*. The Pope, now at Liberty, entered *Rome*, where such Crowds flocked from all Quarters to see him, and congratulate him upon his Deliverance, that it was Night before he got to the *Lateran* Palace [x].

Returns to Germany.

Paschal met with a very different Reception from the Cardinals, who had remained in *Rome*, during his Imprisonment, and from the Clergy in general. They all looked upon him as one who had sacrificed the Right of the Church to his own Safety, and pressing him, not without Menaces, to revoke immediately the Bull he had granted, and declare null all he had done, they protested to his Face that they never would acquiesce in a Grant so unjust, and so prejudicial to the Interest and Honour of the Church, and so openly repugnant to the Decrees of his Two late Predecessors *Gregory* and *Urban*. On the other Hand the Cardinals, who had been imprisoned with the Pope, undertook his Defence with no less Warmth, representing his Compliance with the Demands of the Emperor as a necessary Measure to save the City and Inhabitants of *Rome*, as well as the Church, from imminent Ruin. But their Reasons were of no Weight with the Cardinals of the opposite Party, who upon the Pope's going, we know not upon what Occasion, into *Campania*, assembled as soon as he was gone, and having with one Voice declared void and null all his Concessions, they renewed the Decrees against Lay Investitures, and with *John* of *Tusculum*, and *Leo* of *Vercelli*, at their Head, condemned all, who should act, or should support any,

The Pope blamed for the Bull granted to the Emperor.

[x] Petrus Diacon. c. 41, 42. et Masson. in Not. ad Ivon.

who

who acted contrary to thoſe Decrees; which was condemning the Pope himſelf, and with him all who adhered to him. The Pope, being informed of what had paſſed, wrote to the Cardinals from *Terracina*, blaming their indiſcreet Zeal, ſtriving to convince them that, by yielding, he had prevented greater Evils, and promiſing to correct the Evil which they thought he had done. This Letter is dated the 5th of *July*, of the preſent Year, and it appeaſed the Cardinals for the preſent. But *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Segni* and Abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, once one of *Paſchal's* chief Favourites, inſiſted on his not only revoking the Bull, but excommunicating the Emperor for extorting it from him. As for the Oath he had taken, *Bruno* maintained it to be null, becauſe not taken freely, and even told *Paſchal* in the very ſevere Letter, which he wrote to him on this Occaſion, that it was Simony, Hereſy, and Idolatry, for a Layman to give, and for a Clerk to receive Inveſtiture at his Hands, and that he was no Catholic, who approved of the one or the other. As this was telling the Pope that he was a Heretic, or an Abettor of Hereſy, he highly reſented it, and wrote immediately to the Monks of *Monte Caſſino*, by *Leo* Biſhop of *Oſtia* and a Monk of that Monaſtery, commanding them to withdraw all Obedience to *Bruno*, and to chuſe forthwith another Abbot in his room. The Monks obeyed; and *Bruno*, retiring to his Biſhopric, led there a moſt religious and exemplary Life till the Year 1125, when he died, and was canonized after his Death by *Lucius* II.

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Paſchal, finding his Conduct was cenſured, not only by the *Roman*, but by moſt other Churches, ſincerely repented of what he had done, and wanted to revoke the Bull he had granted. But being at a Loſs how to reconcile his Revoking it with the Oath, never to moleſt the Emperor on Account of Inveſtitures, he appointed a Council to meet in the *Lateran*, in order to adviſe with the Biſhops of different Nations about the Means of obſerving that Oath, and yet preſerving the Liberty and Rights of the Church. The Council met on the 28th of *March* 1112, conſiſted of Twelve Archbiſhops, One hundred and Fourteen Biſhops, Fifteen Cardinal Prieſts, Eight Cardinal Deacons, a great Number of Abbots, and Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks, and the Pope preſided at it in Perſon. In the Three firſt Seſſions of this Council, ſeveral Regulations were made relating to the Diſcipline of the Church, and in the fourth the Decrees againſt the *Guibertines*, that is, againſt thoſe who had adhered to the Antipope

The Lateran *Council.* Year of Chriſt 1112.

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tipope *Guibert*, ſuſpending them from all eccleſiaſtical Functions, were renewed and confirmed by the Pope, who they pretended had abſolved and reſtored them. In the fifth Seſſion the Pope gave the Council a minute Account of all his Tranſactions with the Emperor from the Time he was taken till he was ſet at Liberty, told them that to prevent greater Evils he had granted to the Emperor the Privilege of inveſting all the Biſhops and Abbots of his Kingdom, that he had confirmed that Privilege to him by a ſpecial Bull; that though it was extorted by Force and Violence, yet as he had ſworn to obſerve it, and never to moleſt the Emperor on Account of Inveſtitures, he would not excommunicate him; that he had not done well in granting ſuch a Privilege, was ſenſible that it ought to be corrected, but that, as to the Manner, he left it to the Judgment, to the Prudence, and Diſcretion of the Council. The Biſhops deſired they might be allowed Time to deliberate, and that the deciding of ſo important an Affair might be put off to the next Day, which the Pope readily agreed to.

The Grant of the Pope revoked by the Council.

As the granting of Inveſtitures was by ſome, and by *Bruno* of *Segni* among the reſt, deemed Hereſy, the Pope, to leave no room for ſuch an Imputation (as Popes were not yet thought infallible) made, at their Meeting the next Day, a public Confeſſion of Faith, declaring that he received the holy Writings of the Old and New Teſtament, the Four Goſpels, the Seven canonical Epiſtles, the Canons of the Apoſtles, the Four General Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*, as the Four Goſpels, the Decrees of the *Roman* Pontiffs, eſpecially of *Gregory* VII. and *Urban* II. that he held what they had held, condemned what they had condemned, approved what they had approved, and forbad what they had fordiden, and that he would ever perſevere in theſe Sentiments. When the Pope had ended his Confeſſion of Faith, the Council took his Bull in favour of the Emperor into Conſideration, and very different were their Opinions concerning it. But that of *Gerard*, Biſhop of *Angouleſme*, who ſpoke the laſt, was received by all as dictated by the Holy Ghoſt, namely, that as the Pope had only promiſed not to excommunicate the Emperor, he might excommunicate his own Bull, and thus render it as ineffectual as if it never had been iſſued. As his Opinion was approved by the whole Council, he drew it up in the following Terms; "All of us, who are aſſembled "in this holy Council, condemn by the Authority of the Church,

" and the Judgment of the Holy Ghoſt, the Privilege extorted from " the Pope by King *Henry*, and that it may for ever be void and null, " we excommunicate the ſaid Privilege, it being thereby ordained, that " a Biſhop, though canonically elected, ſhall not be conſecrated till he " has received Inveſtiture from the King, which is againſt the Holy " Ghoſt, and inconſiſtent with canonical Inſtitution." When this Paper was read, the whole Council cried out with one Voice, *Amen, Amen*; *Fiat, Fiat* [y]. Year of Chriſt 1112.

The Emperor excommunicated by the Pope's Legate in France.

The Pope would not excommunicate the Emperor, but he ſuffered him to be every where excommunicated by his Legates, and confirmed the Sentence they had pronounced; which was the ſame Thing as if he himſelf had excommunicated him, ſince their Sentence was null, unleſs approved and confirmed by him. Thus *Guido*, Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, at this time the Pope's Legate in *France*, having aſſembled all the Biſhops under the Juriſdiction of his See, not only confirmed the Sentence of the *Lateran* Council, but declared it Hereſy to receive Inveſtitures of a Biſhopric, of an Abbey, or of any other Eccleſiaſtic Preferment whatever from the Hand of a Layman, and thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Emperor for the Violence he had offered to the Pope, in forcing him to ſign a deteſtable Writing, derogatory to the undoubted Rights of the Church, and inconſiſtent with the Decrees of his Predeceſſors. The Archbiſhop ſent the Acts of this Council to the Pope, who, with a manifeſt Breach of his Oath immediately confirmed them [z]. *Baronius* writes, that *Paſchal* was with great Difficulty prevailed upon, and not till Four Years after, to confirm theſe Acts [a]. But from the Acts it appears, that the Council was held in *September* 1112, and the Pope's Letter, confirming them, is dated the 17th of *November* of the ſame Year [b].

Embaſſy from the Emperor Alexius *to the Pope.*

The following Year 1113 a ſolemn Embaſſy was ſent by the Emperor *Alexius Comnenus* to *Rome*, to expreſs his Concern for the barbarous Treatment his Holineſs had met with from the King of the *Germans*, and to thank the *Romans* in his Name for the Zeal they had ſhewn, and the Courage they had exerted in Defence of their common Father. The Embaſſadors, who were all Perſons of the firſt Rank in the *Greek* Empire, added, that the Emperor, Year of Chriſt 1113.

[y] Concil. t. x. p. 767. Anonym. Hiſt. Pont. et Concil. Engel. apud Labeum. Biblioth. t. ii. p. 249.
[z] Concil. t. x. p. 786.
[a] Bar. ad ann. 1112.
[b] Concil. t. x. p. 786.

Year of Christ 1113.

their Master, proposed to come himself, or to send his Son to *Rome*, to receive, after the Example of the ancient Emperors, the Imperial Crown at his Holiness's Hand [c]. The Pope sent with the Embassadors, on their Return to *Constantinople*, *Chrysolanus*, Archbishop of *Milan*, One of the most learned Men of his Age, and thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek* Tongue. But of this Affair no further Mention is made in History. *Alexius* was greatly alarmed at the Conquests made by the Western Princes in the East, and it was, probably, to prevent them from invading his Dominions that he thus courted the Friendship of the Pope.

The Emperor excommunicated in several Councils.

Years of Christ 1114, 1115.

The Two following Years 1114, 1115, several Councils were held in *France* by *Cono*, Cardinal and Bishop of *Palestrina*, sent thither by the Pope with the Character of his Legate *a Latere*, *viz.* One at *Beauvais*, another at *Reims*, a Third at *Chalons*, a Fourth at *Cologne*, and by all the Emperor was solemnly excommunicated, and the Decrees against Lay Investitures renewed and confirmed. Another Council was appointed to meet at *Cologne*, and several Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and even some of the first Lords of the Empire, had already assembled in that City; but Cardinal *Dieteric*, or rather *Theodoric*, who was to preside at it, dying on his Way from *Rome* to *Germany*, the *German* Bishops chose One of their own Body to represent the Pope in his room; and by this Council too the Emperor was excommunicated, and with him all Laymen, by what Titles soever distinguished, who should thenceforth give Investitures, and all Ecclesiastics, who should, in Defiance of the Decrees of so many Councils, receive them from a Lay Hand.

The Pope's Legate excommunicates the Norman *Bishops.*

In the Council, that was held at *Chalons* about the Middle of *July* 1115, the Legate *Cono* excommunicated all the Bishops, who being summoned to that Council had not complied with the Summons, and the Bishops of *Normandy* in particular, who, though Three Times summoned, had neither appeared at that, nor at any other of his Councils. This Step highly provoked the King of *England*, as the *Norman* Bishops were his Subjects, and forbidden by the same Laws, as the *English* Bishops, to assist at any Council, held out of their Country, without his Leave; and he resolved to resent it in a proper Manner, the rather as he had not yet digested the Treatment, which he had met with from the Pope in the Dispute about Investi-

[c] Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 46.

tures,

tures, and was not a little chagrined by a Letter, that he had received a little before from *Rome*. That Letter was written by *Paſchal* on the following Occaſion. *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dying in 1109, that See remained vacant for the Space of Five Years, that is, till the Year 1114, when *Rudolph*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who had the Inſpection of the Dioceſe, during that long Vacancy, was choſen to ſucceed the deceaſed Archbiſhop, and put in Poſſeſſion of the See, without the Approbation or even the Knowledge of the Pope. However the Monks of *Canterbury*, by the King's Order, ſent ſoon after to *Rome* for the Pall; and on that Occaſion the King wrote as well as they to the Pope, to acquaint his Holineſs with the Tranſlation of *Rudolph* from *Rocheſter* to *Canterbury*. The Pope, who had been long diverted, by his Quarrel with the Emperor, from attending to the Affairs of *England*, was greatly ſurpriſed to hear, that they had appointed a new Archbiſhop, and even tranſlated him from another See to that of *Canterbury*, without applying to him, who alone had a Right to tranſlate Biſhops. However, not caring to quarrel with the King of *England*, at ſo critical a Juncture, he granted the Pall, but ſent it over by a Deputy of his own; and choſe for that Purpoſe *Anſelm*, Nephew to the late Archbiſhop of that Name, who had conſtantly attended the *Engliſh* Deputies, during their Stay at *Rome*, was greatly inſtrumental in procuring the Pall, and had lived ſeveral Years in *England* in his Uncle's Life-time. The Meſſengers were charged, on their Return to *England*, with Three Letters, One for the Monks of *Canterbury*, another for the King, and a Third for the King and the Biſhops of the Kingdom. In his Letter to the Monks he reproaches them, with great Severity, for preſuming to receive a new Archbiſhop without acquainting him with it. In his Letter to the King, he expreſſes great Surprize and no leſs Concern at St. *Peter*'s being denied, in his Kingdom, the Honour that is due to him; complains of his not allowing either Nuncios, or Letters of the Apoſtolic See, to be received in his Dominions without his Order or Permiſſion; of his ſuffering no Appeals to be made to *Rome*; and in the Cloſe of his Letter puts him in mind of the Contribution, paid by his Subjects to St. *Peter*, meaning the *Peter-pence*, which, he ſays, was ſo carleſly collected, that the *Roman* Church received not Half of what was due. His Letter to the King and the Biſhops of *England* is dated the 1ſt of *April* 1115, and in that Letter he tells them, that when Chriſt divided the World amongſt

Year of Chriſt 1115.

The Pope complains that his See was diſregarded in England.

Year of Christ 1115.

amongst his Apostles, he committed *Europe*, in particular, to the Care of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; that Appeals had therefore, at all times, been made from different Provinces of *Europe* to the Apostolic See; that all Matters of Moment, concerning Bishops, had ever been referred to, and finally determined by, the Judgment of that See alone; but "you, he added, determine all Affairs by your own "Authority, call Councils and translate Bishops without our Con- "sent, or even our Knowledge: If you preserve, with respect to these "Points, the Regard you owe to the Prince of the Apostles and "his See, we shall cherish you as our Brethren and our Children; "but if you persist in your Obstinacy, we shall shake off the Dust of "our Feet, as the Gospel directs, and leave you to the Judgment of "God as being no longer Members of the Catholic Church, but de- "servedly cut off from the Communion of the Faithful[d]". This Letter, and the Sentence of Excommunication pronounced by the Legate against the *Norman* Bishops, greatly exasperated the King, and with the Advice of the Bishops, whom he consulted on this Occasion, he resolved to send an Embassador to *Rome*, with an Answer to the Pope's Letter. As he intended, at the same time, to remonstrate against the Proceedings of the Legate, as derogatory to the Privileges granted by the holy See to his Father, his Brother, and himself, he chose the famous Bishop of *Exeter*, *William* of *Warlewest*, though blind, for that Embassy, as he was well known to the Pope, and one upon whose Fidelity and Abilities the King could safely rely. The Bishop, blind as he was, went in Compliance with the King's Command, to *Rome*; and though *Eadmerus*, as well as all other Writers, is quite silent with respect to his Negotiations there, yet, as we hear of no farther Complaints on the King's Side, the Bishop, probably, prevailed upon the Pope to satisfy him, and revoke the Sentence of his Legate against the *Norman* Bishops.

The King remonstrates against the Proceedings of the Legate.

Council of Troia.

The Pope went this Year into *Apulia*, and in a Council, which he held at *Troia*, consisting of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of those Parts, as well as the *Norman* and other Lords, the *Treuga Dei* was confirmed, and all, who were present, swore to observe it, and forbear all Hostilities for the Space of Three Years[e]. From *Troia* the Pope repaired to *Benevento*, and having there quieted the Disturbances, that prevailed among the chief Citizens, aspiring

[d] Pasch. ep. 200, 205, 206. Eadmer. Novor. l. v. [e] Falco in Chron.

at

at the Government of the City, he returned to *Rome* about the Middle of *October*, and ſoon after appointed a General Council to meet there the following Year on *Monday* the Third Week of Lent, ſummoning all the Biſhops in the Weſt to aſſiſt at it, or if prevented by Age, Indiſpoſition, or any other canonical Impediment, to ſend Deputies to aſſiſt at it in their Name. Year of Chriſt 1115.

The Lateran *Council.* Year of Chriſt 1116.

The Council met in the *Lateran* at the Time the Pope had appointed, that is, on the Sixth of *March* 1116, was ſo numerous, that ſome have ſtiled it an œcumenical Council, and the Pope preſided in Perſon. In the Two firſt Seſſions the Two Pretenders to the See of *Milan*, *Groſulanus* and *Jordanes*, were heard, and in the Third the Biſhop of *Lucca*, complaining of the *Piſans* for invading and ſeizing a Territory, which he ſaid belonged to his Church. As the Biſhops of the Council were, with Reſpect to this Subject, divided in their Opinions, and warm Diſputes thereupon enſued, One of the Biſhops, ſtanding up, ſpoke thus; "The Pope, our Lord and Father, "ſhould remember, that ſo many Biſhops are here aſſembled, come "from diſtant Countries, and through great Dangers by Sea and by "Land, not to wrangle about temporal Affairs, but chiefly to know "what are his Sentiments, and what we are to teach when we return "to our Churches." Then the Pope addreſſed the Council in the following Words. "After the Lord had diſpoſed of his Servant as "he thought meet, and delivered me and the *Roman* People into the "Hands of the King, I ſaw Rapines, Devaſtations, Murders, Adul-"tery, committed daily; and it was to deliver the Church, and the "People of God, from theſe and ſuch like Evils, that I did what I "did. I did it as Man, becauſe I am but Duſt and Aſhes. I confeſs "I did wrong; but beg you all to pray God to forgive me. As for "that curſed Writing, which was drawn up in the Camp, I con-"demn it with an eternal Anathema, that its Memory may be for "ever abhorred and deteſted; and I deſire you all to do ſo." At theſe Words they all cried out, *Fiat*, *Fiat*, Be it ſo, Be it ſo.

The Pope's Grant condemned by him and the Council.

When Silence was made, *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Segni*, of whom I have ſpoken above, riſing up, *Let us all*, he ſaid, *return Thanks to the Almighty, that we have heard Pope* Paſchal, *who preſides at this Council, condemn with his own Mouth that Privilege which is heretical as well as iniquitous. If the Privilege*, ſaid here One of the Biſhops, *be heretical, he who granted it muſt of Courſe be a Heretic.* A Heretic! replied Cardinal *Gaetan*, *dare you call the Pope*

The Pope charged with Hereſy by ſome Biſhops, and defended by others.

a

Year of Chriſt 1116.

a Heretic in the Face of the whole Council? The Writing he gave was, I own, bad, but it contained no Hereſy. It cannot, ſaid another, *be even called bad, ſince it was given to deliver the People of God from Oppreſſion, which is a good Work according to the Goſpel, requiring us even to lay down our Lives for our Brethren.* The Pope, hearing himſelf charged with Hereſy, loſt all Patience, and, commanding Silence with his Hand, addreſſed the Biſhops thus; "Hear me, my Brethren and Lords; the whole World knows, that "the *Roman* Church was never infected with Hereſy, nay that all "Heretics have, by this Rock, been daſhed to Pieces; the *Arian* "Hereſy, that had prevailed for the Space of Three Hundred Years, "was here extirpated; the Hereſies of *Eutyches*, of *Sabellius*, of "*Photinus*, and all other Hereſies and Heretics, were here pro-"ſcribed and ſuppreſſed; and it was for this Church that our "Saviour prayed, when he prayed that *Peter*'s Faith might never "fail." Thus ended the Third Seſſion. The Pope did not aſſiſt at the Fourth, being employed in giving Audience to the Abbot of *Cluny*, to *John Cajetan*, *Peter Leo* Governor of the City, and others come with Propoſals from the Emperor, deſirous of putting an End, upon honourable Terms, to the preſent Diſpute between the Church and the State.

The Pope refuſes to excommunicate the Emperor.

In the Fifth Seſſion warm Diſputes aroſe between the Friends of the Emperor and *Cono* Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*. The Biſhop, who had excommunicated the King in all the Councils which he had held while Legate in *France*, preſſed the Pope to pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt him. But he was therein ſtrongly oppoſed by *Cajetan*, urging the Promiſe that his Holineſs had made, and confirmed with his Oath. The Pope declared that he never would excommunicate the Emperor, but would inviolably obſerve the Promiſe he had made. However he confirmed, which was a manifeſt Breach of that Promiſe, the Sentence, that *Cono* and his other Legates had thundered out againſt him, and all who adhered to him; and that Sentence was renewed by all the Biſhops of the Council [f]. The Pope was obliged, ſoon after the Council was ended, to leave *Rome* for a while, and retire to *Setia*, now *Sezza*, on account of the Diſturbances that were raiſed by the Son of the late Prefect, who had, upon his Father's Death, uſurped the Prefecture of the City, but could not

Diſturbances in Rome.

[f] Concil. t. x. p. 806. Uſperg. in Chron. ad ann. 1116.

prevail

prevail upon the Pope and ſome of the chief Citizens to acknowledge him; which occaſioned a kind of civil War. But they, who ſupported him, being in an Encounter defeated by the oppoſite Party, Peace was reſtored to the City, and the Pope returned to *Rome* [e]. Year of Chriſt 1116.

The Pope attempts to introduce the Leegatine Power into England.

As *Anſelm*, Nephew to the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had been well received in *England* when he brought the Pall to the new Archbiſhop, *Paſchal*, not deſpairing of being able to introduce, by his Means, the Legatine Power into this Kingdom, ſent him, this Year, to *England* with the Character of his Legate. *Anſelm* found the King in *Normandy*, and there communicated to him the Pope's Letter, appointing him Legate of the Apoſtolic See in *England*, and veſting him with all his Power. The King entertained him with great Magnificence at *Rouen*, but would not ſuffer him to paſs over into *England* without the Advice of the Biſhops and Lords of the Kingdom. He ſent them accordingly immediate Notice of this new Attempt of the Pope, and the Arrival of the Legate in his *Norman* Dominions. Upon this Intelligence a great Council was held in *London* in the Preſence of the Queen, and it was unanimouſly reſolved by all the Biſhops, Lords, and Abbots, who compoſed it, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom that Affair chiefly concerned, ſhould wait upon the King in *Normandy*, and remonſtrate againſt ſuch an Attempt, as contrary to the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Kingdom, nay and that he ſhould, if the King approved of it, go to *Rome*, and get the Pope to recall *Anſelm*. This Province the Archbiſhop readily undertook, as he was extremely deſirous, ſays the Hiſtorian, of viſiting the Tombs of the Apoſtles, and he accordingly ſet out in a few Days on his Journey. The King, whom he found with the Legate at *Rouen*, entirely approved of the Reſolution of the Council; and he thereupon purſued, with *Herebert*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, his Journey to *Rome*, which City the Pope had left ſome time before, at the Approach of the Emperor, and was then at *Benevento*. As the Roads were infeſted by Parties of the Emperor's Army, by whom all were ſeized and ill uſed who went to the Pope, and the Archbiſhop was already greatly fatigued with his long Journey, he ſtaid himſelf at *Rome*, and ſent Meſſengers with Letters to the Pope, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and the Buſineſs upon which he was ſent. The Meſſengers, of whom the chief was the Biſhop of

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *ſent to* Rome *to remonſtrate againſt that Attempt.*

[e] Falco in Chron. Benevent. ad ann. 1116.

Year of Christ 1116.

Norwich, were well received by the Pope, and having satisfied him, that the sending of a Legate into *England* was a Violation of the Privileges granted to the See of *Canterbury* by its Founder *Gregory the Great*, they obtained a Letter, confirming to that See all the Privileges that it had ever enjoyed. The Address of the Letter was, *Paschal Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his venerable Brethren the Bishops of* England, *and to his beloved Son* Henry *illustrious King, Health and Apostolic Benediction.* It is dated *Benevento* the 22d of *March* 1117. This Letter the King communicated to *Anselm*, who thereupon left *Normandy*, where he had waited so long; and returned as he came. The King would not, it seems, even give him Leave to cross over to *England* in order to collect the Money, that was there due to St. *Peter* [f].

The Pope confirms all the Privileges of the See of Canterbury.

Year of Christ 1117.

Paschal *favours the Archbishop of* York *against the Archbishop of* Canterbury.

The Archbishop returned to *England*, well pleased with the Success that had attended his Negotiations with the Pope. But he was soon after not a little mortified by a Letter from the Pope to the King, in favour of *Thurstan*, Archbishop Elect of *York*. I have mentioned above [g] the Dispute between the Two *English* Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, concerning the Authority of the former over the latter. That Dispute was decided in favour of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by a Council held here in 1073, at which presided *Hubert*, the Pope's Legate, and the Decision of the Council was confirmed by the Pope himself, *Alexander* II. However *Thomas*, who was then Archbishop of *York*, dying in the present Year, *Thurstan*, his Successor, following his Example, refused to make canonical Profession of Obedience to *Rudulph*, at this time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Rudulph* refusing, on his Side, to ordain him, the King obliged *Thurstan* to quit his See. But he, applying to *Paschal*, procured a Letter from him to the King in his Favour. For in that Letter the Pope declared, that he would preserve inviolable the Privileges of the See of *Canterbury*, but would suffer nothing to be done to the Prejudice of the See of *York*, and therefore begged the King to restore, by all means, as Justice required, the Elect to his See [h]. Thus was the Decree of *Alexander*, in a manner, reversed. But of the further Proceedings of *Thurstan* I shall have Occasion to speak in the following Pontificate.

[f] Eadmer. Novor. l. v. p. 116, 117. [g] See above, p. 236. [h] Malmesb. de Gest. Ang. Pontiff. l. iii. Eadmer. l. v. p. 121.

In the mean time the Emperor, hearing of the Sentence of Excommunication thundered out againſt him by the *Lateran* Council, and deſirous of coming to an Agreement with the Pope, who, he knew, would not fail to ſtir up his Subjects againſt him, ſent Deputies to *Rome* to negotiate a Peace, and reſtore the wiſhed-for Union between the Church and the Empire. The Deputies, putting the Pope in mind of the Promiſe he had made never to excommunicate the Emperor, begged him to revoke that Sentence. But *Paſchal* anſwered, that he had kept his Word though given by Force, that he had not been excommunicated by him, but by the Biſhops of the Council, and that he therefore could not take off the Excommunication without their Advice, and hearing both Parties. The Emperor, provoked at this Anſwer, reſolved to return to *Rome*, and try whether he could not prevail upon his Holineſs to grant to him what he refuſed to his Deputies. He accordingly ſet out, early in the Spring of the preſent Year 1117, at the Head of a numerous Army, and as he paſſed through *Lombardy*, took Poſſeſſion of the Dominions of the Counteſs *Mathilda*, dead Two Years before. He paid, it ſeems, no kind of Regard to the Donation, which that Princeſs was ſaid to have made to the *Roman* Church in the Time of *Gregory* VII. nor does it appear, that *Paſchal* ever laid any Claim to the extenſive Territories that ſhe had poſſeſſed in *Lombardy* as well as in *Tuſcany*. The Pope, hearing that the Emperor was arrived in *Lombardy* and that he intended to return to *Rome*, left that City in great Haſte, and retiring to *Apulia* put himſelf under the Protection of the *Norman* Princes, who, he knew, would all ſtand by him, whereas many of the *Romans* had openly declared for the Emperor. In the mean time the Emperor, approaching *Rome* at the Head of his Army, reduced all the Strong-holds in that Neighbourhood, and by that Means diſtreſſed the *Romans* to ſuch a Degree, that they were ſoon obliged to open the Gates and admit him into the City. He was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy by thoſe of his Party, eſpecially by *Cencius* and *Ptolemy*, Two of the moſt powerful Citizens of *Rome*, who had all along ſteadily adhered to him, and had, on that Account, been excommunicated by the Pope. A few Days after his Arrival he aſſembled the *Roman* Clergy in the Church of St. *Peter*, and expreſſing great Concern, in the Speech he made to them, at the Pope's Flight, he aſſured them, that, in returning to *Rome*, he

Year of Chriſt 1117.

The Emperor ſends Deputies to Rome *to get the Sentence of Excommunication revoked.*

Goes in Perſon to Rome, *and the Pope retiring at his Approach, he is admitted into the City.*

Year of Christ 1117.

had nothing else in his View, but to settle, in an amicable Manner, all Differences between the Church and the Empire, and to prevail upon his Holiness, by gentle Means, to crown him anew, as his former Coronation was said to have been extorted by Force. He therefore begged that Favour of them, as representing the Pope in his Absence. The Clergy returned Answer, that his Behaviour contradicted his Words, that he was come with an armed Force, that he had reduced, by Dint of Arms, the neighbouring Castles, and obliged the City either to receive him, or to perish by Famine. As to his Request, they told him, that they neither could, nor would, grant it without the Consent and Approbation of the Pope, to whom they referred them. Hereupon the Emperor applied to *Maurice Bourdin*, Archbishop of *Braga*, whom the Pope had sent, as a Man of great Address and Abilities, with the Character of his Legate, to negotiate a Peace. He was easily prevailed upon, some say, with a Promise of the Pontifical Dignity, to comply with the Emperor's Request; and he accordingly crowned him anew, with the usual Ceremonies, in the *Vatican* Basilic, in spite of the Opposition he met with from the whole *Roman* Clergy [h]. Of this *Paschal* was no sooner informed, than, assembling a Council at *Benevento*, he excommunicated *Bourdin*, as a Traitor and Rebel to the Apostolic See, declared him, as such, deprived of his Dignity, and wrote to *Bernard*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, requiring him to notify that Sentence to all the Bishops of *Spain*, and to cause another to be preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of *Braga*, which *Bourdin* had forfeited by his Treachery [i].

Is crowned anew by the Pope's Legate.

The Emperor retires to Tuscany *and the Pope returns to* Rome.

In the mean time the Emperor, leaving *Rome* on account of the Heat of that Climate, which he found very troublesome, retired to *Tuscany*, and the Pope approaching *Rome* upon his Retreat, recovered, with the Help of the *Normans*, some of the fortified Places that were held by the *Germans*. In *Campania* he was seized with a dangerous Malady, and thereupon carried to *Anagni*, where all, who attended him, despaired of his Life. However he recovered, and repairing from *Anagni* to *Prænestе*, he there consecrated the Church of St. *Agapetus*, and not only assisted at the long Service of Christmas Eve, but attended a Procession. From *Prænestе* he marched with his *Normans* to *Rome*, and entering the City, when least ex-

[h] Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal II. Petrus Diac. c. 63. [i] Gelas. II. ep. i. ad Gallor.

pected, ſtruck ſuch Terror into all of the Imperial Party, that ſome either fled, or kept themſelves concealed, while others choſe to ſubmit, and ſwear Fidelity to the Apoſtolic See and St. *Peter*. But while the Pope was making the neceſſary Preparations to reduce his Enemies by Force, and to put the City in a State of Defence againſt the Return of the Emperor, he fell ill again, and died, being quite ſpent with the Fatigues, which he had undergone, in a few Days[k]. His Death happened on the 21ſt of *January* 1118, after a Pontificate of Eighteen Years, Five Months, and Seven Days. He was embalmed, was clad with the Pontifical Ornaments, and depoſited in a Marble Tomb of curious Workmanſhip in the *Lateran* Baſilic[l]. Of this Pope we have in the Collection of Councils an Hundred and Seven Letters, moſt of them relating to Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

Year of Chriſt 1118. *His Death.*

[k] Pandulph. Piſan. [l] Joan. Diacon. Junior, apud Mabill. tom. ii. Muſei Italici.

The END *of the* FIFTH VOLUME.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE

CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN THE

PAPISTS and the AUTHOR.

APPENDIX

TO

All True PROTESTANTS,

At HOME and ABROAD,

The following Sheets, diſplaying to the World the cruel and unjuſt Perſecution which the Author of the preſent Hiſtory has undergone, in this Proteſtant Kingdom, from the Jeſuits, encouraged and aided by a Proteſtant Clergyman, and the wicked Meaſures, which they have jointly purſued, to force him back to the Idolatrous Church and Antichriſtian Order he had left, are humbly Inſcribed, not by an *Anonymous Libeller*, but by

Their Moſt Obedient,

and Moſt Humble Servant,

Archibald Bower.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING A

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PAPISTS and the AUTHOR.

POSTERITY will hardly believe that the Author of this Hiſtory could have been arraigned of Popery, and even been diverted from purſuing a Work calculated to attack the whole Syſtem of the Popiſh Religion, in order to clear himſelf from ſuch an Imputation. But what no Man would think could poſſibly happen, has actually happened; and tho' my Hiſtory is itſelf a full Confutation of ſuch an extraordinary Charge, many well-meaning Proteſtants, of the Clergy as well as the Laity, have been ſeduced into a Belief of my having never ſincerely renounced the Errors of Popery, but being ſtill a Papiſt, nay, and a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*. Thus have the Papiſts and Jeſuits raiſed as furious a Perſecution againſt me in this Proteſtant Kingdom, where they themſelves live quite unmoleſted, as they could have done in a Popiſh, where they exert, uncontrouled, the perſecuting Spirit of their Antichriſtian Church. They have not indeed, during this Diſpute, ventured to make any open Attempt on my Life; but nothing have they left unattempted to rob me of what is dearer to me than Life itſelf, my Reputation and good Name. The many Lies and Calumnies which they have invented and publiſhed to the World with that View, I have confuted, in my ſeveral Apologies, to the

full ſatisfaction of every ſenſible and unprejudiced Reader, who has peruſed them with the leaſt Degree of Attention. But as all I have ſaid in Vindication of my Character has been moſt groſsly miſrepreſented, curtailed, and falſified by our Monthly Writers [a], remarkably furious and bitter againſt me (whether out of Principle or Motives of Intereſt they know beſt); and Nine Parts in Ten of this Nation know no more of the preſent Diſpute between the Papiſts and me, than what theſe Party-Writers have thought fit to communicate to them; I ſhall here lay before the whole World both the *Charge* and the *Defence*, and leave the whole World to judge, after hearing both Sides, whether I have been juſtly or unjuſtly arraigned. I have choſen to connect this *Summary View* of the Controverſy with the Hiſtory itſelf, for the Sake of thoſe, whoſe good Opinion I muſt value, *viz.* my Subſcribers at home, and the learned Proteſtants abroad, who have received my Work, tranſlated into their different Languages, with an Approbation which I had not the Vanity to expect.

I will take upon me to ſay, and will prove what I ſay to be true, that I have given ſuch Proofs of my ſincere Attachment to the Proteſtant Religion, and utter Abhorrence of the ſuperſtitious Practices and Errors of Popery, as can leave no room for Men of any Candor or Senſe to queſtion the one or the other.

I left an Order the moſt eſteemed of any in the Church of *Rome*; an Order in which no Auſterities whatever are injoined, nor even allowed to be practiſed without particular Leave, and all are plentifully ſupplied not only with the Neceſſaries, but with every Conveniency of Life. That Order I left, in Compliance with my Conſcience, to earn my Bread with the Sweat of my Brow; and thus I have earned it, leading a more laborious and toilſome Life than I had ever done before, or ever ſhould have done, had I continued in it. In this I glory, and did not expect to be, on that Account, reproached by a Proteſtant Clergyman [b], though I might by the Papiſts and Jeſuits, with *the ſlaviſh Employment of writing for Bookſellers*, and branded with the Appellation of *a mercenary hackney Writer*.

I had not been Two Years in *England*, when an Attempt was made by the Emiſſaries of *Rome*, and a well concerted one, to get me on board a Ship that was ſailing down the River, and carry me

[a] The Writers of the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*, and of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *&c.*

[b] Six Letters illuſtrated.

off

off by Water, But the late Lord *Aylmer* ſaved me from the Snare, in the Manner that is known to all my Friends and Acquaintance. The Fact was notorious at the Time; and though Lord *Aylmer* is no more, yet ſeveral Perſons of unqueſtionable Veracity, and among them ſome of the Firſt Rank in this Kingdom, are ſtill living, who had an Account of it from his Lordſhip's own Mouth, as they are ready to atteſt.

This Attempt did not deter nor reſtrain me from publicly expoſing to Contempt and Ridicule the Errors and ſuperſtitious Practices of Popery, and expreſſing, as ſoon as I had an Opportunity of doing it, my Diſapprobation of ſome of the moſt favourite Principles, and Disbelief of ſome of the fundamental Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Church. I wrote Twenty-eight Years ago, when I had not yet well recovered the Uſe of my native Language, the *Hiſtoria Literaria*; a Work that no Man can read without concluding the Author to be a Proteſtant. (A). The

(A) I ſhall tranſcribe here a few Paſſages out of that Work, for the ſake of foreign Proteſtants, who may not have had an Opportunity of peruſing it. In the firſt Volume, p. 135, 136. I relate, out of *Procopius*, the fabulous Account he gives, and ſeems to have credited, of an Iſland which he calls *Brittia*; and add the following Words: "And here we may obſerve by "the way, if ſuch chimerical Accounts "were in thoſe Days believed by the Ge"nerality of the Learned themſelves, how "eaſy a Matter might it have been then, "and much more in the enſuing dark and "diſmal Centuries, to introduce and eſta"bliſh, without much Oppoſition, THE "ABSURD DOCTRINES OF PURGA"TORY, TRANSUBSTANTIATION, *&c.* "the People being then inclined to believe "the greateſt Abſurdities, eſpecially when "they were propoſed under the Notion "of Myſteries in Religion." At p. 189. in the Account I give of the War of the *Huſſites* from *Lenfant*'s Hiſtory of that War, I obſerve, "that *Ziſka*, their famous "Leader, thought it meritorious (AS HE "HAD IMBIBED, FROM HIS YOUTH, "THE PIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE "CHURCH OF ROME) to maſſacre all "who were of a different Perſuaſion."—Vol. III. p. 334. I condemn Perſecution, as altogether inconſiſtent with true Religion; and add, "nevertheleſs in the "Church of *Rome*, the whole Duty of a "Man truly religious, is to perſecute, "maſſacre, and deſtroy with Fire and "Sword, all who refuſe to admit of "THEIR SUPERSTITIOUS AND IDO"LATROUS WORSHIP."——P. 393. I call the *Roman Catholics* THE APES OF THE PAGANS; and p. 398. ſpeak thus of the Worſhip of Images: "If the primi"tive Chriſtians thought fit to keep ſome "Rites of the *Gentiles*, in order to gain "them more eaſily over to the Chriſtian "Religion, they never kneeled down be"fore Images, nor offered Incenſe or ad"dreſſed their Prayers to Stocks and "Stones, as the *Roman* Catholics do now"a-days, *&c.* Were *Gregory*, *Athana*"*ſius*, &c. who were for embelliſhing the "Walls of Churches with Images of "Saints, to return from the Dead, and "ſee the ſcandalous Abuſes and IDOLA"TROUS WORSHIP, which by Degrees "have been introduced, they would, no "doubt, be of a different Mind, and the "firſt to pull down and conſume all Ima"ges of Saints in the Flames, *&c.*" Thus did I expoſe and condemn, Twenty-eight Years ago, ſome of the favourite Tenets of the Church of *Rome*. And could any Man who wrote thus be a Papiſt in his Heart, or popiſhly inclined, or diſpoſed

The *Hiſtoria Literaria* being dropt in 1734, the Proprietors of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* engaged me for that Undertaking; and as I wrote near Two Parts in Three, and alone reviſed and corrected the Octavo Edition of that voluminous Work, it chiefly employed me from the Year 1735 to 1746. During that Time the Jeſuits, thoſe eſpecially who had known me abroad, left no *fair Means* unattempted to bring me back to their Church and the Order; frequently offering to receive me upon my own Terms; and ſometimes upbraiding me, which became them better than a Proteſtant Divine, with degrading a Son of the great St. *Ignatius* into a Drudge and a Slave of the Bookſellers, to earn a Livelihood, when I could lead an eaſy and comfortable Life among them. As I behaved no leſs civilly to them than they did to me, bearing no Ill-will to any of them, tho' I diſliked their Principles and Religion, they, no doubt flattered themſelves that they ſhould, in the end, be able to regain me.

I had reſolved, when I firſt renounced the Errors of Popery, and thought it incumbent upon me, to juſtify not to the preſent only, but to future Generations, my leaving the Church, in which I was brought up, and, by expoſing her Errors, encourage others to follow my Example. With this View I undertook the *Hiſtory* (ſhall I call it the *fatal Hiſtory?*) *of the Popes:* And that I might be at full Leiſure to attend to it, I declined being any-way concerned in a Work (the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory*, whereof the Whole was offered me) that would have turned more to my Advantage. But no ſooner did my Preface to that Hiſtory appear with the Propoſals, than the Calm ceaſed which I had been long ſuffered to enjoy, and the Storm began. A ſcurrilous Libel, intituled *Archy and Timothy*, and fraught with many ſcandalous Lies, was publiſhed againſt me. But, as it was known to come from a Popiſh Quarter, no Proteſtant being yet found to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Papiſts and Jeſuits, and impoſe their Lies upon the World, the Storm blew over, and Calm was reſtored.

When the Firſt Volume of my Hiſtory was publiſhed, they attempted to raiſe a new Storm: A *Roman* Catholic Gentleman was

to keep any Meaſures with the Papiſts in point of Religion? Happily for me the Work ſtill remains; and I cannot deſire a more convincing Proof that I was then no leſs willing, than I am now, to declare my Contempt and Abhorrence of Popery to the whole World.

aſſured

aſſured by his Prieſts, probably by his Brother a Jeſuit, who lived with him, and he aſſured the late Mr. *Pelham*, whoſe Neighbour he was in the Country, that I had robbed the Inquiſition (for they had not yet got to ſuch a Height of Impudence as to deny my having ever belonged to that Office); and to that Robbery he imputed my Flight. It was poſitively aſſerted by a Popiſh Baronet in *Wales*, and by the Papiſts of that Country in general, that I had renounced the Catholic Religion, piqued at my not being preferred to a Biſhoprick; which, the ſaid Bronet averred, could be ſhewn *under my own Hand*. I do not at all queſtion their having Letters to that Purpoſe, with all the neceſſary Poſt-marks upon them, and as nearly reſembling my Writing, as thoſe which they have ſince produced; nor is it at all to be doubted but, had they perſiſted in either of theſe Tales, they would have got from *Italy*, and from the *holy Inquiſition*, as many ORIGINAL PAPERS, CERTIFICATES, ATTESTATIONS, *&c.* as they pleaſed, to confirm them. But now they aſcribe my Flight from *Italy* to a very different Motive; which is, in effect, owning themſelves to be Liars and Slanderers, determined to diſcredit and defame me, without any regard to Juſtice or Truth. As no Proteſtant undertook to maintain the Genuineneſs of thoſe Letters, they were ſhewn only to Papiſts, to prevent any of them from being converted by my Hiſtory to the Proteſtant Religion; and they are now, probably, laid up ſafe in ſome of the Archives of the Order, to be made public hereafter by ſome future *Knight-errant*, particularly devoted to the *holy Society*.

Upon the Publication of the Second Volume of my Hiſtory in 1750, the Jeſuits had Recourſe to a Means, which, they thought, would effectually put a Stop to that Work: And the Means they choſe, was to tempt me, with great Offers, to return to the Order, and with ſtill far greater not to proceed in my Hiſtory, as they themſelves have owned and ſhall be ſhewn in the Sequel. But finding that my Firmneſs and Conſtancy in the Proteſtant Religion was Proof againſt all Temptations and Offers, they reſolved to change their Meaſures and recur anew to Slander and Calumny. Other Letters were accordingly produced, ſuppoſed, as the Writing reſembled mine, to have been written by me to Father *Sheldon*, Provincial of the Jeſuits here in *England*; and in thoſe Letters I was made to ſpeak like a penitent Jeſuit returned both to the Church and the Order.

As

As the Jeſuits are known to be *an Order of Men remarkable for their Forgeries*, as was obſerved by the Reverend Dr. *Douglas*, Vicar of *High Ercal, Salop*, in his *Criterion*, p. 69. this new Forgery would have been attended with no better Succeſs, than the other mentioned above, had no Proteſtant interpoſed. But on this Occaſion, the Jeſuits had the Addreſs and good Luck to engage (who would believe it !) a Proteſtant Clergyman, not only to maintain the Authenticity of the Letters, but, relying upon their Veracity, to publiſh to the World, as unqueſtionable Truths, all the Lies and Calumnies they could invent to blacken my Character. He indeed aſſures us, that, in thus joining the Papiſts and Jeſuits in their virulent Attack upon one, who had left their Religion to embrace the Proteſtant, he *was influenced by no Prejudice, was animated with no Reſentment, but only actuated by the Love of Truth, and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, in imminent Danger from a crafty, deſigning Jeſuit in Diſguiſe.* And could he really be actuated by the Love of Truth, and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, in joining the ſworn Enemies of both, *an Order of Men remarkable for their Forgeries !* Could he think, that if the Proteſtant Religion had been *in imminent Danger*, or in any Danger at all, from *the Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, the Papiſts and Jeſuits would have unmasked him ! But by what Motives ſoever he was prompted to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Papiſts and Jeſuits, and declare againſt me, the Name of a *Proteſtant Clergyman* was attended with all the Succeſs the Jeſuits could have wiſhed for. The Lies and Calumnies which they and other Emiſſaries of *Rome* had publiſhed in the deſpicable Libel *Archy and Timothy*, and in another entitled *Remarks on the Two firſt Volumes of the Lives of the Popes* (B), but none had regarded, as they viſibly came from Papiſts, were now revived ; others, without Number, were added to them ; and all were credited, as no longer coming from a Popiſh, but from a Proteſtant Quarter.

But as nothing has prejudiced the good People of *England* againſt me ſo much as the Seven penitential Letters (for ſo many they have made them at laſt), it will be neceſſary to inform the Reader from

(B) This Piece is ſuppoſed to have been printed at *Douay* in 1754, is a Libel levelled chiefly againſt me, but no leſs injurious to the firſt Reformers, and the Proteſtant Religion itſelf, than to me. However our *Proteſtant Clergyman*, taking the Author for his Guide, has tranſcribed almoſt *verbatim*, his abſurd *Remarks* on my Hiſtory and virulent Reflections upon me.

whence the Jeſuits took Occaſion to forge them, before I proceed to acquaint him with the Contents, or to prove they are forged. Forgeries have, generally ſpeaking, ſome Foundation in Truth; and it was upon the following Tranſaction that the Jeſuits founded the pretended Correſpondence carried on, in thoſe Letters, between them and me. And here I was, I ingenuouſly own it, guilty of great Indiſcretion, which, however, I did not conceal from my Proteſtant Friends, as can be proved by ſeveral unexceptionable Witneſſes ſtill living, though the contrary has been boldly aſſerted by my Enemies.

Having, in the Year 1740, completed the Sum of 1100 *l.* in *Old South-Sea* Annuities, I reſolved to purchaſe a Life-Annuity with that Sum. This Reſolution I imparted to ſeveral of my *Proteſtant* Friends, offering, at the ſame time, the above-mentioned Sum to them, as they well remember, and are ready to atteſt; but none of them caring to burden their Eſtates with a Life-rent, I left my Money in the Public Funds till *Auguſt* 1741; when, being informed that an Act of Parliament had paſſed for rebuilding a Church in the City of *London* upon Life Annuities at 7 *l. per Cent.* I went, upon that Information, into the City, with a Deſign to diſpoſe of my Money that Way. That this was my Intention, a Gentleman of unqueſtionable Veracity, with whom I adviſed about it at the Time, ſtill remembers, and is ready to declare [c]. But I came too late, and found the Subſcription was cloſed. This Diſappointment I mentioned to Mr. *Hill*, whom I accidentally met in a Coffee-houſe near the *Royal Exchange*; and, upon his offering me the ſame Intereſt, that was given by the Truſtees for rebuilding the Church, the Bargain was concluded in a few Meetings; and the Sum of 1100 *l.* was transferred, *Auguſt* 21, 1741, not to Mr. *Shirburn*, Provincial, as is ſaid by the Jeſuits in a Letter from *Flanders* [d], but to Mr. *Wright*, Mr. *Hill*'s Banker, as appears from the Books of the *Old South-Sea* Annuities. Mr. *Hill* was a Jeſuit, but tranſacted Money-matters as an Attorney, and was, in that Way, a very noted Man, bore the Character of a fair Dealer, and dealt very largely in Affairs of that Nature with Proteſtants, as well as with Papiſts. He paid me ſo punctually, that, ſome time after, I added 250 *l.* to the Sum already in his Hands; and received for the Whole 94 *l.* 10*s.* a Year.

[c] See my Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p. 102. [d] Six Letters illuſtrated, p. 69.

For

For the Payment of that Intereſt, Mr. *Hill*, the only Perſon I dealt with, gave me a Bond, not in his own Name, nor in that of the Provincial, but in the Name of the Society; and the whole Society, poſſeſſed, as is well known, of immenſe Wealth, is bound to make good all Engagements and Contracts thus entered into by any of their Provincials or Procurators; and they pay moſt punctually to a Day, nay, to an Hour. And theſe were the Motives, the only Motives, that induced me to place my Money with them, after the previous Diſappointments juſt mentioned; not being then aware, that ſuch a Tranſaction might, one Time or other, be repreſented to my Prejudice, as the late Lord *Aylmer* told me when I acquainted him with it [e]. What his Lordſhip foreſaw is come to paſs; though I thought I ſhould hear of it no more after I had taken the whole Sum out of their Hands: For having afterwards reſolved to marry, I applied to Mr. *Hill* upon that Conſideration, tho' not upon that alone, to know upon what Terms he would return the Capital. The Terms he propoſed were as eaſy as I could expect; for he agreed at once to repay it, only deducting what I had received over and above the common Intereſt, during the Time it had been in his Hands; and he did ſo accordingly, as ſoon as he conveniently could. This is the plain, ſimple Matter of Fact; and the pitiful Cavils, that have been alleged againſt it, I have fully refuted in my *Reply to a ſcurrilous Libel*, p. 32, 33.

To this Account I ſhall ſubjoin that which the Jeſuits have given of the ſame Tranſaction, quoting the Pages of their Libels, that I may not be thought to miſrepreſent Matters, in order to expoſe them to Ridicule. Their Account, then, is as follows:

I was, according to them, expelled the Order of Jeſuits in *Italy*: For *B——r*, ſay they, *had not come into* England *after throwing off his Order, but after his Order had thrown off him, on Account of Irregularities in his Conduct* [f]. It is true, they give themſelves the Lye in many other Places of their Libels; telling their Readers that I never was expelled the Order, *but had only been diſobedient to my Superiors as a* JESUIT [g]; that *I had been known, for many Years after my Arrival in* England, *in the* CHARACTER OF A JESUIT [h]; that I *paſſed ſometimes for what* I REALLY WAS, A JESUIT [i], *&c.* But it ſerved the Purpoſe of their Malice to ſay here

[e] Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p. 112, 113. [f] Six Letters, p. 31. [g] Ibid. p. 57. [h] Ibid. p. 39. [i] Ibid. p. 28, 29.

that

that I was, and elſewhere that I was not turned out of the Order. To proceed: Being thus diſmiſſed (which I muſt let paſs, elſe the main Charge brought againſt me will come to nothing), and obliged, as I met not with the expected Encouragement, to earn my Bread *by the ſlaviſh Employment of writing for Bookſellers*, I reſolved to return to the Order, ſince I ſhould be thus *made happy and eaſy the reſt of my Days*; for I *was happily diſengaged from religious Prejudices* [i]; was *a Free-thinker, a Character indeed very correſpondent to my Conduct as a Free liver* [k]; was *a Papiſt To-day, a Proteſtant To morrow; again a Papiſt, if it could ſerve a Turn, and even a Champion for Proteſtants, without being a Chriſtian* [l]; nay, *being a determined Infidel* [m]. But tho' I was at the ſame time *a zealous Catholic, and could appeal for the Sincerity of my Attachment to the Catholic Faith to Facts of the moſt ſatisfactory Nature*, yet the Jeſuits ſuffered me, however deſirous of returning to my Duty, *to negotiate for ſeveral Years about being re-admitted, without Succeſs* [n]; the Jeſuits, who are ever ready to compaſs Sea and Land, as is but too well known, to gain one Proſelyte even from the Claſs of the moſt abandoned and profligate Wretches upon Earth! And here, by the Way, how will they reconcile my thus negotiating for ſeveral Years unſucceſsfully, with my being kindly received by Father *Shirburn*, Provincial of the Order, when I was firſt introduced to him? for that has been atteſted by one of Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*'s Eye-witneſſes [o], an anonymous one indeed, as all that Gentleman's Witneſſes are, but quite unexceptionable. Being thus almoſt reduced to Deſpair, *I had at length recourſe to a Method that removed all Obſtructions to the Point I aimed at*; for *to give the Jeſuits a ſatisfactory Proof (as indeed it really was), that I was ſincere in my Deſire to be re-admitted into the Order, I made a Propoſal to Father* SHIRBURN, *who was then Provincial, to give up to him a conſiderable Sum of Money, upon Condition of being paid for it, during my Life, an Annuity at the Rate of* Seven *per Cent* [p]. With this Propoſal the Provincial cloſed at once, and the Money was paid [q]. But though this *was really a ſatisfactory Proof that I was ſincere, and there was no Reaſon to ſuſpect that I was not ſo* [r], yet the Jeſuits did not admit me till Four Years after, *de-*

[i] Ibid. p. 33. [k] Ibid. p. 29, 30. [l] Ibid. p. 35. [m] Bower and Tillemont compared, p. 73. [n] Six Letters, p. 32. [o] Full Confutation, p. 73. [p] Six. Letters, p. 32. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. p. 33.

ſiring more certain Proofs of my Sincerity than thoſe that *were really ſatisfactory and left no room to ſuſpect that I was not ſincere*[s]. Theſe more *than really ſatisfactory Proofs* I gave, during my Four Years Probation, though I lived all the Time in the ſame Manner as I had done before, kept the ſame Company, ſpoke with the ſame Abhorrence, Ridicule, and Contempt of the Popiſh Doctrines, and ſtill continued publicly to communicate with the Church of *England*, as all my Friends know. It would puzzle the whole Society to ſpecify thoſe *extraordinary Proofs*; but whatever they were, the Jeſuits were fully ſatisfied with them; and, in 1745, I was at length *re-admitted in a formal Manner into the Order of Jeſus by Father* Carteret, *as he declared to ſeveral of his Acquaintance; and Father* Carteret *was a Man of Family, of Learning, and Abilities, with an irreproachable private Character*[t]; and conſequently incapable of uttering a Falſhood, even to ſave the Reputation of his Church, or that of his Order (D). The

[s] Full Confutation, p. 40. [t] Six Letters, p. 74.

(D) This Father *Carteret* told to ſeveral of his Acquaintance, and to a noble Duke in particular. But this is not the only Falſhood advanced by that Jeſuit in the Courſe of the preſent Diſpute. *He often mentioned to his Acquaintance, that he had Twelve or more Letters written to him by* Bower, *containing Matters ſtill more deciſive as to the Writer's Character than we read in thoſe to* Sheldon (1). But as I have often charged him with impoſing upon his Acquaintance a *notorious and impudent Falſhood* in telling them ſo; and the Jeſuits, though challenged by me over and over again to produce thoſe Letters (2), have not produced them, all ſenſible and unprejudiced Men muſt conclude, that the ſaid *Carteret* really did impoſe upon his Acquaintance *a notorious and impudent Falſhood:* For who can think or ſuppoſe, that, if the Jeſuits had the *Twelve Letters or more* in queſtion at their College in *Flanders*, where *Carteret* ſaid they were lodged (3), thoſe Fathers would not communicate them to the Public, and clear, by that Means, the Memory of their deceaſed Provincial from ſo heavy a Charge? from a Charge that, in Truth, reflects no leſs Infamy upon the Order in general, than it does upon him in particular. The Reaſon why he did *not give up thoſe Letters* himſelf was, he ſaid, becauſe *he did not think it right to publiſh a private Correſpondence, unleſs* Bower *attacked him perſonally* (4). I have attacked him perſonally, as a Liar and Slanderer; and therefore *this Reaſon having no longer any Exiſtence* (to uſe their Expreſſion), his Brethren muſt either produce thoſe Letters in Vindication of his Character, as they are bound in Conſcience, in Honour, in Juſtice, to do, if they can, or allow the impartial World, to aſcribe their ſtill withholding them from the Public to their not being able to produce them. They have, indeed, endeavoured to ſatisfy the World why they chuſe to conceal *ſo curious a Correſpondence*, as they ſtile it, aſcribing it, as if common Senſe were baniſhed *Great Britain*, to their tender Regard and Friendſhip for me (5). But can any Man, however prejudiced in Favour of the Jeſuits, and againſt me, really perſuade himſelf, that, if they had the *Twelve or more Letters at their College in* Flanders, they would, out of their Kindneſs to me, ſuffer the Lie to be fixed upon good Father *Carteret* their late Provincial, by ſtill

(1) Full Confut. p. 36. (2) Reply to a ſcurrilous Libel, p. 17, 18, 39. (3) Full Confut. ubi ſupra. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. p. 36.

concealing

The Whole of this abſurd, ridiculous, contradictory Account amounts to this: I was *thrown off* by the Order in *Italy*, or expelled; I courted them, for ſeveral Years after my Arrival in *England*,

concealing thoſe Letters, when, by producing them, they could fix it upon a wicked Apoſtate both from their Church and their Order?

Before I part with Father *Carteret*, I cannot help taking Notice of the Baſeneſs and Hypocriſy of that Jeſuit, in refuſing to give up the Letters he pretended to have received from me, becauſe *he did not think it right to publiſh a private Correſpondence* (6); and at the ſame time declaring, that the ſaid Letters *contained Matters more deciſive as to my Character than thoſe to* Sheldon; which was, in effect, publiſhing a private Correſpondence, and prejudicing the World againſt me more by not communicating, than he could have done by communicating *them* to the Public; for they, who believe that the Letters to *Carteret contain Matters more deciſive as to my Character than thoſe to* Sheldon, muſt ſuppoſe me guilty of no leſs heinous Crimes than Murder or High Treaſon, there being ſcarce any leſs heinous, which they have not made me own in Writing to *Sheldon*. But, on the one hand, *Carteret* apprehended, that, were the Letters to him ſubmitted to public Inſpection and Criticiſm, the Forgery might be diſcovered; while he flattered himſelf, on the other, that he ſhould be believed by ſome without producing them, by thoſe at leaſt, who had received the Letters to *Sheldon* as genuine. And ſo it has happened: My Reverend Antagoniſt, among the reſt, looking upon Father *Carteret* as a Jeſuit of *an unexceptionable private Character* (7), as one whoſe *Teſtimony is as convincing as the moſt peremptory Affidavit* (8), not only takes it for granted, upon his Word, that he really did receive *Twelve Letters or more* from me, *which are at his College in* Flanders, but, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that it is out of Kindneſs to me his Brethren conceal them from the Public; and from thence he concludes, that, after all, *the Jeſuits are my beſt Friends* (9). But a Man muſt be unaccountably prejudiced, who is not ſatisfied from what has been ſaid, that the only true Reaſon why the Jeſuits do not, is either becauſe they cannot produce the Letters in queſtion, or becauſe they apprehend that, if they were made public, and narrowly examined, the Forgery would be detected. To conclude: That Father *Carteret had Twelve or more Letters written to him by* Bower, is a notorious and impudent Falſhood; that the ſaid Letters *contained Matters more deciſive as to the Writer's Character*, is a malicious, wicked, and groundleſs Calumny; and *Carteret lied* and *calumniated* in telling his Acquaintance that he had ſuch Letters.

My Reverend Antagoniſt, undertaking the Cauſe of *Carteret*, and the reſt of the holy Society, gives the following Reaſon, in his laſt Pamphlet, why the Jeſuits do not produce the Letters in queſtion; *viz.* becauſe, if they produce them in a Hand ever ſo like mine, *the Cry will be, that the Similitude of Hands is no Proof* (10); which is as much as to ſay, that they do not produce them, becauſe they are ſenſible that I ſhould not allow the bare Similitude of Hands to be a Proof of their Genuineneſs: A Plea too abſurd and ridiculous to deſerve a ſerious Anſwer; and my Antagoniſt might as well have ſaid, after one of our *impartial* Monthly Writers, that the Jeſuits have returned thoſe Letters to me, and therefore cannot produce them. But *we need only ſuppoſe*, ſays he, *that the Letters had the Word* SOLI *writ upon them, and their not being produced is fully accounted for* (11). But, unluckily for him, he has informed us, that Father *Carteret* declared he would *give up*, or produce, *thoſe Letters, if I attacked him perſonally* (12); which entirely deſtroys the Suppoſition of the Word SOLI being written upon them; and he muſt therefore apply to the Jeſuits for ſome other Reaſon why they do not produce them.

(6) Ibid. (7) Six Letters, &c. p. 74. (8) Ibid. p. 34. (9) Full Confut. p. 36, 37. (10) Complet. Detect. p. 105, 106. (11) Ibid. p. 105, 106. (12) Full Confut. p. 36.

to re-admit me, but without Succeſs, as they queſtioned my Sincerity; and it was to give them a ſatisfactory Proof that I was ſincere I let them have the above-mentioned Sum at *7 per Cent.* Intereſt. But, in the Firſt place, the Order had not *thrown me off*, or diſmiſſed me, nor indeed could they; but I had *thrown off* or quitted the Order: I ſay, *nor could they*; for as a Man, by his laſt Vows and ſolemn Profeſſion, is tied for Life to the Order in which he makes them, ſo is the Order reciprocally tied to him. And from hence, in the Second place, it follows, that the Order is bound to receive ſuch as have left them, or, as they term it, *apoſtatized*, the Moment they offer to return to their Duty, let their Demerit be ever ſo great. To ſay therefore, that I *courted the Jeſuits for ſeveral Years without Succeſs*, and *bribed them at laſt with all I was worth, to re-admit me into the Order*, is as much as to ſay, that I thus courted and bribed them to do what they muſt have done, and certainly would have done at once with the greateſt Satisfaction, had I not been worth one ſingle Sixpence in the World (E). Laſtly, no Man

(E) There is not a ſingle Inſtance, and I challenge the whole Society to produce one, of a *profeſſed* Jeſuit quitting the Order, whom they have not endeavoured, by all poſſible Means, to reclaim; whom they did not receive with open Arms the Moment he offered to return, and did not treat with the ſame Kindneſs as if he never had left them. How improbable therefore is it that they ſhould have dealt with me in ſo very different a Manner from all the reſt? that, inſtead of courting me to return to my Duty, they ſhould have ſuffered me to continue in my Apoſtacy, and to court them for ſeveral Years, without Succeſs, to redeem me from it? and that after I *had given them a ſatisfactory Proof that I was ſincere in my Deſire of being re-admitted*, they ſhould ſtill have delayed Four Years more to re-admit me? If I was the *moſt abandoned Profligate* that had ever diſgraced the Order, as they now repreſent me; if I *was an Acquiſition likely to renew the Diſgrace which I had before brought upon them* (1); why did not the General apply to the Pope, as he might eaſily have done, and get rid at once of ſo *abandoned a Profligate* by his Authority, ſince he could not by his own? If I was *likely to renew the Diſgrace which I had before brought upon them*, why did he allow me to chuſe what Province I liked beſt in the whole Society, as he is ſaid to have done in the very Firſt of the Seven *genuine* Letters?

Of the inceſſant and indefatigable Pains the Jeſuits take to regain ſuch as have left them, *Bayle's Hiſtorical Dictionary* affords us Two remarbable Inſtances: The one in *Jarrige* a *French* Jeſuit; the other in *Reihing* a *German*. As both quitted the Order after their laſt Vows, no Offers, no Promiſes, no Allurements, were ſpared by the Society, and nothing they could poſſibly think of was left unattempted to bring the ſtrayed Sheep back to the Fold. As *Jarrige* had *turned Proteſtant becauſe his Merit was not rewarded* (2), and not upon Conviction, he was prevailed upon to return to the Order; was received with open Arms by his Superiors and his Brethren, tho' he had abuſed them *ſo ſeverely in a Book he publiſhed, that the Society never met with any thing that vexed them ſo much*; was treated with the greateſt Tenderneſs, and even allowed *to go into ſuch*

(1) Full Confut. p. 41.

(2) Ibid. p. 41.

King-

Man of Senſe, ſurely, can think, that the Jeſuits would have looked upon my letting them have a Sum of Money at *7 per Cent.* Intereſt during my Life, as *a ſatisfactory Proof that I was ſincere in my Deſire to be re-admitted into the Order*; nay, as I required a Bond for the Payment of that Intereſt, they muſt have concluded from thence, that I had no Intention of ever returning either to the Church or the Order: For as all private Property is baniſhed from religious Communities by the Vow of Poverty, they could not but know that the Bond, the Foundation of Property and Right, would be null the Moment I returned, and renewed that Vow. To what Purpoſe, then, ſhould I have required one, if I really deſigned to return? Every Man muſt be ſenſible it would, in that Caſe, have been the Height of Folly in me to ask a Bond, and in them the Height of Folly to grant me one. In ſhort, my requiring a Bond would therefore take the ſame Pains to regain the moſt hopeleſs Dunce (if there were any ſuch amongſt the *Profeſſed*, who are the Flower of the Order) as the Firſt Man in the whole Society for Learning and Parts.

Kingdom or Province of the World as he ſhould think fit (3). But *Reihing* renounced Popery, convinced, as *Bayle* informs us, by reading the Scripture, that it was a bad Religion; and therefore lived and died a ſincere Proteſtant, tho' the Jeſuits *promiſed him all Sorts of Advantages, and even full Liberty of returning to them, or of being a Canon, or of living a ſecular Life*; which plainly ſhews how deſirous they are to regain ſuch as have left them, and how improbable it is that they ſhould have ſuffered me to court them *for many Years, without Succeſs, to receive me again.*

I am not ſo vain as to think, that I deſerve to be ſo much as named, in Point of Learning or Parts, with a *Reihing* or a *Jarrige*, tho' the Jeſuit *Maire*, to give himſelf an Air of Impartiality, owns that I *was held in* SOME ESTEEM *for my Parts* (4); and Father *Ridolfi*, Provincial of the *Roman* Province, allows me to have *ſtudied Philoſophy and Divinity to good Purpoſe* (5). But it is not only on account of a Man's Knowlege or his Abilities that the Jeſuits ſtrive, if he has *apoſtatized* (to ſpeak in their Stile and my Reverend Antagoniſt's) to reclaim him, but chiefly for the Honour of the Order, which they have above all things at heart, that it may not be ſaid, that a Son of *Loyola* died an obſtinate Heretic: They

I beg leave to add here, that the Jeſuits, finding *Reihing*'s Firmneſs and Conſtancy Proof againſt all their Offers and Promiſes, had recourſe to their uſual Weapon, Slander and Calumny, painting him as an *abandoned Profligate*; as a Paraſite, as a great Admirer of the Fair Sex; nay, and charging him with having debauched a young Woman, and having thereupon fled, to avoid Infamy and Puniſhment: The very Crimes they have charged upon me! *Reihing* fully confuted theſe Slanders, ſays *Bayle*, with a fine Apology. Whether my Apology be a full Confutation of the ſame and other ſuch-like Calumnies, I ſhall leave all Men of Candour to judge, who have peruſed it with any Degree of Attention, and only obſerve here, that the Jeſuits *do not ſcruple to calumniate thoſe who have quitted their Church or their Order*; and conſequently that no more Regard is to be had to their Teſtimony againſt them, than to the Teſtimony of a known Liar, or a profeſſed Slanderer.

(3) Six Letters, p. 59. (4) Full Detection, p. 50. (5) Complete Detect. p. 87.

for

for the Payment of an Annuity during my Life, which I knew would be null the Moment I was reconciled to the Order, is a convincing Proof, that, at the time I demanded it, I had no Intention of being reconciled to the Order as long as I lived. I ſhall add here, in Anſwer to a pitiful Cavil of the Jeſuits, or of thoſe they employ, that tho' a Jeſuit, or a Perſon of any other religious Order, *may have his* PECULIUM *independent of the public Purſe of the Community* [r], he can have nothing, no, not a ſingle Sixpence, independent of the Will of his Superiors, or by virtue of a Bond from them; ſince ſuch a Bond would give him a Right to it, and be, on that account, abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Vow of Poverty.

Let us now ſee how the Jeſuits have improved the ſame Money-tranſaction into the Ground-work, or the Subject of the Letters they have forged in my Name: Having, after an unſucceſsful Negotiation of ſeveral Years, ſay they, purchaſed my Re-admiſſion with all I was worth in 1741, and being thereupon re-admitted in 1745, I ſoon repented the Step I had taken, and came the very next Year to a *final Reſolution* of quitting them anew, or, as they expreſs it, *of coming to a Second Breach of my Vows* [s]. But, apprehending that they would neither return me the Principal, nor pay me Intereſt for my Money, *if I ceaſed to profeſs myſelf a Jeſuit* before I recovered it, I kept the Reſolution I had taken a profound Secret, and wrote the Letters in queſtion to Father *Sheldon*, Provincial of the Order; urging the Re-payment of the Money as not belonging to me, but to a Woman, with whom I had a criminal Connexion, as they call it, meaning a Marriage, and who had a Child [t]. In thoſe Letters I am made to expreſs great Contrition for my paſt Offences, a ſincere Deſire to comply with my Duty both as a Papiſt and a Jeſuit, an intire Submiſſion to the Will of my Superiors, and a Readineſs to go to whatever Part of the World they ſhould think fit to ſend me, *Rome* itſelf not excepted. But the Re-payment of the Money is what they make me urge above all things, and in every Letter, as if I could not get rid of the Woman, but were obliged to live with her till it was repaid.

I am inclined to believe, that thoſe Letters were forged by the Jeſuits, as ſoon as they knew I deſigned to write the Hiſtory of the Popes; tho' it is impoſſible for me to conjecture by what Hand, or how they were conveyed from one to another. But by what means

[r] Full Conſut. p. 37. 63. [s] Six Lettets, p. 34. [t] Ibid. p. 36.

ſoever

ſoever they were conveyed, I am fully perſuaded that there was not at firſt, nor for a long Time, any Intention that they ſhould become the Talk of the Public, or be ſeen by any Proteſtants, who might be willing or able to call their Authenticity in queſtion. They were originally deſigned for the Uſe of Catholics only, to diſcredit with them the Hiſtory of the Popes, and hinder any Converts from being made by it. But, upon the unexpected and aſtoniſhing Countenance given to them by my Reverend Antagoniſt, and Two or Three Proteſtants more, the Jeſuits were emboldened to ſhew them publicly; and they were accordingly ſhewn to many Perſons of unqueſtionable Zeal for the Proteſtant Cauſe, and even to my moſt intimate Friends, who, as ſoon as they got any poſitive Information that they were to be ſeen, deſired to ſee them, and ſaw evident Marks of Forgery in them. But though they were not convinced of my having written them, my Antagoniſt was; and he undertook not only to aſcertain their Authenticity, but at the ſame time to convince the whole World upon that Foundation, and with the Help and Concurrence of the Papiſts and Jeſuits, that I am ſtill one of them, a Papiſt, and *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, allowed by my Jeſuit Superiors and the Pope to *wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm, in order to ſtrike ſome effectual Blow* [u]. I ſaid, *with the Help and Concurrence of the Papiſts and Jeſuits*, not one Thing having yet been alleged, that has the leaſt Tendency to prove that wonderful Paradox, but what comes from that Quarter: A more convincing Argument to perſuade all Mankind that I am not a Papiſt and a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, than any they can poſſibly offer to perſuade them that I am; for can any Man, who is but capable of diſtinguiſhing his right Hand from his left, believe, that if I were *licenſed by my Jeſuit Superiors and the Pope to wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm in order to ſtrike ſome effectual Blow* (ſuppoſe to blow up, by a Second and more ſucceſsful *Gunpowder Plot*, King, Lords, and Commons) the Papiſts and Jeſuits would unmask me! It is impoſſible gravely to confute ſuch wild, extravagant Notions; and yet they occur in almoſt every Page of the Four thick Libels before me.

But as my Correſpondence with *Sheldon* is the capital Article of the Charge brought againſt me, and the reſt are all either grounded upon that, or calculated to confirm it, I ſhall confine myſelf here to this Point alone, *Whether the Letters to* Sheldon *be forged or*

[u] Full Confut. p. 59.

genuine.

genuine. If they are proved to be genuine, I merit no Credit as to any thing elſe I can ſay for myſelf. If they are Forgeries, thoſe, who forged them, can, I think, merit none as to any thing elſe they bring to defame me. As this my Apology, connected, as it is with my Hiſtory, will be read by many, who may, perhaps, never have heard of the preſent Diſpute, and it would therefore be highly unreaſonable in me, and look as if I diſtruſted my Cauſe, to require them to paſs Sentenee without their firſt hearing both Sides, I ſhall here recapitulate my Reverend Antagoniſt's Reaſons and Arguments to prove, and mine to diſprove, the Genuineneſs of the Letters in queſtion, with my Anſwers to his Arguments, as well as his Anſwers to mine, and leave the whole Proteſtant World to judge (for to the whole Proteſtant World I appeal, and not to the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* alone), from the Evidence before them, whether the Letters be forged or genuine. I ſhall all along quote the Libels, and the Pages of the Libels, from whence the Arguments for the Genuineneſs of the Letters are taken, that every Reader, by recurring to the Places pointed out, may be ſatisfied that I do not weaken, miſrepreſent, or curtail them; and oppoſite to them, in one and the ſame Page, I have choſen to place my Anſwers, that they, who peruſe them, may thus be enabled to judge at one View, whether his Arguments are all *demonſtrative Proofs*, and my Anſwers to them *mere Chicane, Sophiſtry, and ſhuffling Evaſions.* As my Reverend Antagoniſt frequently boaſts of *its having fallen to his Lot to unmask the Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, he will not, I hope, take it amiſs, if I diſtinguiſh him, in the Courſe of this Controverſy, with the Name of *the Unmasker*, tho', in Truth, the pretended Unmasking of the diſguiſed Jeſuit is intirely the Work of the Jeſuits themſelves, who have furniſhed him with all the Materials; and he has contributed nothing to it but the Language; and not even the Language, if I am rightly informed, is wholly his own. I could heartily wiſh that it were not, as it ſavours more of *Popiſh Fury and Rage*, than of *Proteſtant Zeal* (F). But let us proceed to the *Demonſtrative Proofs.*

(F) His Language, which every honeſt Clergyman muſt bluſh to hear from one of his ſacred Profeſſion, I ſhall not repeat, for the ſake of the Church of *England*, as well as for his; nor retaliate for my own.

Unmasker. *Similitude of Hand pleads ſtrongly for the Genuineneſs of the Letters, and will always have great Weight with an impartial Examiner. Now, it is impoſſible that this Kind of Evidence can be ſtronger than it is in the Caſe before us.* Six Letters, *&c.* p. 43.

Anſwer. Similitude of Hand *is*, according to the Unmasker himſelf, and indeed according to every-body elſe, *no abſolute Proof.* For *there have been Forgeries*, as he owns, *ſo well executed, as to confound thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the Hand-writing that was counterfeited*, p. 43. If Similitude of Hands is *in itſelf no abſolute Proof*, it can be no Proof at all, nor can it have the leaſt Weight with *an impartial Examiner* againſt the greateſt Improbabilities in the oppoſite Scale. That this is the preſent Caſe ſhall be ſhewn.

Unmask. *Mr.* B's *Hand-writing is extremely remarkable, and hath more Particularities than are uſually met with. This Circumſtance ſhews how difficult it muſt be to forge Letters bearing ſo ſtriking a Reſemblance*, &c.

Anſ. It happens, that *this Circumſtance* ſhews quite the contrary; it being far more eaſy, as they ſay who are skilled in detecting ſuch Forgeries, to imitate a bad Hand than a good one; a Hand that has many Particularities than one that has none; and what they ſay is undoubtedly agreeable to Reaſon.

Unmask. *While we allow it to be eaſy to forge a Subſcription, or even ſuch a Piece of Writing as a Promiſſory Note, we look upon it, I will not ſay as impoſſible, but as next to impoſſible, to forge Six long Letters* (one of them containing 17 Lines) *in a very ſingular Hand*, p. 43.

Anſ. If it be EASY to forge a Promiſſory Note of One, Two, or Three Lines, it cannot be *impoſſible*, nor *next to impoſſible*, to forge a Letter of Ten or of Twenty; nay, and to forge, with Time and with Practice, many more Letters, and longer. Common Senſe teaches us, that the more a Man forged, who is poſſeſſed of that Talent, the more eaſy he would find it; and that it would coſt him more Pains to forge the firſt Ten Lines than the Twenty following, and more to forge the Twenty than the next Fifty. But the Un-

masker ſuppoſes, that Practice, which leſſens the Difficulty in all other Caſes, would encreaſe it in this. If it is eaſy to counterfeit One, Two, or Three Lines, but next to impoſſible to counterfeit many, I ſhould be glad to know to what Number of Lines will the Unmasker confine that miſchievous Art; or what Line is, according to him, the *non plus ultra* one; the Line to which the skilful Artiſt may proceed, but, with all his Art and Skill, can proceed no farther.

Unm. *It is very remarkable, that Mr.* B—— *puts no Part of his Defence in want of Similitude in the Hand-writing; but owns, that the Forgery hath been executed with the greateſt Skill.* p. 44.

Anſ. Mr. *B*—— never owned any ſuch thing; nor could he, as he never has ſeen the Letters. However, that *he places no Part of his Defence in want of Similitude*, &c. is true; but it is not *very* (nor at all) *remarkable*, as he knows there *have been Forgeries ſo well executed, as not only to confound thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the Hand-writing that was counterfeited*, but the Perſons themſelves whoſe Writing was counterfeited; and that Inſtances are not wanting, as every Lawyer well knows, not only of a Promiſſory Note, or of a Subſcription, but of Wills and Deeds, much longer than theſe *Six long Letters* together, forged with ſuch Art, that no Man could diſtinguiſh the Copy from the Original (G).—I am ſatisfied that they, who have produced the Seven Letters to *Sheldon*, could produce, if they pleaſed, Seventy times Seven Letters, all as like my Writing as the Seven. And thus far of the Unmasker's Firſt *demonſtrative Proof*, and my *ſhuffling Anſwer* to it. Indeed I am aſhamed to have waſted ſo much of my Reader's Time and my own to ſhew, that what has been ſo frequently done can be done.

Unm. *Had the Jeſuits forged thoſe Letters, they would have made* B——r *ſpeak out, and mention the Catholic Religion, Jeſuit, General of the Jeſuits,*

Anſ. This is as good Senſe as to ſay, had the Jeſuits forged thoſe Letters to perſuade the Papiſts, for whoſe Uſe alone they were originally deſigned, that I ſtill was a

(G) The Jeſuits have, in moſt Provinces, ſome of the Order, who make the Imitating of Writings, both ancient and modern, their Study, and attain, by that means, to ſuch a Perfection in that knaviſh Art, that few are to be found ſo skilled in it among us, who are not mere Bunglers in Compariſon with them. Theſe Men are known in the Order by the cant Name of *Mechanics*.

Papiſt

&c. *and ſay, without Reſerve, and without Ambiguity, ſuch Things as might fix upon him more incontrovertibly the intended Charge*, p. 44, 45.

Papiſt and a Jeſuit, they would have made me write as no Jeſuit writes in this Proteſtant Kingdom: For the Jeſuits are not ſuch natural Fools as to mention *Catholic Religion*, *Jeſuit*, *General of the Jeſuits*, *Converts*, &c. in the Letters they write to one another, or to their Superiors here by the common Poſt. On the contrary, it appears from *Sheldon*'s Letters ſeized in 1745, that they expreſs themſelves ſo as to be underſtood by their Brethren, and by no-body elſe. Thus, in thoſe Letters, *Blandyke* ſtands for *St. Omers*, Mr. *Lancaſter* for Mr. *Hill*, &c. as the *Unmasker*, whom they have, it ſeems, truſted with their Secrets, informs us. *Full Confut.* p. 37, 38. Beſides, had I ſpoken out ever ſo plain, I could not have ſaid more than what every Papiſt muſt learn from the very Firſt of the Seven Letters, *viz.* that they were written by a penitent Jeſuit to his Superior.

Unm. *If the Letters had been forged to prove that Mr.* B. *correſponded with Father* Sheldon, *the Contrivers of the Forgery would not have omitted ſigning the ſuppoſed Writer's Name to them.* Six Letters, *&c.* p. 45.

Anſ. The Similitude of the Writing, and the Money Tranſaction, upon which the Forgery was grounded, were thought, by the Contrivers of the Forgery, ſufficient to fix the Letters upon me, without their making me ſign my Name at Length. It is indeed true, as the *Unmasker* obſerves, *that* A. B. *may as well ſtand for* Abraham Broomſtick *as for* A——d B——r, abſtracting from all other Circumſtances; but the Jeſuits knew, that *A. B.* joined to the Similitude of the Writing, *&c.* would ſtand for *A——d B——r*, and not for *Abraham Broomſtick*. Beſides, they took care to be well furniſhed with Evidences, ſuch as they are, to fix the Letters upon me, even without the initial Letters of my Name.

Unm. *At the Time the Letters were written*, viz. *in* 1746, *Mr.* B. *had given the Papiſts no Provocation. His Propoſals for*

Anſ. I had written early in 1746, and ſeveral of my Proteſtant Friends had read, a conſiderable Part of my Firſt Volume,

his Hiſtory, and the Preface, which were the Firſt Proof he gave of his Proteſtantiſm, did not exiſt till the following Year, &c. p. 53, 54.

and it was publicly known that I was engaged in that Work, as I had declined being any-ways concerned in the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory*, tho' the Whole was offered me, *becauſe I was determined to write the Hiſtory of the Popes.* Of this the Jeſuits could not be ignorant, tho' not *endowed with the Gift of Prophecy.* On the other hand, as they did not know how ſoon Part of that Work might appear, I am inclined to believe, that they forged the Letters as early as they had that Intelligence, that is, in 1746, in order to ſhew them as ſoon as it appeared, and prevent, by that means, the Effects it might have on the Catholics here, as being written by a Jeſuit, that is, by one thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrines and Principles both of the Church and the Order. I ſhall add, that, as the Jeſuits could not but know in 1746 that I was writing the Hiſtory of the Popes, and not *for them*, as it was countenanced by Perſons of known Zeal for the Proteſtant Cauſe, we muſt either ſuppoſe thoſe good Fathers to have nevertheleſs correſponded with me as a ſincere Penitent, than which nothing can be conceived more abſurd, or the Letters to be forged.—The *Unmasker* ſuppoſes the *Preface to my Hiſtory to have been the Firſt Proof I gave of my Proteſtantiſm.* But I had given, in the *Hiſtoria Literaria* publiſhed in 1730, that is, Sixteen Years before my Preface exiſted, as convincing Proofs, ſo far as the Subjects would allow, as I have given ſince that time. *See above*, p. 5.

Unm. *It is impoſſible that the Letters in queſtion ſhould have been forged by the Jeſuits, as they diſcloſe the Secrets of the Order*, viz. *that large Sums of Money paſs through their Hands; and that they are formed here into a regular Body, governed by a Provincial acting under the Direction of the General at* Rome. p. 54.

Anſ. Great Secrets indeed! that the Jeſuits live no more upon Air in *England* than they do any-where elſe; but that, as they want large Sums for their Maintenance, and other neceſſary Expences, *large Sums of Money paſs through their Hands*; that they are no more here, than any-where elſe, Gentlemen at large, at full Liberty to do what they pleaſe, and go where they pleaſe, but

are

are governed, as well as Men of all other religious Orders, *by a Provincial acting under the Direction of the General at* Rome. Were the Unmasker as well verſed in the moſt authentic Part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, the *State Trials*, as he is in ſuch paultry, fabulous, legendary Pieces as *Foxes and Firebrands*, he would have found one of thoſe profound Secrets long ſince diſcloſed there; *viz.* that *the Jeſuits are governed here by Provincials acting under the Direction of the General at* Rome; nay, and that Two of their Provincials, *acting under his Direction*, have been hanged in this Kingdom, the one concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and the other in the Popiſh. As to the other grand *Secret, that the Jeſuts are ſo rich as to have large Sums of Money paſs through their Hands*, it was I believe, no Secret before thoſe Letters exiſted, that they are poſſeſſed, even in this Kingdom, of conſiderable Eſtates both in Money and Land. But ſhould even the Legiſlature interpoſe, and endeavour to diſcover them, their Endeavours, I am ſatisfied, would all prove ineffectual, as thoſe Eſtates are not held by the Jeſuits in their own Name, but in Truſt by their Friends; and no Equivocations, mental Reſervations, Reſtrictions, *&c.* would be ſpared on ſo important an Occaſion. But this Argument is fully anſwered by the *Unmasker* himſelf, aſſuring us, *that the Gentleman, into whoſe Hands the Letters have fallen, hath had his Conduct cenſured by the Jeſuits for ſhewing them to Proteſtants* (Six Letters, *&c.* p. 54.); and conſequently that the Jeſuits originally intended, that they ſhould be ſhewn only to Papiſts; and amongſt Papiſts there is not, I will venture to ſay, one Perſon who did not know, before thoſe Letters appeared, that *the Jeſuits are governed here by a Provincial, acting under the Direction of the General at* Rome; and that *they are ſo rich as to have large Sums of Money paſs through their Hands.* And here I cannot help obſerving how inconſiſtent the *Unmasker* is with himſelf in relation to theſe Secrets: He urges the Improbability of the Jeſuits forging Letters, that diſcloſe to Proteſtants the Secrets of the Order, as a Proof of their not being forged by them; and aſſures us, in the very next Period, that the Jeſuits did not intend, that the Letters, diſcloſing thoſe Secrets, ſhould ever be ſhewn to Proteſtants.

Unm. *One of the Letters was ſent by the Poſt in* 1746, *bears Date*

Anſ. It is allowed, that the Direction upon the Letter bearing

Date July 24, *and has Three Marks upon it, which we cannot ſuppoſe to have been forged,* p. 53, 54.

ing thoſe Marks is written in a *different Hand.* And how eaſy a Matter was it to procure the Sanction of a *Poſt-mark*, by directing a blank Letter to Mr. *Elliot Brown*, &c. the Name *Sheldon* went by at that time? As the Letter therefore was directed in a different Hand, the Poſt-marks upon it can be no Proof that I wrote the inſide Contents.

Unm. *It is very remarkable, that July* 24 *was a Poſt-day* (Thurſday) *in* 1746. p. 54.

Anſ. The Letter might, for this Remark, have been written, and ſent by the Poſt, in 1755; for *it is remarkable, that* July 24 *was a Poſt day* (Thurſday) in 1755.

Unm. *It is certain from the Poſt-marks on one of the Letters, that it actually was writ, and ſent by the Poſt, in* 1746. (Complete Detect. p. 10.)

Anſ. Surely the *Unmasker* dreams; for he could only ſee in a Dream the Date of the Year on the Poſt-mark.

Unm. *The Money-tranſaction authenticates the Letters,* p. 61——74.

Anſ. The Money-tranſaction was the only thing that the Jeſuits knew of me, upon which they could ground, with any Appearance of Truth, the pretended Correſpondence between their Provincial and me; and they choſe it accordingly for the Groundwork of all that is ſaid in the Letters. But, though that Tranſaction be true, it does not follow from thence, that the Correſpondence grounded upon it is likewiſe true, ſince, by this Method of Arguing, moſt Forgeries might be authenticated, as moſt of them have ſome Foundation in Truth, or are founded upon ſome true Fact.

Unm. *There is nothing in* B——*'s Hiſtory of the Popes that could make it ſo formidable to the Papiſts to engage them in a vile and*

Anſ. The indefatigable Pains the Papiſts and Jeſuits have taken to diſcredit the Author, and in the Author the Work, the Spite, Ran-

and impudent Forgery againſt the Author, p. 50.

Rancour, and Malice they bear him, whereof they have given ſo many remarkable Proofs, plainly ſhew, that they have found ſomething in my Hiſtory of the Popes (tho' the *Unmasker* has not), that might have engaged *an Order of Men, remarkable for their Forgeries, in a vile and impudent Forgery againſt the Author:* And that this was really the Caſe, ſhall be proved in the Sequel, to the Confuſion of the Jeſuits, by Evidence owned by them, nay, and by the *Unmasker* himſelf, to be *unexceptionable.*——As my Hiſtory has met with a very uncommon Reception from learned Proteſtants both at home and abroad, I ſhall leave them to maintain their own Judgment againſt that of the *Unmasker*, taxing them, on that Account, with *Simplicity*, *Credulity*, and *Ignorance*, p. 52. (H).

Such

(H) I cannot help obſerving, with reſpect to the learned Men of *Great Britain*, that Two Parts in Three of thoſe, whoſe reſpectable Names are to be met with in the numerous Liſt of my Subſcribers (a great Eye-ſore to the *Unmaſker*), favoured me with their Subſcriptions after the Publication of the Firſt Volume, that is, when they knew what they ſubſcribed to; inſomuch that I was obliged to proceed directly to the *Second Edition*, and, upon the Publication of my *Second Volume*, to the *Third Edition*; a *plain Proof* this, that the learned Men of *Great Britain* at leaſt ſubſcribed to my Hiſtory becauſe they thought it worthy of that public Teſtimony of their Approbation. I am ſorry, for the *Unmaſker*'s ſake, that he ſhould thus differ from ſo many Men of known Abilities, Learning, and Parts; but yet do not at all wonder at it. He has had the Preſumption to differ even from himſelf, and to ſet up his own Judgment againſt his own Judgment, when it anſwered his Purpoſe to do ſo. Thus did he ſpeak, in his Firſt Pamphlet, with equal Contempt of the Hiſtory of the Popes by *Bruys*, and of mine, ending that Pamphlet with the following Words; *fully ſatisfied with our* Chillingworths, *our* Barrows, *our* Stillingfleets, *our* Tillotſons, *we deſpiſe the mercenary Aſſiſtance of a* Bruys *or a* B——r. But when a Tranſlation of *Bruys*'s *deſpicable* Hiſtory into our Language was offered to the Public in lieu of mine, he was thereby convinced that he had judged too haſtily of the *Frenchman*'s Performance; and thereupon, reverſing his former Judgment, inſtead of putting into the Hands of his Countrymen the *Chillingworths*, the *Barrows*, &c. he takes his Leave of them in his laſt Pamphlet, or rather Volume, with telling them, that *it gives him real Satisfaction to reflect, that he can reckon his being the Means of having the Hiſtory of* Bruys *put into the Hands of his Countrymen, as one of the many real Advantages, which the Proteſtant Inhabitants of* Great Britain *will reap from the Detection of* A———d B——r.

However, the *Unmasker*, it muſt be owned, is not the only one in this Nation, who thinks the Hiſtory of *Bruys* preferable to mine. A *learned and accurate Critic*, as he ſtiles him, agrees intirely with him: for that eminent Critic, upon comparing the Life of Pope *Gregory the Great* in my Hiſtory with the Life of the ſame Pope in the Hiſtory of *Bruys*, and counting, with great *Learning* and Accuracy, the Facts, the Quotations, and the Pages in both, has found, that, in 80 Pages, I have but Five Facts which *Bruys* has not, and he above Fifty that I have not; and that of Thirty-two Authors quoted by *Bruys*, Fourteen only are quoted by me, who have indeed Eight not quoted by him, p. 52. From hence our *learned and accurate*

Such are the Arguments, or *demonſtrable Proofs*, urged by the *Unmasker* to prove, that the Letters in queſtion *are not a Forgery*; Arguments all evidently unconcluſive, and ſome of them not only abſurd, but ridiculous, as every impartial and judicious Reader muſt own, who has peruſed my Anſwers to them with the leaſt Degree of Attention (l). I ſhall now proceed to recapitulate the Reaſons and Arguments I have alleged to ſhew, that *the Letters to* Sheldon *are a palpable Forgery*, with the *Unmaker's* Anſwers to them; and leave the World to judge, whether my Arguments, or his Anſwers, are *mere Chicane and Jeſuitical Sophiſtry*. My Arguments are as follows:

I. If I wrote thoſe Letters to Father *Sheldon*, that Father muſt have believed me, for the Space of Two Years, reconciled to the Church and the Order, and correſponded with me as a Penitent, though every Jeſuit in Town could have informed him, that they had never ſeen the pretended Penitent aſſiſt at any Function of the Popiſh Religion as a Papiſt, nor perform any as a Prieſt and a Jeſuit; nay, when they could not but know, that I lived in the ſame Manner as I had done before; that I kept the ſame Company; that I

rate Critic concludes the Hiſtory of *Bruys* to be certainly better than mine; which, in effect, is meaſuring the Merit of a Hiſtory from the Number of Facts it contains, whether pertinent or impertinent, important or trifling; that is, from its Bulk. There are ſome Writers, whoſe Subſcribers, and Readers too, if they have any, would have thanked them, had they left out Nine Facts in the Ten they relate. Have I omitted any important, or related any trifling Facts in the Life of *Gregory*, or of any other Pope? If I have, the *accurate* Critic ſhould have pointed them out. If I have not, my Hiſtory would be preferred, by Men of Genius and Taſte, to that of *Bruys*, ſhould the *Frenchman's* contain a Thouſand Facts that I had omitted. The Obſerver may, for aught I know, be a Man of *Learning* and *Accuracy*; but his Obſervation betrays a woful Want in him of the chief Ingredient in the Compoſition of a good Critic, Judgment.

(I) The *Unmasker*, however, looking upon theſe his Arguments, if they deſerve that Name, as no leſs convincing than any Demonſtration in *Euclid*, ſticks not to pronounce all, who reſiſt their Evidence, either inſenſible of the Force of any Evidence for want of Underſtanding, or unwilling to yield to it for Reaſons not to be owned (*Bower and Tillemont compared*, p. 77); which is, in effect, pronouncing the Firſt Men of this Kingdom for their Penetration and good Senſe, as well as for their Rank and their Probity, either Fools or Knaves. And what muſt the candid and ſenſible Part of Mankind, after weighing his *Reaſons* and my *Anſwers*, think of ſo bold an Aſſertion? Muſt it not raiſe the greateſt Indignation in the Minds of all, who have any Regard to Civility, Juſtice, or Truth? But every one who has peruſed this Man's ſcurrilous Pamphlets, muſt by this time have obſerved, that the weaker his Arguments are, the more he exclaims and declaims, and rails and abuſes; flattering himſelf, that loud Vociferation, Railing, and Abuſe, will ſupply, with ſome, the Want of Argument and Reaſon, or, at leaſt, will divert the ſuperficial Reader from attending to the Abſurdity, Weakneſs, and Fallacy, of his *demonſtrative Proofs*.

con-

continued to expoſe in all Companies, to Contempt and Ridicule, the ſuperſtitious Practices, and abſurd Doctrines, of Popery, and openly to join in Communion with the Church of *England:* That I led ſuch a Life, the Life of a Proteſtant, and not of a penitent Jeſuit, in the Years, 1746, 1747, during which Time *Sheldon* is ſuppoſed to have correſponded with me as a Penitent, all my Friends can atteſt; and that the Jeſuits, whoſe Intelligence is ſo good in all Places, and in all Points that concern them, ſhould not have known it, or ſhould have believed me ſincere though they knew it, is abſolutely impoſſible; and it is therefore abſolutely impoſſible that I ſhould have written thoſe Letters.

Unm. In Anſwer to this Argument, the Unmasker gravely tells us, that *I had a Diſpenſation from my Jeſuit Superior, or the Pope, to neglect my Duty as a Papiſt and Jeſuit; to expoſe in every Company the Doctrines and Practices of the Popiſh Religion, nay, and to wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm, and join in Communion with the Proteſtant Church of* England, *in order to ſtrike a more effectual Blow.* Full Confutation, p. 58, 59.

Anſ. Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* aſſures us in his Letter, p. 73. upon the Authority of one of his Evidences, that when I was firſt introduced to Father *Shirburn*, then Provincial, *I made a handſome and well-worded Apology for my paſt Conduct.* And how can ſuch an Apology be reconciled with a *Diſpenſation from my Jeſuit Superior or the Pope* to neglect my Duty, and act as I did? Here the Proteſtant contradicts the Papiſt, and the Papiſt the Proteſtant. Let the Reader credit which of the Two he pleaſes, or neither. Should it be allowed that the Pope, or even the Superior of the Jeſuits, has a Power to diſpenſe with a Papiſt's wearing the Mask of Proteſtantiſm, can any Man think that his Holineſs, or the Superior of the Jeſuits, would have granted ſuch an extraordinary Diſpenſation to one who had been *thrown off by his Order, had fled from* Italy *to avoid the Puniſhment due to his Crimes, was an abandoned Profligate, the Outcaſt of their Church, the Bane of his Order, a Papiſt To-day, a Proteſtant To-morrow, as it could ſerve a Turn,* and conſequently as ready *to ſtrike an effectual Blow* in favour of Proteſtantiſm, *if it could ſerve a Turn,* as in favour of Popery? Was a Man of this Character a proper Perſon to be employed by the Pope and the Je-

ſuits in ſo nice a Truſt? I ſhall ſay nothing of my Hiſtory, as the learned *Unmasker* thinks it rather calculated to promote than to impugn the Doctrines of *Rome* (K). But I have converted Three of my neareſt Relations from the Popiſh, in which they were brought up, to the Proteſtant Religion: And was this too done by *a Diſpenſation from the Pope and my Jeſuit Superior* (L)? Surely ſuch wild,

(K) The Papiſts and Jeſuits, finding ſomething in my Hiſtory that the *Unmasker* does not, have exerted their utmoſt Endeavours to depreciate that Work in the Opinion of Proteſtants, as *entirely copied from Popiſh Writers*, and calculated to *hurt the Proteſtant Cauſe*, and promote the ſuperſtitious Practices and Doctrines of Popery. But, I thank God, I can with Satisfaction, ſay, that, in ſpite of all their Efforts, it has not wanted its Effect upon ſome; and that, but lately, a Proteſtant Lady, fully determined to embrace the Popiſh Religion, was ſo thoroughly convinced of the Errors of that Church, by peruſing it, that, altering her Mind, which, ſhe thought, nothing could have altered, ſhe thanked her Friends for putting ſuch a Book into her Hands, diſmiſſed her proſelyting Prieſts, and is, at this preſent time, more averſe to Popery, and a more zealous Proteſtant, than ſhe had ever been before. So much I am allowed to ſay by a Gentleman of Diſtinction, and undoubted Veracity, upon his Authority. The *Unmasker* does not, I hope, mean by the *alarming Danger*, of which he ſo frequently warns, and with ſo much *Zeal*, *the Inhabitants of* Great Britain *in general*, the Danger of my Hiſtory's operating the like Effect upon others; but it is certainly the Danger they mean who employ him.

(L) I ſhall not engage here in a Diſpute with the *Unmasker* that is quite foreign to the Subject in hand; *viz. whether the Pope can or cannot diſpenſe with a Papiſt's wearing the Mask of Proteſtantiſm?* but ſhall content myſelf at preſent with deſiring him to let the World know what *effectual Blow* I have *ſtruck*, anſwering the Purpoſe and End of ſuch an extraordinary Diſpenſation. I have profeſſed myſelf a Proteſtant theſe Thirty Years, and upwards; and what Service have I done to the Church of *Rome* during that time? Why, I have given ſilly Scruples to a ſilly Woman in ſome accidental Converſations of mine Thirty Years ago, and converted to Popery her Huſband, a Printer's Journeyman, Twenty-ſeven Years ago, who was never a ſincere Convert, and of whoſe Converſion I knew nothing till long after it happened. (See the *Second Part of my Anſwer*, p. 28—30.) Great Noiſe is now made about that Woman's Converſion; and yet, from her own Account, it is manifeſt, that my Acquaintance with her was not owing to any Deſign or Deſire in me of making a Proſelyte; and ſhe herſelf only ſays that I *gave her Scruples*; and that *Three Years after* I had given her thoſe Scruples, *ſhe became* a Catholic. (*Six Letters*, p. 75, 76.) A plain Proof that it was not from the *Scruples* I had given her, but from the Impreſſions made upon her by others, that ſhe was induced to change her Religion. I ſaid, *her Huſband was never a ſincere Convert*; for, if I was not miſinformed at the time, his pretended Converſion was owing to Motives of Intereſt, the Jeſuits having given him ſome Hopes of employing him as their Printer, if he turned Catholic; and as ſuch they employed him accordingly ſome time after his Converſion. My having therefore given ſilly Scruples to a ſilly Woman in ſome accidental Converſations Thirty Years ago, is the only *Blow* I have yet *ſtruck*: And was it that I might ſtrike ſuch a Blow that his Holineſs has diſpenſed theſe Thirty Years with my acting contrary to all the Duties of a Papiſt, of a Prieſt, of a Jeſuit, and even with my wearing the Maſk of a Proteſtant!

I cannot diſmiſs this Subject without taking notice of the mighty Commendations beſtowed on this pretended Proſelyte of mine by our *impartial* Monthly Writers, in order to enhance the Credit of her Teſtimony: They all commend and extol her to the Skies, and one of them, *the Author*

wild, extravagant Notions, or rather Reveries, could have come into no body's Head but that of an *Unmasker*, and an *Unmasker* reduced to Deſpair. And thus does my Firſt Argument againſt the Genuineneſs of the Letters remain unanſwered; *viz. If I wrote thoſe Letters to Father* Sheldon, *that Father believed me, for the Space of Two Years, reconciled to the Church and the Order: But he could not believe me reconciled to the one or the other during that Time, nor correſpond with me as a Penitent; therefore I did not write thoſe Letters to Father* Sheldon, *and they are a barefaced palpable Forgery.*

II. In thoſe Letters I am ſuppoſed to have returned to the Church and the Order: But no *temporal* Motive can be aſſigned, which could have induced me to take ſuch an extraordinary Step; therefore I either did not return, or, if I did, I acted like a natural Fool or a Madman. I ſay *temporal Motive*; for the *Unmasker* will not allow me to have been actuated by Motives of Conſcience either in quitting the Church and the Order, or in returning to them again; but repreſents me as one, *who, invariable in the Proſecution of his Intereſt, becomes all Things to all Men, that he may gain ſomething*; *a Papiſt To-day, a Proteſtant To-morrow,* &c. (M).

Unm. *Certainly his Intereſt viſibly prompted him to take ſuch a Step: He had as yet gained no*

Anſ. At the Time I am ſuppoſed to have returned to the Order, I had 94 *l.* regularly paid

Author of the Gentleman's Magazine, even diſtinguiſhes, or rather canonizes her with the Title of *eminently good*. But how came he, when he was got into this high Strain, to paſs over in Silence the extraordinary Memory and uncommon Penetration of his Heroine? Her extraordinary Memory in well remembering, though quite illiterate, my calling the great Biſhop *Tillotſon* A SOPHISTER Thirty Years ago; her uncommon Penetration in knowing the Jeſuits ſoon after her Converſion better than I did; for tho' nobody knows, according to the trite Saying, what a Jeſuit is, but he who has been himſelf a Jeſuit; *nemo novit quid Jeſuita ſit, niſi qui fuit ipſe Jeſuita*, and I had been a Jeſuit Twenty Years; yet *Hannah Hoyles*, Wife to a Printer's Journeyman, and Seller of Drams, knew them at once ſo much better than I ever had done, that I would not truſt them, if ſhe is to be credited, with my Money, till ſhe had aſſured me, nay, and pawned her Life, her precious Life, that they would fulfil their Agreement. It is quite ſurpriſing that any Regard ſhould be had to the Teſtimony of one, who could gravely advance ſuch Improbabilities, nay, and is ready to confirm them upon Oath.

(M) This is the very Reverſe of my Character; for my Friends all know, that there is not a Man in the whole Kingdom that values Money leſs than I do, that is more ready to part with it, or leſs anxious to get it. But the *Unmasker*, or rather the Jeſuits, would have given me as readily any other Character, had it anſwered their Purpoſe as well.

Connexions; his Subſiſtence depended on the ſlaviſh Employment of writing for Bookſellers: But, upon his being reconciled to his Order, he had Reaſon to hope, that his Income might be augmented by the Addition of a Salary as a Miſſionary: And thus did his Intereſt viſibly prompt him to return to the Order. But having at length had the good Fortune to inſinuate himſelf into the good Graces of a powerful Friend, both able and willing to ſerve him, his Intereſt prompted him to break off his renewed Connexion with the Order, p. 34, 35.

me by half-yearly Payments; which Sum, I knew, would, upon my Return, be no longer mine, but the Order's (*See above*, p. 16.) ſo that to ſay, *my Intereſt viſibly prompted me to be reconciled to the Order*, is as good Senſe as to ſay, my Intereſt viſibly prompted me to quit my Proteſtant Friends, *both willing and able to ſerve me*, and turn Miſſionary, in order to receive 30*l.* a Year, or 10*l.* in lieu of 94*l.* (N), and all the reſt of the Money I had at that time. The *Unmasker*, therefore, muſt point out ſome other Object capable of tempting me to forſake all my Proteſtant Friends, and become anew a Papiſt and a Jeſuit. Till he aſſigns ſome ſuch Object, every unprejudiced Man muſt conclude, that I either never was reconciled to the Church and the Order, or, if I was, that I acted like a natural Fool or a Madman, and not like one, *who, invariable in the Proſecution of his immediate Intereſt, becomes all Things to all Men, that he may gain ſomething*.——Had the *Unmasker* thought it worth his while to inquire when my Connexions with Proteſtants commenced, eſpecially with a *powerful Friend, both able and willing to ſerve me*, he would have found, that, in 1745, I had the ſame Connexions, the ſame Friends, as in 1746; and conſequently that it was not *becauſe I had gained no Connexions* that I returned to the Order in 1745, nor becauſe I had gained them that I reſolved to leave it anew in 1746.——This Anſwer has, it ſeems, ſatisfied the *Unmasker* himſelf, that *my Intereſt did not viſibly prompt me to return to the Order*; and that he ſpoke at random when he ſaid that it did. But his *Connexions*, and the Engagements he has entered into with his new Friends, not allowing him to give up the Point, he

(N) The Sum of 30*l.* a Year, and no more, is allowed by the Society to a Jeſuit Miſſionary here in Town, for Lodging, Raiment, and Food; and thoſe in the Country receive nothing from the Order, but are maintained by the Families they live with, and allowed 10*l.* a Year for their Raiment.

drops

drops the Motive of Intereſt, and recurs to a very different one; to *Fear of the Devil ſtill remaining*. (Full Confut. p. 64.) But whom will he perſuade that *a moſt determined Infidel* (for ſuch he repreſents me), that is, one who neither fears God nor the Devil, ſhould be afraid of the Devil, and ſo afraid as to act, through Fear of him, in direct Oppoſition to all his Intereſts! A Man *invariable in the Proſecution of his immediate Intereſt*, acting, with his Eyes open, contrary to all his Intereſts, without any Motive inducing him to it, and a *determined Infidel*, who fears neither God nor the Devil, acting, in like manner through Fear of the Devil, are too palpable Contradictions to be ſwallowed even by a *Hottentot* or a *Samoiede*. My Argument therefore ſtill remains in its full Force; viz. *No rational Motive can be aſſigned that could have induced me to return to the Church of* Rome, *or the Order; therefore I either did not return, or, if I did, I acted like a natural Fool or a Madman.*

III. In thoſe Letters I am made to bring a Woman and a Child upon the Stage (O); pretending that the Money, ſunk in the Hands of *Hill*, the Procurator of the Society, did not belong to me, but to the Woman; and the Jeſuits are ſuppoſed never once to have inquired whether there really was ſuch a Woman, and whether the Money belonged to her; though, by my returning to them, it became theirs, if there was no ſuch Woman, or if the Money did not belong to her. But who can believe that the Jeſuits would not have made ſuch an Inquiry? or that one, ſo intimately acquainted with them as I am, would have tried to deceive them by a Fraud ſo very open to Detection as this? To ſuppoſe that they would not have made ſuch an Inquiry, or, if they had, that their Sagacity would

(O) It was poſitively aſſerted, upon the Authority of the forged Letters when they were firſt publicly ſhewn, that I was relapſed into Popery; that I was reconciled to the Order; and that, to enrich the Jeſuits, I had robbed a Woman, and her innocent Child, of their Fortune. This was at firſt poſitively aſſerted, and, without further Inquiry, trumpeted about by the Lovers of Scandal from one End of the Town to the other. But as the *injured Woman* and the *injured Child* could nowhere be found, they ſhifted their Ground, and, inſtead of concluding the Letters to be forged, in which alone the *Woman* and *Child* had any Exiſtence, they pretended the Whole to be a mere Invention, not of the Jeſuits, but mine, to impoſe on the innocent Fathers: For apprehending, ſaid they, and ſo they ſay ſtill, that, upon the Publication of my Preface, the Jeſuits would no longer pay me the Intereſt of my Money (though I had a Bond for the Payment of it), and therefore wanting to recover it before I publiſhed my Preface, *I brought a Woman and a Child upon the Stage*, pretending that the Money did not belong to me, but to them.

not

not have detected the Impoſture, is ſuppoſing the moſt crafty Set of Men upon Earth the moſt eaſily over-reached. In ſhort, that I ſhould have *brought upon the Stage a Woman and a Child to raiſe the Compaſſion, and affect the Conſcience of my Superior*, and that he ſhould never have inquired whether ſuch a Woman exiſted or not, is abſolutely impoſſible; and it is therefore abſolutely impoſſible that I ſhould have written thoſe Letters. This Argument the *Unmasker* has overlooked in all his Pamphlets, and for a very good Reaſon.

IV. The Money never was refuſed me, nor have the Jeſuits ever yet ſaid that it was. I had no immediate Occaſion for the whole Sum, or for any Part of it (P); was very ſure that Mr. *Hill* would repay it as ſoon as he conveniently could; and the Intereſt was, in the mean time, punctually paid me. Why then ſhould I have writ ſuch Letters? Why ſhould I have expreſſed in them as violent a Deſire to get my Money back *then*, as if I had been upon the Point of being carried to a Jail, or ready to ſtarve for want of it? Why ſhould I have brought into Exiſtence a Woman and a Child, or uſed any Plea, Pretence, or Invention at all, to move Father *Sheldon* to return me my Money, and return it *immediately?* There does not appear even the leaſt Degree of Temptation to induce me to write ſuch Letters as theſe, or to expreſs ſuch vaſt Sollicitude to get my Money repaid me.

Unm. *Mr.* B —— *was determined to break anew with the Order; but afraid leſt, by ceaſing to profeſs himſelf a Jeſuit, his Annuity from the Jeſuits ſhould ceaſe, he expreſſed ſuch vaſt Sollicitude in his Letters to*

Anſ. I publiſhed my Preface to the Hiſtory of the Popes, which was *ceaſing to profeſs myſelf a Jeſuit*, Three Months before the Money was returned (Q); a plain Proof that *I was not afraid, &c.* Thus did the Unmasker account

(P) So far was I from being obliged to pay away that Money as ſoon as I received it (which I muſt have certainly done had my Occaſions for it been urgent) that, Two Months after, I placed it in the *New South-Sea* Annuities, with 348 *l.* more, as appears by the Books. Where then, I repeat it, is the *immediate and preſſing Neceſſity* of having my Money returned to me? Is not my diſpoſing of it, as well as of the additional Sum, in the Manner I have ſaid, a plain Proof (I will not ſay a *Demonſtration*, the ill Uſe the *Unmasker* has made of that Word having given me a Diſtaſte to it) that I had no immediate Occaſion for it.

(Q) The Money was not repaid till the 20th of *June* 1747; and my Propoſals were publiſhed on the 25th of *March* of the ſame Year.

have

have the Capital returned. (Six Letters, p. 35.)

for that *vast Sollicitude* in his First Pamphlet. But having afterwards got new Intelligence, he was thereby *enabled*, as he tells us, *to account for it better than he did before.* Let us hear him.

Unm. B—— *was pressed to answer a Demand of* 500 l. *which he could not answer till the Jesuits repaid him his Money; and hence arose that* VAST SOLLICITUDE.

Ans. Thus he accounts *worse*, and not *better than he did before*, for that *vast Sollicitude*; the Demand of 500 *l.* not having been made till Three Years after the Money was repaid, as has been unanswerably proved. (*Answer to a new Charge, p.* 5. *Reply*, 14, 15.) And the *Unmasker* will, perhaps, be so candid as to own, that I could not be so very *sollicitous* to get my Money back, in order to answer a Demand that was not made till Three Years after I had got it back.—I *had taken*, it is true, *a Resolution to marry*, as the *Unmasker* observes, (*Full Confut. p.* 64.) but as I was in no Hurry to marry, nay, as I was not to marry, as I can prove, till I had published the First Volume of my History, the *Sollicitude* to get my Money back, and to get it back *immediately*, could not be owing to that Resolution. And thus does this *vast Sollicitude* still remain unaccounted for, after all the Pains the *Unmasker* has taken to account for it; and yet, till it is accounted for, my being so *vastly sollicitous* to get my Money back *immediately*, and my writing such Letters for that Purpose, must strike every Man of Sense, and forms a strong Proof of their not being genuine.

V. The Letters in question are supposed to have been written at the very time I was upon the point of publishing my History of the Popes, and of Popery; nay, and One of the Six, that were first brought out, but a Day or two before the Publication of my Proposals, with the First Page of the Preface. And can any Man think me capable of writing such Letters to the Superior of the Jesuits, and putting it thus in his Power, and the Power of every Jesuit, to ruin my Character with all my Protestant Friends, at the very time I was upon the point of provoking them in the manner I have done? Can any Man, I say, think me capable of acting so senseless a Part, merely

to

to get back from the Jeſuits a Sum of Money, which I did not want, which I knew they would return as ſoon as they conveniently could, and for which, in the mean time, they paid me moſt punctually an Intereſt of 7 *per Cent.* ? Are they, who do not believe me to have acted thus madly againſt all my Intereſts, againſt all Reaſon and common Senſe, *Fools* or *Knaves?* Names the *Unmasker* beſtows, with his uſual Politeneſs, on the moſt eminent Men of this Nation for Rank, as well as for Learning and Probity. As no Man of Senſe can ſuppoſe that I ſhould have acted ſo madly in my right Senſes, the Unmasker could have returned no better Anſwer to this Argument than that I was, in the Years 1746, 1747, ſeized with ſeveral Fits of Madneſs, and that, in thoſe Fits, I wrote the Letters in queſtion. Thus he would have accounted better than he can any otherwiſe do for this unaccountable Conduct in me. But this would not have ſerved his Purpoſe ſo well; and he has therefore undertaken to ſhew, that I might have acted ſo mad a Part in my right Senſes. The Reader will find the curious Arguments he alleges to prove it below.

Unm. *If there be any Force in this Way of Reaſoning, it will prove, that no ſenſible Man ever was, or ever can be a Rogue.* (Six Letters, p. 55.)

Anſ. It will prove no ſuch thing. But it proves what it was alleged to prove, *viz.* that no *ſenſible* Man can be ſuppoſed to have acted like a natural Fool and a Madman; and that I muſt have acted as ſuch if I wrote thoſe Letters.

Unm. B——r *knew very well, that Fathers* SHELDON *and* CARTERET *could not declare any thing to the World about his Tranſactions with them, without marking themſelves out as Popiſh Emiſſaries, and expoſing themſelves to legal Severities.* (p. 55.)

Anſ. I could not but know, that the penal Laws againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits lie dormant; that they make no Secret of their being Prieſts and Jeſuits; that *Carteret*, in particular, was acquainted with ſeveral Proteſtants of Rank and Diſtinction, was known by them to be what he was; and conſequently that the Fear of marking themſelves out as Popiſh Emiſſaries, and expoſing themſelves to legal Seve-

Severities, would not *reſtrain them from declaring any thing to the World about their Tranſactions with me*, if I ſhould provoke them.

Unm. B. *might be in hopes they would not drive him to Extremities; but endeavour to bring him back within the Pale of their Church, and not make ſuch a Return impoſſible.* (p. 55, 56.)

Anſ. How abſurdly does this Man talk! The Jeſuits, by declaring to the World my Tranſactions with them, and diſcrediting me with my Proteſtant Friends, would have made my Return to the Church and the Order neceſſary, had they been credited, inſtead of rendering it impoſſible.

Unm. *He might have Grounds to flatter himſelf, that the Jeſuits would not be forward in acquainting Proteſtants, that ſo much as one of the truſty Band had proved unfaithful; for Mr.* B. *as we have already obſerved, had induſtriouſly avoided telling us that he was a Jeſuit.* (p. 56.)

Anſ. I had it not indeed proclaimed at *Charing-croſs*, *Temple-bar*, and the *Royal Exchange*, that I had been a Jeſuit; but I made no Secret of it; and all who knew me, knew that I had belonged to that Order. The *Unmasker* himſelf ſuppoſes it to have been publicly known at the time I publiſhed my Propoſals for printing my Hiſtory; for he tells us, that *Proteſtants eagerly ſubſcribed to that Hiſtory, as being written by a Jeſuit*, &c. nay, I myſelf declared, in the very Firſt Page of my Preface, that I had been one of that Body. To ſay therefore, *that I had Grounds to flatter myſelf, that the Jeſuits would not be forward*, &c. is as much as to ſay, that I had Grounds to flatter myſelf, that the Jeſuits would rather chuſe to conceal my Tranſactions with them than diſcover what every-body knew, and I myſelf had publiſhed to the whole World. This is juſt ſuch a Secret as the Two mentioned above, p. 22.; only with this Difference, that thoſe were known to all but the *Unmasker*, and this was known even to him. He tells us, *he had already obſerved, that I had induſtriouſly concealed my having been a Jeſuit.* I could no-where meet with that Obſervation; but, be where it will, he here contradicts it; and likewiſe in Pages 28. 39. of his Firſt Pamphlet, telling us, that B. *paſſed ſometimes*

for what he really was, a Jeſuit; and that *he had been known for many Years in the Character of a Jeſuit.*

Unm. *There are ſo many different Points, in which a Thing may be viewed, that a Step, which one Perſon may call fooliſh and imprudent, or even the ſame Perſon, at another Time, may look upon to be eligible and wiſe. This Reflection is extremely applicable to the preſent Caſe.*

Anſ. Why then, Reverend Sir, do you not apply it to the preſent Caſe, and ſhew in what Point of View it might have appeared to me *wiſe and eligible* to write ſuch Letters, and riſque being undone, to get a Sum of Money back *immediately*, for which I had no *immediate* Occaſion, which never was refuſed me, which I was ſure would be returned, and for which, in the mean time, a very good Intereſt was punctually paid me? Till you place the Writing of thoſe Letters in ſuch a Point of View, all your *Chicane, Evaſions*, and *Sophiſtry*, will not affect in the leaſt my Argument; *viz.* that I ſhould have acted the Part of a Madman had I writ the Letters to SHELDON at the very Time I was upon the point of provoking the Jeſuits, and the whole Popiſh Party, in the Manner I have done; nay, and writ them immediately after I had thus provoked that never-forgiving and powerful Sect even in this Kingdom.

VI. In the Sixth, or the *farewel Letter*, as it is called, I am ſuppoſed to have written thus; *I muſt repair the crying Injuſtice I have done to an innocent Child, and to a Woman who has ſhewn the greateſt Kindneſs for me even in my Diſtreſs, and, in order to that, accept the advantageous Offer now made me by my Friends.* And in the Poſtſcript, *as for the Place, it will be a Fortnight before the Patent is made out.* Now, if this Letter be genuine, a Place was offered to me before the 25th of *March* 1747, the Day on which I publiſhed my Propoſals, with the Firſt Page of the Preface; for it is allowed that the farewel Letter was written before that time. But nothing is more certain than that no Place was asked or thought of for me by any of my Friends till after I had the Honour of preſenting to his Majeſty the Firſt Volume of my Hiſtory, which was on the 13th of *May* 1748. On the 10th of *September* 1748, Mr. *Say*, Keeper to the Queen's Library, died; and about the 20th of the ſame Month

one of my Friends, who lived in great Intimacy with the late Mr. *Pelham*, applied for that Place in my behalf. And this was the only Place that was ever promiſed me, or that my Friends ever asked for me. This Letter muſt therefore be allowed to be a Forgery, if falſe Dates are Marks of Forgery; and they are among the ſtrongeſt Marks. In Truth, this falſe Date aroſe from a falſe Report, which prevailed in the World when firſt it was known that I intended to write the Hiſtory of the Popes, *viz.* that I was encouraged to undertake it by the Promiſe of a Place; whereas no ſuch Promiſe was really made, or any Expectation of it conceived by me, till my Firſt Volume was publiſhed.

Unm. *There can be no Pretence for calling this a falſe Date, becauſe we have nothing but Mr.* B——r*'s own Interpretation to make us believe, that the Place, hinted at in the Sixth Letter, is the Place which Mr.* Say *enjoyed.* (Full Conf. p. 66.)

Anſ. That the Place, which Mr. *Say* enjoyed, was the only Place that was ever promiſed me, or that my Friends ever asked for me, they are all ready to atteſt. *We have therefore ſomething*, nay, we have undoubted Evidence, *beſides my Interpretation*, that the Place hinted at, was the Place that Mr. *Say* enjoyed; and this Letter muſt conſequently be a Forgery, if falſe Dates be allowed to be Marks of Forgery.

Unm. *Need we be ſurpriſed to find an imaginary Place, or an imaginary Woman, brought by him into a Letter, when the End he drove at in his Letter, the Recovery of his Money, could be promoted by ſuch Fictions?* (Ibid. p. 67.)

Anſ. We well *need be ſurpriſed*, and every Man, who has but one Grain of common Senſe, muſt be ſurpriſed, to find *an imaginary Woman, or an imaginary Place, brought by me into a Letter*, in order to promote the Recovery of a Sum of Money, which I did not want, which I was very ſure would be repaid me, and for which I received, in the mean time, an Intereſt of 7 *per Cent.* ſecured by a Bond till the Principal was repaid.

VII. In the Sixth Letter I am made *heartily to wiſh, that it were in the Power of the Provincial to make me eaſy in a* FORTNIGHT, *and prevent the impending Ruin*; and yet I publiſhed my Propoſals,

with the Firſt Page of the Preface, which was putting it out of his Power to *prevent the impending* Ruin, before the FORTNIGHT elapſed; nay, the very next Day, or the Day after, I am ſuppoſed to have written that Letter, as I have ſhewn in my *Anſwer*, p. 90. And who can believe that I ſhould have allowed the Provincial a Fortnight to make me eaſy with reſpect to an Affair, that I had above all things at heart, and broken off all Correſpondence with him before I knew whether he could, or could not, make me eaſy in that Time? Of this Objection the *Unmasker* himſelf was aware; and how does he ſolve it? Why, by ſuppoſing (not by proving, or attempting to prove) my Preface, dated the 25th of *March*, not to have been publiſhed till the Month of *April*, when the Fortnight was elapſed; a Suppoſition not only groundleſs, but highly abſurd, as ſhall ſoon be made to appear.

The Jeſuits had produced Six Letters in 1756, pretended to have been written by me to *Sheldon*, and, in the Sixth, had made me take my final Leave of him; which was therefore ſuppoſed to be my *laſt and farewel Letter*. But, encouraged by the Reception the *Six* had met with from *ſome*, eſpecially from the *Unmasker*, they ventured the following Year, 1757, to produce *another laſt Letter*, and may produce as many *more laſt Letters* as they pleaſe. But, not to repeat the Reaſons I have juſt alleged to prove the Improbability of my correſponding with *Sheldon* at all, I ſhall obſerve here, with reſpect to this Seventh in particular;

1ſt, That it is dated *March* 27, 1747; and conſequently ſuppoſed to have been written after I had publiſhed my Propoſals for printing the Hiſtory of the Popes; that is, after I had pulled off the Mask, and openly declared War againſt the Pope, and all his Adherents. And can any Man think that, after I had taken ſuch a Step, the Jeſuits would ſtill have believed me ſincere? or, if they did not, that they would have kept me Company, as they are ſuppoſed to have done; that any one of them would have admitted me into his Room, would have taken upon him to convey a Letter from ſuch a baſe, canting, perfidious Hypocrite to the Provincial, or that he would have received it (P)?

(P) As *Sheldon* the Provincial, ſuſpected of treaſonable Practices, had retired into the Country, but had not truſted me, ſay they, ſo far as to make me acquainted with the Place of his Retreat, tho' I had *given him ſuch Proofs of my Sincerity as left no room to queſtion it*, the Letters are ſuppoſed to have been conveyed to him by the Jeſuits here in Town.

2dly,

2dly, From this Letter it appears, that *Sheldon* anſwered my Sixth, and gave me ſome Hopes of having my Money returned (Q). Now, if the Six Letters be genuine, I expreſſed, for the Space of Two whole Years, the greateſt *Sollicitude* imaginable to have my Money repaid me; and, if the Seventh be genuine, I broke off all Correſpondence with thoſe who were to return it, as ſoon as they encouraged me to hope that at laſt it would be returned. If the Jeſuits can, with all their Sophiſtry, and even their Oaths, make any Man ſwallow ſuch Improbabilities, they need not deſpair of being ſoon able to make him ſwallow *Tranſubſtantiation* itſelf. The *Unmasker*, however, who has undertaken the Cauſe of the Papiſts and Jeſuits, and muſt not be convinced, makes ſlight of this Argument, and returns to it the following Anſwer.

Unm. *Though he had Hopes given him, he had, in the Poſtſcript to the Sixth, already told Mr.* SHELDON, *that he* MUST MAKE HIM EASY WITHIN A FORTNIGHT. *If therefore that Fortnight elapſed without any Certainty of his being made eaſy, we ſee a plain Reaſon why he ſhould cloſe his Correſpondence, ſhould throw off the Mask immediately after, ſhould publiſh his Preface,* &c. (Complete and final Detection, *&c.* p. 11.)

Anſ. My Propoſals, with the Firſt Page of my Preface, were publiſhed before the Seventh Letter is ſuppoſed to have been written; for the Letter is dated *March* 27, 1747; and my Propoſals bear Date *March* 25, 1747: So that, if the Letter be genuine, the Jeſuits conveyed a Letter from me to the Provincial, even after I had pulled off the Mask, and he received it; than which nothing has yet been advanced, either by them or by the *Unmasker* himſelf, more abſurd and incredible.

Unm. *The Date that appears on* B——r's *Preface*, viz. March 25, 1747, *is the Date of its be-*

Anſ. The Plea is too abſurd and ridiculous to deſerve a ſerious Anſwer; ſince all Men muſt take

(Q) This is plainly hinted at in theſe Words of the Seventh Letter: *Your Letter has revived me; it gives me ſome Hopes of being ſtill ſaved by your Means*; for nothing elſe could *revive me* in the Circumſtances I am ſuppoſed to have been at that time; and by no other means could *Sheldon ſave* me but by repaying me the Money, and thereby enabling me to ſatisfy the Woman and her Relations, who are ſuppoſed, in the Letters, to have inſiſted, as well as ſhe, on my returning her Fortune to her, or continuing to live with her.

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ing ſent to the Preſs, and not the Date of its Publication. It was ſent to the Preſs on the 25th of March; *but was not publiſhed till* April, *after he had written the Seventh Letter.*

it for granted, that my Preface, dated *March* 25, was, till the Unmasker has proved that it was not, publiſhed at that time. Beſides, do not all Printers mark on the Books and the Papers they print the Day or the Year when they were printed off or publiſhed, without any regard to the Time they were ſent to the Preſs? But I have made it undeniably appear from the Letter itſelf, dated *March* 27, that my Preface was publiſhed before it was written. (*See my Reply to a ſcurrilous Libel*, p. 46.) But what is ſaid there, the Unmasker has *candidly* overlooked; and giving himſelf an Air of Victory, as if he had *demonſtrated* the Letter in queſtion to have been written after the Publication of the Preface, *I ſhould not*, ſays he, *have thought it neceſſary to take any notice of this miſerable Attempt to prove the Forgery of the Seventh Letter, if I had not learned with Surprize, that one of* B——r's *Friends, a Gentleman of Senſe and Learning, was greatly pleaſed with it. Can it be poſſible that Prejudice ſhould have ſuch Power! And yet I will not ſuſpect other Motives.* Who can but admire this Man's charitable Diſpoſition and Temper in not ſuſpecting *a Gentleman of Learning and Senſe* to be influenced by any *other Motives*, but *the Power of Prejudice*, in believing the Date, that appears on my printed Preface, to be the Date of its Publication, and not the Date of its being ſent to the Preſs! *Can it be poſſible that Prejudice ſhould have ſuch Power* as to make a Man believe, that the Printer of my Propoſals and the Preface dated them, as he, and every other Printer, date all the Books and Papers they print? Prejudice ſurely can have no ſuch Power; and yet this Pattern of Charity *will not ſuſpect other Motives.* It is by thus expreſſing the greateſt Surprize that Men of Senſe and Learning ſhould not be convinced by his Arguments, he has made his ignorant and inattentive Readers believe, that they really carry Conviction along with them; though they cannot but appear, even to them, when placed in their true Light, not only abſurd, but ridiculous (R).

And

(R) That *the Publication of my Propoſals and Preface did not happen till* March 27, *whatever Date they may bear*, is poſitively aſſerted by the Author of *the Gentleman's Magazine* (1). And upon what is this ſo poſitive Aſſertion of his founded? Why,

(1) Magazine for *March*, 1757.

And now that I have laid before the World the *Unmasker*'s Arguments proving the Letters in queſtion to be genuine, with my Anſwers to them, and my Arguments proving them to be a *bare-faced, palpable Forgery*, with his Anſwers, I ſhall leave the World to judge, after hearing the Accuſed, as well as the Accuſer, which of the Two has Reaſon on his Side, whether his Arguments, or my Anſwers, my Arguments, or his Anſwers, are *mere Chicane, Jeſuitical Sophiſtry, ſhuffling Evaſions*, &c. I ſaid, *which of the Two has* REASON *on his Side*; for, as to *poſitive Evidence*, I own it to be, ſuch as it is, againſt me; but cannot allow *the oppoſing only by Reaſonings Matters of Fact*, or Facts atteſted by poſitive Evidence, *to have a very ſuſpicious Aſpect*, as the *Unmasker* pretends [a]. For when ſuch Facts are charged upon one, as, in their very Nature, admit of no poſitive Evidence, no Man of common Senſe, beſides the *Unmasker*, will own the *oppoſing of them by Reaſonings to have a ſuſpicious Aſpect*. Now, in the Nature of the Thing, no poſitive Evidence can be had to prove that I did not write the Letters in queſtion; and, had the *Unmasker* himſelf been charged with writing them, he could only by Reaſonings have confuted that Charge.

And now that we are come to the *Unmasker*'s laſt Proof of the Genuineneſs of the Letters, or, as I may call it, his Sheet-anchor, *Poſitive Evidence*, the Jeſuits, my *beſt Friends*, have, it muſt be owned, furniſhed him with Abundance of *poſitive Evidence*, with a Cloud of Witneſſes, all atteſting, nay, and ready to make Oath, that the Seven Letters to *Sheldon* were written by me. But as poſitive Evidence, be it ever ſo poſitive, wants as much to be examined as any other Proof, and may be found, upon Examination, quite as defective and precarious as even the weakeſt, either on account of

[a] Six Letters, p. 56.

Why, it has no Foundation at all; but is, on the contrary, repugnant to the Practice of Printers in general, as I have ſhewn. If no Regard is to be had to the Date my Preface actually bears, I ſee no Reaſon why it ſhould be ſaid to have been publiſhed *March* 27, rather than *April* or *May* 27. Indeed it matters little, after all, whether it was publiſhed in *March*, *April*, *May*, or in any other Month; for it was as publicly known *March* 1747, and long before, that I intended to publiſh a Hiſtory of the Popes, as it was when the Preface appeared: and ſeveral Hundred Receipts were diſpoſed of before *March* 1747. Of this the Jeſuits could not be ignorant; nor could they ſuppoſe, that the Hiſtory was in favour of the Popes, as the Subſcription was promoted by Perſons of known Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion: And yet they received a Letter from me, and conveyed it to the Provincial! Who can believe it!

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the Improbability of the Facts thereby atteſted, or of the Characters of thoſe, whoſe poſitive Evidence is alleged to atteſt them; it will not, I hope, be thought foreign to the Purpoſe, if I here examine this ſo much boaſted *poſitive Evidence*, with reſpect to theſe Two material Points, the *Improbability of the Facts that are atteſted; and the Characters of thoſe who atteſt them.*

And, in the Firſt place, as to the Improbability of the Facts, it is ſuch as ſcarce any Evidence, even the moſt unexceptionable, is ſufficient to prove. The Facts are, that, in the Year 1745, I returned to the Church of *Rome* and the Order of the Jeſuits; and no Motive whatever, either ſpiritual or temporal, can be aſſigned that induced me to take ſuch an extraordinary Step [b]; and this after I had acquired, by leading a moſt laborious and toilſome Life for the Space of near Twenty Years, a Competency to live on quite independent, and when I was honoured with the Friendſhip of many Proteſtants of Rank and Abilities, both able and willing to ſerve me: That Father *Sheldon*, and the reſt of the Jeſuits, believed me, for the Space of Two Years, a ſincere Penitent, returned to the Church and the Order, though, during that time, I never performed any of the Duties, which, as a Papiſt and a Jeſuit, I was indiſpenſably obliged to perform; but acted openly, in a manner to have drawn on myſelf the Cenſures of *Rome*, though I had never incurred them before [c]: That, to get back a Sum of Money from the Jeſuits, I pretended, that the Money was not mine, but a Woman's who had a Child; and the good Fathers believed it without any Inquiry, though, if there was no ſuch Woman, or if the Money did not belong to her, it muſt have been theirs, and though nothing could be more eaſy than to make that Inquiry [d]: That, to have the Money repaid me *immediately*, I wrote the Letters in queſtion, expreſſing as violent a Deſire to get it back *then*, as if my Life or my Liberty were at Stake, though I had no immediate Occaſion for the Whole, or for any Part of that Sum [e]: That I wrote the ſaid Letters to the Provincial of the Jeſuits, when I was upon the point of provoking the whole Order in the manner I have done, and thus put it in his Power, and the Power of every other Jeſuit, to ruin my Character with all my Proteſtant Friends; and this with no other View or Deſign but to prevail on the Provincial to return me *immediately* a Sum of Money which I did not want, which I was very ſure would be returned in

[b] See above, p. 29. [c] Above, p. 26. [d] Above, p. 31. [e] Above, p. 32.

due Time, and for which I was, in the mean while, moſt punctually paid a very good Intereſt, and had a Bond for the Payment of it till the Principal was returned [f]: That, having thus put it in the Power of the Jeſuits to ruin my Credit and Fortune in *England*, I immediately proceeded to irritate them as much as I could, by publiſhing my Intention to attack the whole Syſtem of the Popiſh Religion, though I could have engaged at that very Time in a Work that would have proved more to my Advantage, and could have given them no Offence [g]: That even after I had pulled off the Mask, and the Jeſuits could no longer entertain the leaſt Doubt of my Hypocriſy, Baſeneſs, and Treachery, I wrote a Letter to the Provincial, offering to go to what Part ſoever of the known World it ſhould pleaſe him to ſend me; and that Letter the Jeſuits received, and conveyed it to him, inſtead of flinging it in my Face, *&c.* [h]

Theſe are the Facts, theſe the Improbabilities, or rather Impoſſibilities, that they atteſt, who atteſt the Letters to be genuine. I ſay *Impoſſibilities*; for that a Man in his right Senſes ſhould act ſo madly as I muſt have acted, if I wrote the Letters in queſtion, is, if not abſolutely impoſſible, next to impoſſible, and what can gain no Credit with Men of any Judgment or Senſe, unleſs ſupported by the moſt unexceptionable *Evidence* the World affords. And what Evidence is alleged to prove, that I really acted ſo mad a Part while I enjoyed the Uſe of my Reaſon and Senſes? Why, no better Evidence than that of a few ſculking Jeſuits; that is, of Men who think it not only lawful, but meritorious, to lye and calumniate, nay, and to confirm with the moſt ſolemn Oaths their Lies and Calumnies, when the Honour or the Advantage of their Church or their Order is at Stake, agreeably to their received Maxim, *the End juſtifies the Means.* That the Jeſuits hold and teach that execrable Doctrine, I have proved out of their moſt eminent Divines and Caſuiſts [i]; and that they practiſed it ſo late as 1724, though it had been long before condemned by Pope *Innocent* XI. ſufficiently appears from the Affair of the unhappy City of *Thorn*, where ſo many innocent Proteſtants were moſt cruelly butchered *by the wicked Artifices of the Jeſuits, of the worthleſs Jeſuits, by their falſe Accuſations and Calumnies, to which the Depoſitions of their ſuborned Witneſſes had given ſome Appearance of Truth*, as the late King of *Pruſſia* ex-

[f] Above, p. 33. [g] Above, p. 34. [h] Above, p. 39. [i] Reply, p. 34, & ſeq.

preſſed himſelf in the Letters he wrote on that Occaſion to our late King, and the late King of *Poland*, after the ſtricteſt Inquiries into the whole Affair [k] (R). To what I have ſaid in my *Reply* [l] (to which I refer the Reader), in relation to the Jeſuitical Doctrines concerning Equivocations, mental Reſtrictions and Reſervations, with the Help of which they can elude the moſt awful Oaths, and think it lawful, I ſhall add here a Doctrine that is taught by one of the moſt learned Caſuiſts of the Order, and is quite appoſite to the preſent Caſe; *viz.* that *it is no mortal Sin to calumniate when thought neceſſary to preſerve one's Honour. It is a probable Opinion*, ſays the great Father *Caramuel*, *that it is no mortal Sin to calumniate falſly for the ſake of preſerving one's Honour; for it is maintained by above Twenty grave Doctors: So that, if this Doctrine be not probable, there is hardly any ſuch in the whole Body of Divinity* [m]. The Honour of the Order, charged with a notorious Piece of Forgery, is at Stake in the preſent Controverſy: And can any but the moſt Jeſuited Papiſt think, that the Jeſuits would ſcruple, for the ſake of preſerving it, to practiſe a Doctrine maintained by above Twenty grave Doctors, when, according to their Principles, the Authority of one grave Doctor makes a Practice *probably* lawful, and conſequently ſafe?

I ſhall now proceed to ſhew, that the Jeſuits have actually practiſed this Doctrine in the Courſe of the preſent Diſpute; that they have *calumniated me falſly*, and in more Inſtances than one; and conſequently that their Evidence or Teſtimony, far from proving Facts in the higheſt Degree improbable, is not ſufficient to prove

[k] See my Reply, p. 36, 37. [l] P. 34, 35, &c. [m] Provinc. Letters, p. 363.

(R) One of theſe unhappy Men, who was quartered for committing Diſorders in the Jeſuits College, ſolemnly declared, upon receiving the Sacrament a little before his Execution, that, in the whole Courſe of his Life, he had never once ſet foot in their College, tho' the falſe Witneſſes had depoſed the contrary, and confirmed their Depoſitions by Oath. It was afterwards found, that one of the Jeſuits Witneſſes was not even in the City during the Tumult; and he owned it. But being aſked how he could depoſe as he had done, and, by his Oath, occaſion the Death of ſo many innocent Perſons, he replied, *the* Lutherans, *and all other Heretics, are conſidered by us* Roman *Catholics as People condemned to the Flames; and when we can contribute to bring one of them to them, the Church teaches us, that we do a meritorious Work in the Sight of God.* When they repreſented to him that it was a Cruelty unbecoming a Chriſtian, he had no other Anſwer to make, but that *he and the other Witneſſes had been very well inſtructed by the Jeſuits; and beſides, that the Excommunication which the Holy Father fulminates yearly at* Rome *againſt Heretics, ſufficiently quieted their Conſciences.* And theſe are the Men, whoſe *Teſtimony is as convincing as the moſt peremptory Affidavit!*

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even the moſt probable; it being an obvious Principle, that *a Witneſs convicted in one Inſtance of giving falſe Teſtimony, is credible in none.* They charged me at firſt with robbing the Inquiſition, and to that Robbery they imputed my precipitate Flight out of *Italy*; pretending at the ſame time, that it could be ſhewn, *under my own Hand*, that I had renounced the Catholic Religion becauſe I was not preferred to a Biſhopric, as I have obſerved above [n]. But this Charge they have quite dropped, tho' they had even been at the Trouble of forging Letters to confirm it; and the other they now own to be falſe and quite groundleſs, aſcribing my Flight to an Affair of a very different Nature. Thus they ſtand convicted, upon their own Confeſſion, of *calumniating me falſly* in Two Inſtances, and are therefore, agreeably to the received Principle, *credible in none.* And here it is to be obſerved, that the Number of ſuch Witneſſes, be they ever ſo many, adds no Weight to their Evidence, as they all act upon the ſame wicked Principles, and aim at the ſame End.

They had not yet, it ſeems, agreed among themſelves what my Flight out of *Italy* ſhould be aſcribed to when they gave out, that it was owing to my robbing the holy Inquiſition, and have therefore, upon more mature Deliberation, ſubſtituted to that Robbery a criminal Converſation with a Nun, of ſuch a Nature as made it cognizable by the holy Tribunal; and to that Converſation my Flight is imputed in an anonymous Letter from *Rome*, whereof the Contents are atteſted by the Three Jeſuits *Alticozzi*, *Convers*, and *Lunardi*, all Three *eminent Jeſuits*, as they are ſtiled by the *Unmasker*, who never fails to tack ſome ſuch diſtinguiſhing Epithet to the Name of every Jeſuit whom he has Occaſion to mention, as if the Society of Jeſuits (a Generation of Vipers that Popery itſelf is almoſt afraid of) were a Society of the beſt Men upon Earth. I do not at all doubt but the Three *eminent* Jeſuits have atteſted, and are even ready to confirm upon Oath, the Contents of that Letter; but it will be no difficult Task to prove, that, in atteſting them, they have atteſted what they themſelves knew, and could not but know, to be falſe.

And to begin with the main Charge, the pretended *criminal Converſation:* The Writer of the Letter tells us, that B——r *being ſent to* Macerata *to teach Philoſophy, he was there over Head and Ears in Love with a Nun of Quality; and that the Affair was carried to the Inquiſition, for it properly belonged to that Tribunal,* B——r

[n] See above, p. 7.

being the Lady's ghoſtly Father.—I was not the Lady's ghoſtly Father, as I have ſhewn in my Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p. 55, 56. But ſhould it be allowed that I was, it would not follow from thence, that *the Affair*, whatever it was, belonged on that account to the Inquiſition, unleſs it was tranſacted in the Act of ſacramental Confeſſion, or immediately before or after it; inſomuch that, by the Papal Bulls, a Confeſſor would have nothing to fear from the Inquiſition, ſhould he even commit a Rape upon his Penitent, if he did not ſollicit her in the Act of ſacramental Confeſſion, in the Confeſſion-ſeat, or immediately before or after Confeſſion. *(See my Anſwer, p. 56, 57.)* Of this the Three *eminent Meſſieurs*, as they are called, could not be ignorant, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to be utterly unacquainted with Bulls, that are well known to every Country Curate in *Italy*, and are publicly read twice a Year in all religious Communities. The Three Jeſuits, therefore, could not atteſt, that *the Affair belonged properly*, or at all, *to the Inquiſition, becauſe I was the Lady's ghoſtly Father*, without atteſting what they knew to be falſe.

In the ſame Letter it is ſaid, that *I denounced myſelf, and adviſed the Lady to do the ſame, in order to prevent any further Proſecution; but that this had not the deſired Effect, a voluntary Confeſſion not being admitted in any Crime between a Confeſſarius and his Penitent.*—Here the Three *emminent Jeſuits* again atteſt what they knew to be falſe; there being no Confeſſor in all *Italy* who does not know, that, ſhould a Confeſſor ſollicit his Penitent in the Act of ſacramental Confeſſion, and denounce himſelf, *it would have the deſired Effect*, and *prevent all further Proſecution.* Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in *Piazza's* Account of the Inquiſition; and to his Authority the Unmasker will not object, as he has ſo often appealed to it (S).

(S) *A Gentlewoman*, ſays *Piazza*, p. 70. *came to impeach a Friar of St.* Auſtin *in the Inquiſition (at* Oſimo), *for having holden with her lewd Diſcourſes while ſhe was in the Act of making to him her Confeſſion; but our Friar found out cunningly a Way of eſcaping all Sort of Danger; for having, perhaps, luckily heard of the Gentlewoman's coming to the Inquiſition, he wiſely gueſſing, or doubting the Deſign of it, got preſently on Horſeback, and, at the ſame time ſhe was uttering her Denunciation at* Oſimo, *he went to* Ancona *to the Inquiſitor General, where* HE ENJOYED THE IMPUNITY BY HIS VOLUNTARY CONFESSION AND ACCUSATION. A voluntary Confeſſion therefore *is admitted* in a Crime between a Confeſſarius and his Penitent; and the Three Jeſuits atteſted what they knew to be falſe in atteſting that *it is not admitted*, unleſs we ſuppoſe them not to have known what every Country Curate knows in the Countries where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed.

The Inquiſitor, adds the Writer of the Letter, *interceded with his Superiors to let him ſtay at* Macerata, *alleging other Pretences; but his true Reaſon was to keep him there till he had ſufficient Proofs againſt him to lay hold of him*——Had the Inquiſitor, under any Pretence whatſoever, interceded with my Superiors to let me ſtay at *Macerata*, they durſt not have removed me. Beſides, the Inquiſitor had already, according to them, *ſufficient Proof againſt me to lay hold of me*, my own Confeſſion; and therefore needed not to have interceded with my Superiors, *&c.*

His Superiors had, it ſeems, heard too much to leave him any longer at Macerata: *He was therefore ordered to* Perugia; *and very ſoon after his Arrival there, he had notice from Three different Hands, that a* CAPIATUR *was given out againſt him by the Inquiſition.*——I denounced myſelf, according to their Account, to the Inquiſition; found that my Denunciation or voluntary Confeſſion was not admitted; and conſequently could no longer doubt of their being determined to bring me to condign Puniſhment, that is, to confine me, after I had undergone the uſual Torture, for Seven Years to a Dungeon, the Puniſhment inflicted by the Laws of the Inquiſition on ſolliciting Confeſſors: And yet, with this dreadful Doom hanging over my Head, I continued at *Macerata*, though at full Liberty to make my Eſcape; nay, and being ordered from thence to *Perugia*, Two Days Journey diſtant from *Macerata*, I was ſo careleſs, ſo intirely forgetful of my own Safety, ſo abſolutely deſtitute of all common Senſe, as to repair to a Place where I was no ſafer than at *Macerata* itſelf, inſtead of laying hold of ſo favourable an Opportunity to get out of the Reach of the Inquiſition, as I am ſaid to have done ſoon after. Can any Man, who is not as deſtitute of all common Senſe as I muſt have been if I had acted ſo mad a Part, believe me to have acted ſo madly?—The Writer of this Letter, and the Three *eminent* Jeſuits, who atteſt the Contents of it, ſuppoſe, one would think, the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* never to have read, nor ſo much as have heard of the Inquiſition: For who ever read, who ever heard of that Tribunal, and does not know, that its Orders are never *given out* or publiſhed, but executed, with the utmoſt Secrecy, by ſome of the Miniſters of the Tribunal itſelf? (*See my Anſwer, p.* 60, 61.)

The Inquiſitor is ſaid, in that curious Piece, to have *given out a* CAPIATUR or an Order to apprehend me, ſoon after I was gone from

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Macerata. But how came he to let me go from *Macerata*, when I was convicted, upon my own Confeſſion, of the Crime for which he wanted *to lay hold of me*, and when he muſt have taken it for granted, that, if I was not ſtark mad, I ſhould lay hold of that Opportunity to make my Eſcape? And how abſurdly is he made to *give out*, or to publiſh a *Capiatur* at *Macerata*, inſtead of ſecretly tranſmitting it to his Brother Inquiſitor at *Perugia*, who would have put it in Execution before my Friends were acquainted, or could acquaint me with it, as they are ſaid to have done? If the Contents of the Letter be true, the Conduct of the Inquiſitor was no leſs unaccountable than mine; and it will be hard to determine which of the Two acted moſt in Oppoſition to all common Senſe. But Father *Conyers* certainly acted as ſenſeleſs a Part as either of us; for when I would have communicated to him the Letters I had received from my Friends at *Macerata*, informing me of the *Capiatur given out by the Inquiſition againſt me, he refuſed to hear them, not to draw himſelf into Difficulties*; and yet *procured me Money enough to carry me to* Venice, *and recommended me to one there, who ſupplied me with what I wanted to continue my Journey to* Douay, that is, till I was quite out of the Reach of the Inquiſition; which was drawing himſelf into greater Difficulties, ſince he became by that means acceſſory to my Eſcape.—As for the Three Friends who gave me notice of the *Capiatur*, they muſt have been true Friends indeed, ſuch Friends as are now-a-days ſeldom to be met with; ſince they ventured, at ſo critical a Juncture, to write Letters to me by the common Poſt, that Father *Conyers*, tho' of the ſame Order, would not ſo much as *ſuffer to be read to him, not to draw himſelf into Difficulties.*

And thus far of this famous Letter, as it relates to my pretended criminal Converſation with a Nun: And I do not at all doubt but every Man of any Candour or Senſe will conclude, from the many Abſurdities, Improbabilities, Inconſiſtencies, and Contradictions, which I have unanſwerably ſhewn it to be fraught with, that the Three *eminent* Jeſuits have evidently atteſted what they knew to be falſe; that the ſaid Correſpondence is a mere Invention of theirs with reſpect to every Circumſtance, that could make it criminal; and conſequently that they have *calumniated* me as *falſly* in aſcribing my Flight to it, as they did in imputing it to my having robbed the holy Inquiſition. As it was agreed among thoſe good Fathers that my

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Eſcape out of *Italy* ſhould be owing to ſome *black Affair*, ſome *black Attempt* or other, they had, perhaps, better have kept to their Firſt Tale or Invention, the Robbery; for, had they done ſo, and procur'd, as they eaſily might, from Father *Zabberoni*, Inquiſitor General, an *authentic* Inventory, *ſealed with the Seal of Office*, of all the valuable Effects belonging to his Tribunal, that I had ſacrilegiouſly carried off in my Flight, I ſhould ſcarce have been able to confute that Charge ſo effectually, as I have done the pretended criminal Converſation, which they have ſubſtituted in its room.

Let us now hear the Advocate for the Jeſuits, *returning, in very few Words, an effectual Anſwer to this long Comment of mine*, as he calls it, upon the Letter before us.

Unm. *Had he looked into the* Romiſh *Canoniſts, he would have found, that the Papal Bulls concerning the Sollicitation of Penitents, have received this Interpretation, that Seduction in a Cloiſter ſhould be looked upon as Seduction in the Confeſſional.* (Full Confut. p. 23.)

Anſ. Confeſſors are tried, in all Caſes of that Nature, by the Papal Bulls, in their natural and obvious Senſe, without any Regard to the arbitrary Interpretations of the Canoniſts; and therefore, as no Diſtinction is made in thoſe Bulls between a Nun and any other Woman, the Solliciting of a Nun can be cognizable by the Inquiſition in ſuch Caſes only, as the Solliciting of any other Woman would be cognizable by that Tribunal. Beſides, I have ſhewn, that, had I ſollicited the Nun in the very Act of ſacramental Confeſſion, and denounced myſelf, as I am ſaid in the Letter to have done, *it would have prevented all further Proſecution*; and conſequently that my Flight out of *Italy* could not be owing, as is atteſted by the Jeſuits, to any Proſecution carried on againſt me by the Inquiſition on account of the ſuppoſed Correſpondence, had it even come under the Cognizance of that Court.

Unm. *Hath Mr.* Bower *offered any thing to prove, that he did not actually ſollicit the Nun during the very Act of Confeſſion? Far from doing this*, &c. (Ibid. p. 22, 23.)

Anſ. If the Unmasker has read what I have ſaid in my *Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet*, p. 58. he muſt bluſh, if he has any Senſe of Shame; for I have ſaid there, that I never had ſeen the Nun when

when I heard her Confeſſion, if I ever did hear it; that I never heard her Confeſſion after I ſaw her; and that I cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to have ſollicited her in the Act of ſacramental Confeſſion: And was not this *offering ſomething* to prove that *I did not ſollicit the Nun during the very Act of Confeſſion?*

Unm. *Far from doing this, he admits, that the Charge might be poſſibly true, by owning, that he was appointed, for ſome little Time, Confeſſor extraordinary to the Nunnery in which ſhe was; that in all likelihood he heard her Confeſſion; that he was acquainted with, and viſited her; which can ſerve only to confirm every capable Reader in the Truth of the whole Story, as related in the Letter from* Italy. (Ibid. p. 23.)

Anſ. I have juſt ſhewn, that the Charge of ſolliciting that Nun in the Act of ſacramental Confeſſion could not be poſſibly true. I have indeed owned, that I was afterwards *acquainted with, and viſited her.* But can that *ſerve to confirm every capable Reader in the Truth of the whole Story,* viz. of my carrying on a criminal Correſpondence with her! Were it rumoured about in the Neighbourhood of the famous *Hannah Hoyles*, that the *Unmasker* carried on a criminal Correſpondence with that *Lady*; would his owning that *he was acquainted with and viſited her* (perhaps as often, if ſhe is to be credited, as I ever viſited the Nun *Buonaccorſi*), ſerve to confirm every capable Man in the Truth of that Story? Father *Lunardi*, one of our *eminent* Witneſſes, owns, that he *has been ſince* VERY WELL *acquainted with the Lady:* And how would he clear himſelf, ſhould his Brethren take it into their Heads to arraign him too of criminally converſing with her? Should that Jeſuit ever be ſo happy as to diſcover and renounce, as ſincerely as I have done, the deteſtable Errors of Popery, let him fly to the honeſt Proteſtants of *Germany*, and never think of taking Refuge in a Country, where his owning that he *was very well acquainted with the Lady*, will be urged as a convincing Proof of his having criminally converſed with her, and he too be thereupon told by the *Proteſtant Divine*, whom the Jeſuits have got to drive their ſtrayed Sheep back to the Fold, that the *Church of* England *is no Aſylum for the Outcaſts of the Church of* Rome. But, after all, the Jeſuits have ſhewn themſelves, I muſt own it, in ſome degree, my Friends, in confining the Charge to one Nun only; for,

for, as I *was acquainted with and viſited* ſeveral other Nuns of the ſame and of other Monaſteries, they might have impeached me of a criminal Intercourſe with them all; and the ſame Argument would have *ſerved to confirm every capable Reader in the Truth of the whole Story.*——Surely this Man writes only for the Mob, or for ſuch as their Prejudices have put upon the Level with the Mob. I have ſhewn, that had I ſollicited the Nun in the very Act of ſacramental Confeſſion, and denounced myſelf, I ſhould have had nothing to fear from the Inquiſition. He anſwers, that Seduction in a Cloiſter is looked upon by the *Romiſh* Canoniſts as Seduction in the Confeſſional; and that I have offered nothing to prove that I did not ſollicit the Nun in the very Act of ſacramental Confeſſion; which he could not but know to be falſe. One would think we were at croſs Purpoſes; and yet this Man has the Confidence to call that Anſwer, abſurd, ridiculous, and quite foreign to the Purpoſe as it is, *an effectual Anſwer.* But ſuch an *effectual Anſwer* I leave to the Contempt of every Reader, whom Prejudice has not bereaved of all common Senſe.

I ſhall add here, that Lord *Aylmer*'s Friends could hear nothing of what I am charged with in this Letter, upon the ſtricteſt Inquiries concerning my Character, made only a Twelvemonth after I left *Italy (See my Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet*, p. 33.); nor did any-body elſe ever hear of that, or any other *black Affair*, or *black Attempt*, till I publiſhed my Propoſals for printing the *Hiſtory of the Popes*, tho' I had lived Twenty Years in ENGLAND before I undertook that Work: A plain Proof this that it was to be revenged upon me for undertaking it, that the Jeſuits have publiſhed that and ſo many other Lies againſt me. And here I beg leave to ask even thoſe Proteſtants, who believe all they have ſaid to defame me, whether it is becoming in a Proteſtant Clergyman to ſecond them therein, and make himſelf the Inſtrument of their Revenge.

Before I anſwer what is ſaid in the ſame Letter from *Rome* concerning my Behaviour, or the Character I bore in the Society, I muſt inform the Reader, that tho' the Jeſuits are tied to the Order after Two Years Probation, the Order is not tied to them; and they may be diſmiſſed by the General, upon any Misbehaviour, before they have made their laſt Vows, or ſolemn Profeſſion of Four Vows. By that Profeſſion the Order is reciprocally tied to them; and therefore none are allowed to make it till after many Years Probation, during which their Conduct is narrowly watched; and if

they any-ways misbehave, ſo as to bring the leaſt Diſgrace on the Order, if the Rectors of the Colleges, where they have lived, have any thing material to object to their Characters, they are not ſuffered to make their laſt Vows, but diſmiſſed. This long Probation I underwent, and *made ſolemn Profeſſion of Four Vows*, after I had been Sixteen Years in the Order, as is declared by Father *Ridolfi*, Provincial of the *Roman* Province, in his *Certificate*[a].

From what has been ſaid, it evidently follows, that, for the Space of Sixteen Years, the Jeſuits found nothing in my Conduct, how narrowly ſoever obſerved, that, in their Opinion, rendered me unworthy of being preferred to the higheſt Rank in the Order, that of the Profeſſed of Four Vows: And yet the Writer of the Letter from *Rome*, and his Three *eminent* Brethren, who atteſt the Contents of it, declare, that *I was ſcarce out of my Noviceſhip, when* DAVA IN AMORI, that is, when I began my Amours; ſuch Amours as even the *Unmasker* is aſhamed to ſpecify; that *I continued them at* Rome, under the Eyes of the General, and all the great Men of the Order, *during the Two Years I ſtudied Philoſophy, and the Four I ſtudied Divinity; and that I was looked upon by all, that knew me, to be a deceitful, falſe Man, and a notorious Liar*; which, in effect, is declaring to the World, as I was nevertheleſs admitted to *make ſolemn Profeſſion of Four Vows*, that a Man's *being falſe and deceitful, being a notorious Liar*, and *a known Whoremonger, Adulterer, or Sodomite*, are not looked upon by them as Faults of ſuch a Nature as to exclude him from the ſolemn Profeſſion of Four Vows, or hinder the Order from being tied to him ſo long as he lives. I defy the moſt inveterate Enemy the Jeſuits have this Day in the World to publiſh, or even to invent, any thing againſt them, that redounds more to the Diſhonour, or rather to the Infamy of their Order, than what they themſelves here own to the whole World. What will ſuch vile, infamous Wretches as the Writer of the Letter, and his Three Evidences, ſtick at, ſince, in order to expoſe and defame me, they have not ſcrupled thus to defile their own Neſt, and defame the holy Society itſelf! Could they poſſibly have given a more remarkable Inſtance of the inveterate Malice and irreconcileable Hatred they bear me! It is well known that ſeveral are diſmiſſed before their laſt Vows; nay, one of their *unexceptionable* Evidences, in the preſent Controverſy, is a living Inſtance of their getting early rid of worthleſs Perſons, who are likely to bring Diſgrace upon the Order. Their having therefore ſuffered me, jealous as they are of their Ho-

[a] Complete Detect p. 87.

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nour and Credit, to continue among them, while others were expelled, whom we cannot ſuppoſe to have been more guilty than I was, according to the Character they now give me, and their having even admitted me, after a Sixteen Years Probation, to the ſolemn Profeſſion, that bound the Order to me during my Life, muſt convince every ſenſible Man, that the Writer of the Letter, and the Three other Jeſuits, are Liars and Slanderers, and have *calumniated* me *falſly*, in repreſenting me as *a falſe and deceitful Man*, as *a notorious Liar*, &c. *known to be ſo by all who knew me.* Happily for me the Provincial of the *Roman* Province has owned, that I *made ſolemn Profeſſion of Four Vows*, elſe, in Anſwer to what has been ſaid, *Certificates* would have been imported from *Rome*, *ſealed with the Seals of Office*, *certifying* that I had been diſmiſſed, on account of my ſcandalous Life, before my Profeſſion; the Seals would have been engraved here by their Agents, would have been placed in ſome public Library, and great Streſs would have been laid on them, as if no Papiſt or Jeſuit would ſet his Hand or his Seal to a lying Certificate, were even the Honour of his Church or his Order at ſtake. On the other hand, I could have produced nothing to prove my Profeſſion; and my *unſupported Aſſertion* would have been of no Weight againſt Heaps of *Seals*, *Certificates*, and *original Letters*, in the oppoſite Scale. But as Father *Ridolfi*, Provincial of the *Roman* Province, has ſolemnly atteſted under *his Hand and his Seal* (probably not being privy to what his Brethren had written) that I was admitted to my *ſolemn Profeſſion*, there is no Medium, and the Three *eminent Jeſuits* muſt either own, that the moſt abandoned Profligates upon Earth are admitted to the firſt and higheſt Degree in the Society, or that they have, as the baſeſt of Liars and Slanderers, painted me, contrary to all Juſtice and Truth, in that infamous Character.

But, after all, the Jeſuits have not treated me worſe in that Letter than they, and other Popiſh Writers, treat the Proteſtant Clergy of this Kingdom in general, in order to expoſe them, and in them the Religion they teach. Thus, in one of their Books now before me. the following Picture is drawn of our *Engliſh* Clergy: *Their Parſons are abominably wicked in all manner of Vice, as Lying, Adultery, Cruelty, Sorcery, Perjury, Sodomy*, &c. *and they have been ſo throughout* England *ever ſince the pretended Reformation.* And in the Manuſcript Copy of a Book ſent from Abroad to be printed in *Scotland*, during the late Rebellion, but was intercepted, and is now

in the Poſſeſſion of one of our Reverend Prelates, the ſame Character is given, and almoſt in the ſame Words, of the *Cranmers*, the *Latimers*, the *Hoopers*, the *Ridleys*, and of the reſt of the Reformers of Religion both at Home and Abroad. Surely theſe Men knew, and could not but know, what they wrote to be falſe; but as it ſerved to create in the good Catholics an Averſion to the Proteſtant Religion, and Contempt for the Proteſtant Clergy, they thought it no Crime, but rather meritorious, to repreſent them as *abominably wicked in all manner of Vice*, &c. But let the *Unmasker* take his Choice: Will he receive this Character of the *Engliſh* Clergy upon the Aſſertion of Papiſts and Jeſuits, or will he aſcribe it to Malice and Slander? If he takes the latter Part, as I preſume he will, why is their Evidence to be received againſt me, and in the other Caſe ſlighted? May not their Malice be as bitter againſt me, who have left them, and provoked them in the manner I have done, as againſt the Proteſtant Clergy in general?

The *Unmasker* aſſures us, in his *Full Confutation*, &c. p. 36. that *the Jeſuits have, out of their Friendſhip for me, with-held from Sir Henry Bedingfeld* (the Perſon whom they choſe to hand the forged Letters into the World) *freſh and more ſtriking Evidences, which they are known to have of my Connexions with them.* I do not at all doubt that the *Unmasker* has been told ſo by thoſe holy Fathers; but what Proteſtant will they find, beſides him, prejudiced to ſuch a Degree in their Favour, as to believe that they, who have publiſhed to the World the Letter before us, and to defame me more effectually have not even ſcrupled to defame their Idol, the Order itſelf, would keep any Meaſures with me, or would conceal any thing from the Public, that could contribute in the leaſt to the Blackening of my Character? The Jeſuits may have made Sir *Henry* believe (which was no difficult Task) that they have thoſe *ſtriking Evidences*; but they will no more produce them than my Letters to *Carteret*, and for the ſame Reaſon, not *out of Kindneſs or Friendſhip for me.*

And now that I have ſhewn, beyond all Poſſibility of Doubt, that the Jeſuits, adhering to the Two favourite Principles of the Order (*viz.* that *the End juſtifies the Means*; and that *it is no mortal Sin to calumniate falſly to defend one's Honour*), have *calumniated me falſly*, and evidently atteſted what they themſelves knew to be falſe; I appeal to all Mankind, whether the Teſtimony of ſuch Men can, in any Degree, counterbalance the greateſt Improbabilities, not to

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ſay Impoſſibilities. It is, as I have obſerved above, a received Principle, that *a Witneſs, convicted in one Inſtance of giving falſe Teſtimony, is credible in none*, tho' the Fact he atteſts ſhould not in itſelf be improbable: And ſhall the Teſtimony of a Witneſs, or of any given Number of Witneſſes, convicted in ſeveral Inſtances, and in ſome upon their own Confeſſion [h], of having teſtified what they knew to be falſe, be not only admitted, but thought ſufficient to prove Facts, if not impoſſible, certainly next to impoſſible? The *Popiſh Plot* was atteſted and ſworn to by almoſt innumerable Witneſſes; and yet from the Characters of thoſe Witneſſes, from the frequent Contradictions of which they were guilty, and from the great Improbability of the Facts they atteſted, many Men of Judgment and Senſe conclude the Whole to be a mere Invention of the *Unmasker* of thoſe Days, the Reverend Mr. *Oates*. Mr. *Hume*, among the reſt, thinks the Abſurdities thoſe Witneſſes ſwore to ſuch as no human Teſtimony was ſufficient to prove [i]. Be that as it will, it is enough for me to have ſhewn from the Characters of the Witneſſes in the preſent Controverſy, and the many Abſurdities, Contradictions, and Falſhoods, which they have witneſſed, knowing them to be ſo, that their *Evidence*, however *poſitive and peremptory*, is not ſufficient to prove the ſmalleſt, much leſs the greateſt Improbabilities; and yet the Authenticity of the Seven Letters to *Sheldon* ſtands intirely upon the *Evidence* of ſuch Witneſſes: For as to the Arguments, if I may call them ſo, alleged by the Advocate for the Society to evince their Genuineneſs, they are all evidently unconcluſive, and moſt of them not only abſurd, but abſolutely ridiculous, as has been ſhewn. They therefore, who receive thoſe Letters as genuine, receive them upon the Teſtimony or Evidence of Jeſuits only; that is, they chuſe rather to ſwallow the moſt choaking Improbabilities, than to believe that Slanderers and Liars by Principle ſhould ſlander and lye, even to ſave the Reputation of their Church and their Order. — One would think, that either the Jeſuits, or the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, are a different Race of Men from what they were in the laſt Century, eſpecially at the Time of the *Plot* I have ſpoken of above; for the greateſt Abſurdities, Improbabilities, and even plain Contradictions, were *then* univerſally credited by the good People of *England* againſt all of that Order; *now* the like, if not greater, Improbabilities, Abſurdities, and Contradictions, are believed in their

[h] See above, p. 7. [i] Hiſt. of Great Brit. Vol. II. p. 282.

favour. The moſt ſolemn Proteſtations they made *then*, with the Halter about their Necks, were ſlighted; *now* it is a Crime to queſtion the Truth of what a *Carteret*, or any other Jeſuit, tells to his Acquaintance even in private Converſation, provided it redounds to the Diſgrace of ſuch, as have preſumed to prefer the Proteſtant Religion to that of the holy Church of *Rome:* They were *then*, and had been ever ſince the Inſtitution of the Order, looked upon, in this Proteſtant Kingdom, as the moſt wicked Set of Men upon Earth, as Diſturbers of the public Peace, as Rebels and Incendiaries; but a moſt wonderful Phenomenon has of late appeared in this Country, a *Clergyman of the Church of* England, *the Advocate and Panegyriſt of the holy Society*; and all the Members of it, all at leaſt whom he has had Occaſion to mention, are canonized by him for Men of *Candor that does them Honour*, of *unexceptionable Characters*, and of *ſuch Veracity*, that their *bare Word is as convincing as the moſt peremptory Affidavit* of any Proteſtant, of any at leaſt, who has been ſo wicked as to *apoſtatize* from them, and become a Proteſtant.

How ſhocking is it, and how muſt it ſhock every true Proteſtant both at Home and Abroad (and moſt Papiſts too) to hear a Clergyman of the Church of *England* thus extolling, in a Proteſtant Country, the Members of that King-killing Society as the beſt of Men, at the very Time a Proſecution is carried on againſt them in a Popiſh Country, as guilty of no leſs a Crime than High Treaſon, in ſtirring up their Fellow-ſubjects to aſſaſſinate their lawful Sovereign! The chief Promoters of that helliſh Attempt were the Fathers *Malagarda*, *Alexandre*, and *de Matos*, as *eminent* Jeſuits, and deemed Men of as *unexceptionable Characters*, as the Fathers *Carteret*, *Lunardi*, *Alticozzi*, or any other Father or Fathers of the whole Society; nay, Father *Malagarda* was by all looked upon as a *Man of Self-denial, and a Saint*. But when theſe Men of *unexceptionable Characters*, theſe *ſelf-denying Saints*, found their Sovereign determined to maintain the juſt Rights of his Crown againſt their unjuſt Uſurpations, and themſelves diſmiſſed from the Court, which they had long governed, they ſhewed what they really were, what all Jeſuits really are, when provoked, and the Intereſt or the Honour of their Order is at ſtake; that is, Men who ſtick at no Crime, be it ever ſo black and heinous, and, treading under foot all Laws both human and divine, think it no Sin, no not ſo much as a venial one, to aſſaſſinate even their Liege Lord, in order to place a Friend of the Society

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on the Throne in his room. And theſe are the Men, whoſe Evidence is alleged as deciſive of a Controverſy, in which the Reputation and Credit of their Order is at ſtake; as if they, who have not ſcrupled to join in an Aſſaſſination Plot againſt their Sovereign for the Good of their Society, and exerted all the Power they have over thoſe under their Direction to have it carried into Execution, would ſcruple to atteſt a Falſhood in ſuch a Controverſy, and confirm it, if thought neceſſary, with the moſt ſolemn Oaths.

Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* tells us, in his very remarkable Letter [k], that he *has the Affidavit of the Perſon*, that is, of the Jeſuit, *in whoſe Room the Seventh Letter was written, who ſaw* A. B. *write it, heard him read it, and was deſired by him to ſend it to Father* Sheldon; and adds, *to affirm that their Evidence* (the Evidence of a few ſculking Jeſuits, whom he is aſhamed to name) *ought not to have any Weight, ſeems to me to border a little upon Preſumption, and if the Word was not a little harſh, I would add Arrogance.* But as I have ſhewn, that with them it is *no mortal Sin to calumniate falſly to defend one's Honour*, and have proved, beyond all Diſpute, that in the preſent Controverſy they have practiſed that Doctrine in ſeveral Inſtances, I ſhall leave the World to judge, whether *it borders upon Preſumption or Arrogance* in me to affirm, that the Evidence of ſuch Men *ought not to have any Weight*, or in Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* to aſſert that *it ought* againſt ſo many and ſo palpable Abſurdities, Improbabilities, and Contradictions in the oppoſite Scale, as the moſt unexceptionable Evidence upon Earth can ſcarce counterbalance (D).

But

[k] Full Confut. p. 73, 74.

(D) The Perſon whoſe Affidavit it is, in the Opinion of Sir *Henry*, *Preſumption* or *Arrogance* to except againſt, or object to, is, If I am not miſinformed, the Jeſuit *Elliot*, one of the moſt daring Jeſuits this Day in *England*, and as fit to be employed in any deſperate Attempt as a *Garnet* or a *Matagarda*. I have been told, that the famous Letter from *Rome*, which I have taken notice of above, was written by him; and the *Unmasker*, who is well acquainted with their Affairs, aſſures us, that *Mr.* Elliot *was ſo far off as* Rome (1) in 1756, when that Letter was written. Sir *Henry* is, as an Eleve, and, I believe, an *adopted Son* of the Order, well acquainted with the extraordinary Qualities of the Man, and therefore did not chuſe to name him. — I did not know, till this Gentleman informed me, that *to affirm, that the Evidence of Prieſts and Jeſuits ought not to have any Weight, was an Aſſertion contrary to the known Laws of this Kingdom*; and wiſh he, or the Popiſh Counſel he had at his Elbow when he wrote this Letter, had quoted thoſe Laws.—I ſhall leave Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the exalted Character the Panegyriſt of the Jeſuits and

(1) Six Letters, &c. p. 15.

But the chief Evidence, the Evidence that muſt be deciſive of the whole Controverſy, is ſtill behind ; *viz.* that of *William Sheldon, Eſq* ; *a Gentleman, whoſe amiable Qualities endear him to all his Acquaintance* ; and his Evidence or Teſtimony is uſhered in by the Unmasker in the following Words : *I ſhall now produce a Witneſs, whoſe Teſtimony Mr.* Bower *will read with Confuſion, Mr.* Bower's *Patrons admit with Reſpect, and the Public pay more Regard to than to a Hundred Affidavits of one, who avows the horrid Doctrine of mental Abjuration* ; that is, of any Jeſuit [l]. One would expect, after ſuch a pompous Preamble, to hear the *amiable* Gentleman declaring that he had ſeen me write thoſe Letters, or at leaſt ſome of them ; that I had read them to him, and deſired him to convey them to his Brother the Provincial. But this Man's Mountains, generally ſpeaking, bring forth Mice. Mr. *Sheldon* atteſts nothing but what might be ſtrictly true, and the Letters nevertheleſs be forged: For, in the Letter, which he wrote to his Correſpondent concerning this Affair, he begs him, in the Firſt place, *to deſire Sir* Henry Bedingfeld *to be cautious not to inſert any thing more from the Intelligence he had from him concerning Mr.* Bower, *than he could juſtify* [m]. This he thought, it ſeems, a very neceſſary Caution, and therefore began his Letter with it. In the next place, he declares, that *he never had the Peruſal of my Letter to his Brother ; nor did he ſee my Name to it* ; but that *his Brother told him it was from me:* So that, after all, Mr. *Sheldon*'s ſo much boaſted Teſtimony is, in effect, no other, with reſpect to the pretended Correſpondence, than Father *Sheldon*'s Teſtimony. And the *Unmasker* argues thus ; *Mr.* Sheldon *teſtifies, that the Provincial of the Jeſuits told him he received a Letter from* B——r ; *therefore he certainly did receive a Letter from* B——r, *and the Controverſy is decided.* And upon

[l] Full Confut. p. 77. [m] Ibid. p. 78.

and their Friends has given him (2), and only obſerve, that he atteſts nothing upon his own Knowlege, but that he is a Man *ſtrictly honeſt*, and *totally diſintereſted*, and *deſpiſes all who are of a different Opinion* ; for whatever elſe is ſaid in Sir *Henry*'s Letter, we have but the Word or the Oaths of Two or Three nameleſs Jeſuits ; that is of Men who, by a Doctrine peculiar to their Order, can ſwear any thing, and at the ſame time ſwear nothing, as I have proved out of their beſt Caſuiſts and Divines (3) ; who ſcruple not to atteſt what they know to be falſe for the ſake of preſerving the Honour of their Order ; and think it not ſo much as a venial Sin to aſſaſſinate their lawful Sovereign for the Good of the holy Society.

(2) Full Confut. p. 73. (3) Reply to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, 34, 35.

whoſe

whoſe Teſtimony is it decided? Not upon Mr. *Sheldon's*, who knew no more of that Correſpondence than what the Jeſuit told him, but upon the Jeſuit's, who told him of it. Thus does the Whole ſtill reſt upon the Authority of a Jeſuit, and the Controverſy ſtill remains undecided, unleſs the Teſtimony of an impoſing or impoſed upon Jeſuit be thought ſufficient to decide it: I ſay *of an impoſing or impoſed upon Jeſuit*; for I will not even accuſe Father *Sheldon* of having been knowingly concerned in ſo wicked and ſo groſs an Impoſture, till I can prove that he was. If he was not impoſed upon, but was privy to the Impoſture, he could neither let his Brother, nor any other Perſon whomſoever, into the Secret, without a Breach of one of the ſtanding Rules of the Order, ſtrictly forbidding *all of the Society to reveal the ſecret Tranſactions of the Order to Seculars or others, however well affected to the Society, or nearly related to any of them by Blood.* Upon the Whole, Mr. *Sheldon's* Teſtimony proves, at the moſt, the Truth of his being told of the pretended Correſpondence by the Jeſuit his Brother, as another Gentleman was told of my robbing the Inquiſition by a Jeſuit his Brother[f]; but it cannot prove the Truth of the pretended Correſpondence itſelf, till the *Unmasker* makes it appear (which he will find no eaſy Task) that the Jeſuit was neither impoſed upon himſelf, nor impoſed upon his Brother.

When the Letters in queſtion became firſt the Talk of the Public, this very Gentleman declared to a Noble Lord at *Bath, that he knew nothing at all of them.* I ſhall leave his Confeſſor to determine whether he might or might not *equivocate* a little, to avoid entering upon that Topic with a Noble Peer, who had known me too long, and had too much good Senſe to believe that I ever returned to the Jeſuits, or was capable of writing ſuch abſurd, ſilly, canting, Letters (E). But I will take upon me to ſay, that few Gentlemen would

[f] See above, p. 7.

(E) The *Unmasker*, ſetting up for a Caſuiſt, undertakes to prove, in his laſt Performance, that Mr. *Sheldon* might have *ſaid, with the greateſt Regard to Truth, that he knew nothing at all* of the Letters ſuppoſed to have been written by me to his Brother Father *Sheldon*, tho' he had ſeen one of them, and had been told from whom it came, and what it contained. (*Complete Detect.* p. 15.) I wiſh the Jeſuits Joy of ſo great a Proficient in the Caſuiſtry of the Order. But, after all, it matters little whether Mr. *Sheldon* did or did not equivocate on that Occaſion. What I urged in my *Reply*, p. 42, 43. and the *Unmasker* has not thought worthy of his Notice, was, that Mr. *Sheldon's* Evidence does not *prove the Truth of the pretended Correſpondence*, as the *Unmasker* would have it, but only the Truth of that Gentle-

would care to appear as Witneſſes to atteſt in the moſt public Manner what they had declared in private Converſation they *knew nothing at all of.*

Mr. *Sheldon* informs us in his Letter, that the Jeſuit, his Brother, told him *the Letter was from* B——r; *by which he deſired to have his Money repaid him, in order to provide for the Woman, before he could return.* Now, what Father *Sheldon* told his Brother contradicts point-blank what Father *Carteret* told a Noble Duke. *Sheldon* told his Brother in 1746, or 1747, that *I deſired to have my Money repaid me, in order to provide for the Woman,* BEFORE I COULD RETURN; and *Carteret* told the Noble Duke, that I returned in 1745: So that, according to the one, I was not *returned* in 1747, and I *returned*, according to the other, in 1745. If *Sheldon* ſpoke Truth, *Carteret* impoſed upon the Duke: If *Carteret* ſpoke Truth, *Sheldon* impoſed upon his Brother. Beſides, the Teſtimony of Mr. *Sheldon* (which is, in effect, the Teſtimony of Father *Sheldon*, as I have ſhewn) quite overthrows the Credibility of the Letters; for, in the Letters, I am made to ſpeak all along as one already *returned* both to the Church and the Order; nay, the very Firſt Letter is ſuppoſed to have been written on the laſt Day of the Retreat I made upon my Return: How could Father *Sheldon* therefore tell his Brother, that I *deſired to have my Money repaid me, in order to provide for the Woman, before I* COULD RETURN; that is, before I could do what in the Letters I am ſaid to have done!

As the *Unmasker*, out of his great Love for Truth, generally overlooks the Difficulties he cannot ſolve, I did not expect, I muſt own, that he would have taken any Notice of the Teſtimonies of *Carteret* and *Sheldon*, too apparently contradicting one another to be ever reconciled. But as the Credit of Two *eminent Jeſuits*, both

man's being told of ſuch a Correſpondence by his Brother the Jeſuit, in the ſame manner as the Evidence of another Gentleman, as credible as Mr. *Sheldon*, does not prove the Truth of my having robbed the Inquiſition, but only the Truth of his being told of that Robbery by the Jeſuit his Brother; and the Evidence of a Third Gentleman, a Baronet, does not prove the Truth of my renouncing the Catholic Religion becauſe I was not made a Biſhop (*See above, p.* 7.) but only the Truth of his being told ſo by the Jeſuits. This, I think, is plain Truth, and every Child might underſtand it. But the *Unmasker*, overlooking it out of his great Love of Truth, tells his Readers over and over again, that Mr. *Sheldon's Evidence certainly proves the Truth of the Correſpondence* (which it CERTAINLY does not, as that Gentleman atteſts nothing upon his own Knowledge); and that *the miſerable Quibbles to which I am obliged to recur, ſerve only to ſhew the Weakneſs of my Cauſe. Miſerable Quibbles, pitiful Chicane, Jeſuitical Sophiſtry*, &c. are this Man's Expletives, when he is quite at a Loſs what to ſay.

Pro-

Provincials of his *holy* Society, is here at ſtake, he has thought it his Duty to attempt it at leaſt; and in that Attempt he has happily hit upon a Diſtinction, which, he would make us believe, removes all Contradiction. The Diſtinction is this, *to be re-admitted into the Order*, or *to be reconciled to the Order*, and *to return to the Order*, are Two very different Things. It is indeed true, ſays he, that I was *re-admitted into the Order* by Father *Carteret* in 1745; but it cannot therefore be ſaid with Truth, that I *returned to the Order*, theſe Words importing, in their plain, natural, and obvious Meaning, not *a Return to the Order*, but a Return to *Flanders*, *France*, *Germany*, or *ſome other Country beyond Seas*; and in no other Senſe, ſays he, can they be underſtood, without wreſting and torturing them. *(Complete Detect. p.* 15.) In the ſame Senſe we are to underſtand, according to him, the following Words of Father *Maire*; B——r *acted ſecretly with the Superiors of the Body he had left to return* TO IT *again* (Ibid. p. 50.); where the Relative IT does not refer to the Antecedent *Body*, but to *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *America*, or any Country beyond Seas, in any Quarter of the World. Thus was I received into the Order again, without returning to the Order; and thus is the Teſtimony of Father *Carteret*, declaring that he *received me into the Order in* 1745, perfectly reconciled with that of Father *Sheldon*, telling his Brother that I was not *returned* in 1746, or 1747. *Quando ullum invenies parem!* Surely for Abſurdity and Nonſenſe this Man never had his Fellow. What Popiſh Writer, ſtriving to reconcile Two contradictory Definitions of Two Popes to ſave the Infallibility, ever had recourſe to ſo pitiful a Quibble as that, which the *Unmasker* uſes here to reconcile the contradictory Teſtimonies of Two Jeſuits, in order to aſcertain their Veracity? He had much better have overlooked the Diſagreement between *Carteret* and *Sheldon*, and let the Two Provincials of his holy Society give one another the Lye, as he has overlooked the Diſagreement between them and *Gay*, who has given the Lye to both, declaring, that I ſaid Maſs Twenty Years ago, and conſequently was reconciled both to the Church and the Order Twenty Years ago (F) And thus I returned to the Order,

(F) *John Gay*, many Years Footman to the Provincials of the Jeſuits, told Mr. *Edwards*, Snuff Merchant in St. *Martin's Court*, that he had been in the Room when I ſaid Maſs; and that this Maſs was ſerved by Father *Turberville* (1). But it is very certain that I could not ſay Maſs, that is, perform the moſt awful Function of the Popiſh Religion, while I was under the greater Excommunication as an Apoſtate both from the Church and the Order; and I muſt therefore have been reconciled to

(1) Full Confut. p. 82.

Order, according to one of their boaſted Evidences, in 1745; I returned, according to another, many Years before; and was not returned,

the one and the other when I ſaid it, that is, Twenty Years ago; for Mr. *Turberville*, who did me the Honour, tho' Provincial of the Order, to attend me on that Occaſion in the Quality of a Clerk, has been dead theſe Twenty Years (2). This Anſwer I returned in my *Reply*, p. 50. concluding from thence, that either *Gay*'s Evidence was falſe, ſuppoſing me to have been reconciled to the Church and the Order Twenty Years ago, and upwards, or *Carteret*'s declaring that I was not reconciled to the one or the other till the Year 1745, when he reconciled me. The *Unmasker* might, one would think, have returned, in his laſt Performance, ſome ſort of Anſwer to this Objection. But he was ſenſible that he could not ſolve it, without giving up one of his *unexceptionable* Evidences; and that to give one up was giving them all up, as they all act upon the ſame Principle. He therefore wiſely choſe (how honeſtly let the World judge) to conceal the *Defence*, and only acquaint the Public with the Charge in the following Words: B——r *having ſaid Maſs in* London *is proved by Mr.* John Gay, *who was in the Room at the time* (3). Such is this Man's Candour, ſuch his Love of Truth, that alone has made him engage in this Controverſy, and undertake the Cauſe of the injured Jeſuits. To conclude on this Head, I ſhall leave him to chew the Cud upon the Two following Syllogiſms: B——r *ſaid Maſs Twenty Years ago, if* Gay *is to be credited, and he is a Man of unqueſtionable Veracity; but he could not ſay Maſs without being reconciled to the Church and the Order: Therefore he was reconciled to both Twenty Years ago; and* Carteret *lied in ſaying that he was not reconciled to the one or the other till the Year* 1745.—B——r *was not reconciled either to the Church or the Order till the Year* 1745, *if Father* Carteret *is to be credited, and he is a Man of moſt unexceptionable Veracity; but he could not ſay Maſs till he was reconciled to both: Therefore he did not ſay Maſs Twenty Years ago; and* Gay *lied when he told the Snuff Merchant that he did.* Thus does the Footman give the Lie to the Maſter, and the Maſter to the Footman. The Footman makes me ſay Maſs before I was reconciled either to the Church or the Order; and the Maſter knows nothing of my ſaying it, (elſe we ſhould have heard of it,) after I was reconciled to both.

It is not my Anſwer to this Charge alone that the *candid Unmasker* has induſtriouſly concealed from the Public in his laſt Performance. He ſeems to be of that Judge's Mind, who was againſt hearing the Council on the other Side, becauſe they always perplexed the Cauſe; and he has accordingly ſummed up, in that Libel, the various Accuſations he had brought againſt me in his other Three, but taken great Care to with-hold from his Readers my Anſwers to them, as if I was ſtruck dumb, and had not a Word to ſay for myſelf. I have purſued a quite different Method; have ſuppreſſed nothing, nothing at leaſt that relates to the main Charge, but ſetting forth the Reaſons and Arguments he has alleged to ſupport it in their full Strength, have placed my Anſwers oppoſite to them in one and the ſame Page: A plain Proof this that I do not diſtruſt my Cauſe, but he diſtruſts his. Of this his *unfair* Method of proceeding, to uſe no harſher Epithet, we have another remarkable Inſtance at Page 21, of his *Complete Detection*, as he calls it. He had charged me in one of his Libels (4), with having been at *Confeſſion oftener than once within theſe Twelve Years, a Ceremony ſo neceſſary to waſh out the Stains of my Frailties and Follies.* I anſwered, that if I was at Confeſſion within theſe Twelve Years, I was at Confeſſion while I joined in Communion with the Church of *England*; while I expoſed, in all Companies, the wicked Doctrines and ſuperſtitious Practices of Popery; while I was engaged in Three Marriage Treaties, as the *Unmasker* informs me; while I led the Life of a Proteſtant and a Layman, &c. and conſequently when I knew, that no Prieſt could abſolve me; nay, when I knew, that, inſtead of having *the Stains of my Frailties and Follies waſhed* out

(2) See my Reply, p. 50. (3) Comp. Detect. p. 19. (4) Full Confut. p. 76.

returned, according to a third, till a Year or Two after. Rare Witneſſes to over-balance with their Teſtimony the greateſt Improbabilities!

But the General, ſays the *Unmasker*, inſiſted on *B——r's* going beyond Sea, and he could not be ſaid to have *returned to the Order*, or *to the Body he had left*, till he went. I anſwer, 1. The Moment I was reconciled to the Order, or re-admitted into the Order, and renewing my Vows, became a Jeſuit again, I *could be ſaid*, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, *to have returned to the Order, or to the Body I had left*. But, according to the *Unmasker*, I might have lived and died a Jeſuit, or *in the Body I had left*, and yet be ſaid, if I did not go beyond Sea, never to have *returned to the Body I had left*, theſe Words importing, if not *racked and tortured*, not a *Return to the Body I had left*, but to *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, or my *Return* to a Country that I was never in before. Does this Man think that there is in all *Britain* a Man ſo ſtupid or ſo ſenſeleſs, as not to ſee that he is here catching at Straws to keep himſelf and his Two Provincials above Water? But ſink he muſt, and they with him.

2. It does not appear from any of the Letters, ſaid to be mine, that I ever was, nay, on the contrary, it appears from the Firſt of thoſe Letters, that I never was required to go beyond Sea. For in that Letter the General is made to give me the Option *of the Province that would be moſt to my Satisfaction*, none excepted. And yet, who would believe it? it is from theſe very Words that the *Unmasker* concludes the General to have excepted *England*. *From which Words*, ſays he, *it ſhould ſeem that Mr. Retz* (the General) *excepted England*[d]; which was arguing thus: *The General gave B——r the Choice of the Province that would be moſt to his Satiſ-*

[d] Six Letters, &c. p. 25.

ut by that Ceremony, I ſhould have added, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, a new *Stain* to them, worſe than all the reſt, that of Sacrilege, or the Abuſe of a Sacrament. And was it with that View that I went to Confeſſion, or what elſe could I propoſe to myſelf in *performing that Part of my Duty?* Which of the Two is the more improbable, that the Jeſuit, who *related this Fact to many Gentlemen of Worth*, and, no doubt, to the *Unmasker* among the reſt, ſhould have related a *falſe Fact*, or that I ſhould have gone to Confeſſion, in order to obtain Forgiveneſs of my Sins, when I knew, that my performing that Ceremony could only ſerve to aggravate my Guilt? Thus I anſwered that Charge in my *Reply*, p. 49, 50. and yet we find the ſame Tale introduced anew by the *Unmasker* in his laſt Performance, and no more Notice taken of my Anſwer to it than if I had returned none. Who can but admire this Man's *Candor*, *Impartiality*, *and ardent Love of Truth!*

faction,

faction, therefore he excepted England, which he tells us in the very next Period *was moſt of all to his Satisfaction.* This is ſo ridiculous an Inference that I could not but laugh at it. Any but an *Unmasker* would have drawn from that Antecedent the quite contrary Inference; the rather, as in the ſame Letter I write (or am made to write) thus to the Provincial, *I leave you to judge whether or no I am fit to ſerve here*, which, had the General excepted *England*, would be appealing from his Judgment to that of the Provincial, and leaving him to judge whether I was fit to ſerve where the General had judged me unfit to ſerve. Had the General excepted *England* it was not in the Power of the Provincial to employ me here; and therefore my applying to him for that Purpoſe, is a plain Proof, and an unanſwerable one, that he did not except *England*, or rather that the Jeſuits in forging thoſe Letters did not intend that he ſhould be thought to have excepted *England*.

From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that the *Unmasker* ſpoke without Book, when, in order to reconcile his Two Provincials, he pretended that the General inſiſted on my going beyond Sea; that he ſpoke ſtark Nonſenſe in ſaying, as he does, that the Negotiation with the General, about my going beyond Sea or *ſerving* here, laſted Four Years, that is from the Year 1741 to 1745, and that the *prudent* APOSTATE, as he is pleaſed to ſtyle me in the Dialect of his new Friends, firſt put the Jeſuits in Poſſeſſion of all he was worth, and then began to negotiate about Terms, which was making the *prudent Apoſtate* act the Part of a *natural Fool.* The Reader will find a great deal of this fine Stuff in this Man's *Full Confutation*, p. 40, and he repeats it in his laſt Performance, p. 19, 20, though unanſwerably confuted by me in my *Reply*, p. 13, 14; nay, and adds, that the *General looked upon B——r's going beyond Sea as the only Proof of his Sincerity*, though he had told us before, that I *had given, ever ſince the Year* 1741, when the pretended Negotiation commenced, *ſuch Proofs of my Sincerity as left no room to queſtion that I was not ſincere* [e]. Upon the whole, Father *Sheldon*, telling his Brother in 1746, or 1747, that I wanted my Money before I *could return* to the Order, and conſequently that I was not then returned to it, evidently contradicted Father *Carteret*, declaring that I was reconciled to the Order, or re-admitted into the Order, in 1745, and

[e] Full Confutation, p. 40.

Gay

Gay contradicted both, atteſting that I ſaid Maſs Twenty Years ago, as I could not ſay Maſs without being firſt reconciled both to the Church and the Order [f]. Add to this, that ſo late as 1750 the Jeſuit *Maire*, who knew indeed that I *pretended to have a numerous Family*, which I never had, nor pretended to have, knew nothing of my having *returned to the Body I had left*, but only of my ACTING *with my Superiors to return to it again* [g]. And can any Man poſſibly ſuppoſe that, if I had actually returned to the Order in 1745, *Maire*, who lived at *Rome*, would not have heard of it in 1750, or if he had, that he only would have ſaid that I ACTED *with my Superiors to return to it again?* In ſhort, *Maire*'s Evidence proves the Seven Letters to be a Forgery; for in thoſe Letters I am made to ſpeak in 1746 and 1747 as a penitent Jeſuit *returned to the Body* I had left, and according to *Maire*, who, it is plain, had his Intelligence from hence, I only ACTED *with my Superiors to return*, or pretended, in writing to my Superiors, to be deſirous of *returning to the Body I had left, in hopes of extorting from them, on that account, ſome Sum or other of Money neceſſary to maintain my numerous Family.* But after all, that Jeſuit certainly ſpoke the Truth when he told his Popiſh Correſpondent, that *he could not, in his preſent Circumſtances, procure him a Certificate about me*, SUCH AS HE DESIRED. They had not yet, it ſeems, agreed among themſelves, what they ſhould *certify*.

And now to ſum up, in a few Words, the whole Controverſy, ſo far as it relates to the Seven famous Letters; that I ſhould have writ thoſe Letters is in the higheſt Degree improbable, and next to impoſſible, if I was not ſtark mad at the Time (See above, from Page 26 to Page 40). The Reaſons and Arguments, alleged by the Jeſuits (H), to prove that I wrote them, are all evidently abſurd and unconcluſive (See above, from Page 19 to Page 26); and the ſo much boaſted *poſitive Evidence*, which Reaſon and even common Senſe muſt yield to, wholly conſiſts in the Teſtimony of Jeſuits, or of Perſons who had their Intelligence from Jeſuits (See above, p. 58, 59); that is in the Teſtimony of Liars and Slanderers, known to be ſo by Prin-

[f] See my Reply, p. 50, 51.

[g] Complete Detect. p. 49, 50.

(H) I ſay *by the Jeſuits*; for as to the *Unmasker*, I look upon him as a mere *Puppet*, moved, prompted, and directed by them from behind the Scenes.

ciple,

ciple, and convicted of Lying and Slandering and contradicting one another, as well as their Evidence, in this very Controverſy. Should a Man, arraigned of a capital Offence at the *Old Baily*, make it appear from many concurring Circumſtances, that it was highly improbable and almoſt impoſſible that he ſhould have committed the Crime he is charged with; that his Accuſers are a Gang of the moſt wicked Men upon Earth; that they bore him an irreconcileable Hatred, had ſworn his Deſtruction, and ſtick at nothing to wreak their Vengeance upon thoſe who provoke them; that they had contradicted one another in their Depoſitions, and had atteſted againſt him what they knew, nay, and what they were convicted, upon their own Confeſſion, of knowing to be falſe, would any Judge or Jury upon Earth bring in, upon ſuch Evidence, the accuſed Party guilty of the Charge? That this is exactly my Caſe I have ſhewn; and therefore do not at all doubt but the candid and diſcerning Part of Mankind, to whoſe Judgment I appeal from that of the partial and undiſcerning, will, without the leaſt Heſitation, clear me from a Charge (that of writing the Letters in queſtion), which has no other Support but the moſt exceptionable Evidence, when it could ſcarce be ſupported by the moſt unexceptionable.

I flattered myſelf that there ſcarce could have been found a ſingle Perſon in all *Britain*, who, after peruſing the Arguments and Reaſons, as ſet forth by me in my ſeveral Apologies, againſt the Genuineneſs of the Seven Letters, ſhould nevertheleſs have received them as genuine, notwithſtanding the Abſurdity of the Arguments, and the Inſufficiency of the Evidence proving them to be ſo. But great is the Force of Prejudice, eſpecially in the Minds of the unthinking and the undiſcerning, who are no inconſiderable Diviſion of Mankind. The Reverend *Unmasker* of our Days met with no more Difficulty in impoſing upon the *many* the greateſt Improbabilities, Contradictions, and Abſurdities, in favour of the Jeſuits, than the Reverend *Unmasker* of former Times, *Titus Oates*, did in impoſing the like Improbabilities, Contradictions, and Abſurdities on the Generality of this Nation againſt them; and that I had really writ thoſe Letters was no more Matter of Doubt with *the many*, than that a full-grown Man could ſqueeze himſelf into a Quart Bottle. Thus was I looked upon by the Simple, the Credulous, the Unthinking, and the Undiſcerning, as a *Papiſt in my Heart*, as a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, as one *acting underhand in concert with the Jeſuits*, as one *licenſed by the Pope to*

wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm till an Opportunity offered of ſtriking ſome effectual Blow; and *the Danger*, cried out the *Unmasker*, diſplaying his noiſy Throat, *is alarming* [i]. *Ten artful Jeſuits, aſſuming ſuch a Character as* Bower *now pretends to, and under favour of ſuch a Diſguiſe, may do more real Harm to our Conſtitution in Church and State than an Hundred declared Emiſſaries of* Rome [k]. *If this Man ſhall be ſo fortunate as to find Protection* (againſt the Fury of the Mob, whom the good-natured *Levite* is here ſtirring up againſt him), *how wide a Door ſhall we open to the ſly Arts of Popery*, &c. *and what Encouragement ſhall we give the Papiſts to ſend out other* Cummins *and other* Heaths (Men that never exiſted) (A), *who may wear the Mask of Friendſhip to*

[i] Full Confut. p. 90. [k] Ibid. p. 91.

(A) That no ſuch Men ever exiſted I have ſhewn, in my *Reply to a ſcurrilous Libel*, p. 22, 23. from the Authors quoted there. But the *Unmasker*, determined to maintain what he has once advanced, be it true, be it falſe, offers, in his laſt Performance, the Two following Reaſons to prove the Truth of thoſe Two Stories: The Firſt is, that they were looked upon as genuine by Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, by Dr. *Cave*, by Dr. *South*, by Dr. *Scot*, and by the *laborious and candid* Strype. But this only proves the Juſtneſs of Mr. *Pierce*'s Complaint, *viz.* that *many go on reviling them with Lyes, without firſt anſwering what has been ſo ſolidly urged againſt them*, or that thoſe learned Writers either had never ſeen Dr. *Collins*'s Anſwer to Dr. *Scot*, where theſe Tales are unanſwerably confuted, or were not, perhaps, ſo candid as Dr. *Wells*, who, upon being referred to it by Mr. *Pierce*, gave up the Story.—The *Unmasker*'s Second Reaſon is, that the Two Stories do not reſt on the Authority of Dr. *Nalſon*; *for Biſhop* Stillingfleet, ſays he, *tells us, that the Examination of* Cummin *is publiſhed from the Lord* Burleigh's *Papers, which are in the Hands of Archbiſhop* Uſher, *and from him came to Sir* James Ware, *whoſe Son brought them to* England, *and lately cauſed them to be printed* (Full Detect. p. 120.) But upon whoſe Authority does Biſhop *Stillingfleet* tell us ſo? Why, upon the Authority of the Firſt Publiſher, that is, of Dr. *Nalſon*, as is commonly ſuppoſed. But whether the Doctor was or was not the Firſt who publiſhed thoſe Tales, I ſee no Reaſon why the Biſhop ſhould be brought in, ſince he knew no more of them than what he learnt from the Firſt Publiſher, whoever he was. It is true, the Story of *Faithful Cummin* is ſaid by the Firſt Publiſher to be *an Extract out of the Memorials of my Lord* Cecil; *to have come into the Hands of Archbiſhop* Uſher; *to have been tranſmitted from him* (no-body knows how) *to Sir* James Ware. And Dr. *Nalſon* tells us, that *it was by a Third Perſon communicated to him from* Robert Ware, *Eſq; Son to the ſaid Sir* James (1). But the Dr. has not thought fit to let us know, as Mr. *Withers* well obſerves, theſe Two Perſons who were concerned in the Conveyance, what Characters they bear, or what Credit they deſerve.—Had the *Unmasker* conſulted Mr. *Withers*, to whom I referred him, he would not, perhaps, have reflected on that learned Writer, as he does in the following Words; *they who urge this* (the little Regard due to *Nalſon*) *as an Objection to the Credit of the Two Stories, either were ignorant, or pretended to be ignorant, of the Manner in which they were publiſhed:* For he would have found, that Mr. *Withers* neither was, nor pretended to be, ignorant of the Manner in which they were *ſaid* to be publiſhed, but ſhewed

(1) Introduct. to Hiſt. Collect. p. 38.

to deſtroy more effectually, and be PROTESTANT HISTORIANS, *or any thing elſe, to carry on the Deſigns of Popery* [1].

[1] Idem ibid.

ſhewed that they were not publiſhed in the Manner as was ſaid, namely, from Lord *Burleigh*'s Papers; and that he ſhews from the Two following Circumſtances: In the Beginning of this Relation it is ſaid, that *this* Cummin *was detected in the Year* 1567, *being the* 9*th of Queen* Elizabeth (2). It is ſaid in the latter End of it, that *though he made his Eſcape, yet this Affair produced the Act for the preventing of Popery, and other Sects, which enjoined all People, from Ten Years old and upwards, not having a lawful Impediment, to repair every* Sunday *to hear Divine Service, under Penalty of forfeiting* 12 d. *for every ſuch Default* (3). Now, there never was any Act taking notice of Perſons of Ten Years old; and the Statute, obliging Perſons to repair to their Pariſh Churches, on Penalty of 12 *d.* for every *Sunday* they ſhould be abſent, was enacted in the Firſt Year of that Queen. Thus the Head and Tail of this Story are perfect Contradictions, and the Effect is made to exiſt Eight Years before the Cauſe. Is there the leaſt Shadow of Probability that ſuch a wild and incoherent Blunder ſhould ever be found amongſt the Papers of ſo great and wiſe a Man as Secretary *Cecil* (4)? The other Circumſtance taken notice of by Mr. *Withers* is, that *Cummin* was ordained, according to *Foxes and Firebrands*, by Cardinal *Pole*, ſome time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and yet *John Clarkſon*, Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Parker*, is ſaid to begin his Accuſation of him before the Council in theſe Words: *Let him prove his Ordination ſince he fell from the Church of* Rome; nay, the Romance introduces Queen *Elizabeth* ſpeaking theſe Words to him: *Mr.* Cummin, *if you will receive Orders, and become of the Church of* England, *you may, otherwiſe you muſt not be permitted to preach and pray among my Subjects.* Now, can it be ſuppoſed that Queen *Elizabeth*, and Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Chaplain, ſhould ſo little underſtand the Conſtitution of their own Church, as to exact a Re-ordination from *Cummin*, when he had already an Ordination as valid and authentic as any of the Firſt Reformers could pretend to (5)? Of this Circumſtance I took notice in my *Reply*, p. 23, 24, but the *Unmasker*, overlooking, according to his Cuſtom, what he cannot anſwer, contents himſelf with repeating, in his laſt Performance, the Epithets of *a lying legendary Writer*, which I had beſtowed on his admired *Hiſtorian*; and adds, *if, by ſuch Epithets, the Credit of the Author of* Foxes and Firebrands *is to be overturned*, &c. as if I had not ſo much as attempted to overturn it any otherwiſe than by thoſe Epithets. But what does this Man mean when he quotes Biſhop *Stillingfleet* as ſaying, in his UNREASONABLENESS OF SEPARATION, *that the Examination of* Cummin *is publiſhed from the Lord* Burleigh's *Papers, which* ARE *in the Hands of Archbiſhop* Uſher? Would not one conclude from theſe Words, that Archbiſhop *Uſher* lived at the Time thoſe Papers were publiſhed; that he countenanced the Publication; and that they were returned to him afterwards? Every Man certainly would; and the *Unmasker*, no doubt, intended that his unwary Readers ſhould draw that Concluſion from the Biſhop's Words. But the Biſhop ſays *which were*, and not *which are* (6); nor indeed could he expreſs himſelf otherwiſe, it being very certain, that Archbiſhop *Uſher* died in 1655; that this Story was not publiſhed till 1678; and that Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation* did not make its Appearance till 1681. This, therefore, is one of the many Miſrepreſentations and Falſifications employed by the Man *concerned only for Truth*, to impoſe on his ignorant or unwary Readers.

(2) Foxes and Firebrands, p. 14. (3) Ibid. p. 29. (4) See Mr. Withers's *Truth tried*, p. 23. (5) Idem ibid. p. 23, 24. (6) Unreaſonableneſs of Separ. p. 12.

Theſe,

Theſe, and other ſuch-like inflammatory Declamations, ſtood with *the many* in the room of Reaſon and Demonſtration; and ſuch a furious Perſecution was by this means raiſed againſt me, as no Proteſtant ever underwent in a Proteſtant Country, none at leaſt in this ever ſince the Days of bloody Queen *Mary*. Papiſts and Proteſtants joined, out of very different Motives, in the Perſecution. By the former I was perſecuted becauſe I was a Proteſtant; by the latter, becauſe they were made to believe that I ſtill was a Papiſt, nay, and a Jeſuit, choſen by the old Gentleman at *Rome* firſt to undermine, and then blow up both the Church and the State. Theſe groſs Abſurdities, and with them the moſt palpable Contradictions, were greedily ſwallowed by the Credulous, the Simple, the Ill-natured; were ſpread abroad by the Papiſts, by the Jeſuits, by their Proteſtant Ally, by his and their Emiſſaries, and proclaimed in every Coffee-houſe, in every Bookſeller's Shop, in every Place of public Reſort from the Chocolate-houſe to the Night-cellar, and circulated, as the Jeſuits and the Party were not ſparing of their Money on ſo important an Occaſion, into every Part of the Kingdom, by ſome of our mercenary monthly Writers, eſpecially by one of the *Critical Reviewers*, more furious and bitter againſt me than all the reſt (B). It was in vain for me to urge, that if I were a Papiſt and Jeſuit in

(B) I glory in being abuſed by a Man of his Principles, of the ſame Principles with another Dr. who has lately made a *public Figure*, and was the Firſt who did me the Honour to abuſe me with my Betters. All true Friends of our happy Conſtitution think the Dr. *Reviewer* as worthy of being *exalted* as his Brother Dr. but he has eſcaped it by being as inconſiſtent with himſelf in his *Complete Hiſtory* as he is with Truth. The *Unmasker* is his chief Hero; but few Lovers of their Country will envy him the Honour of being the Hero of one, who has dared publicly to condemn the Principles, to which we owe the quiet Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of every thing, that is dear to the Proteſtant Inhabitants of this happy Iſland. He cannot be better pleaſed with his Panegyrics than I am with his Abuſe.——The *Monthly*, as well as their Brethren the *Critical Reviewers*, have been gained over (the World need not be told by what means) to the Popiſh Party; and they have ſo groſly miſrepreſented all I have ſaid in Vindication of my Character, that a Perſon, utterly unknown to me, ſhocked at their Partiality, had the following Obſervation inſerted in the public News-Papers: *Should a Judge at any time inſtruct a Jury in the manner the Public is here inſtructed* (in the *Monthly Review*) *in the Cauſe depending between Mr.* Bower *and his Accuſers, his Memory would be conſigned over to Infamy by all the Lovers of Juſtice and of Mankind.* They indeed pretend to be *impartial Critics*; but a late ingenious Writer has given them a Character which, perhaps, fits them better, that of *Two notorious* Gangs of *Monthly and Critical Book-thieves, hackneyed in the Ways of Wickedneſs* (1).

(1) Eſtimate of the Manners, &c. Vol. II. p. 75, 76.

Diſguiſe, the Papiſts and Jeſuits would not detect me; that for theſe Thirty Years laſt paſt, I had never aſſiſted at any Function of the Popiſh Religion, nor performed any; that I had, during that Time, conſtantly joined in Communion with a Proteſtant Church; that I had expreſſed, on all Occaſions, the greateſt Abhorrence and Contempt of the Doctrines and ſuperſtitious Practices of the Church of *Rome*; that I had related, in all Companies, as an Eye-witneſs, the Barbarities of the Inquiſition, which inſpired all who heard them with an utter Averſion to the Religion that encouraged them; that I was actually engaged in a Work, that attacked the whole Syſtem of Popery, and was thought by the learned Proteſtants both at home and abroad to give it a deep and laſting Wound; that, before this Controverſy commenced, I had converted Three of my neareſt Relations from the Popiſh, in which they were brought up, to the Proteſtant Religion, *&c.* Theſe Facts, tho' too notorious to be denied, or even to be queſtioned, and whatever elſe I could offer in Defence of my Innocence, paſſed with the Unthinking, the Prejudiced, the Undiſcerning, for *quibbling Sophiſtry*; were ſo termed, and no otherwiſe anſwered by the Jeſuits and their Proteſtant Counſel; and I was ſtill the *Papiſt*, and the *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, doing all the Miſchief in my Power to the Popiſh Religion by a particular Diſpenſation from the Pope. Reaſon, nay, and common Senſe, lay dormant; Prejudice, Malice, Envy, and Nonſenſe, prevailed. Men of Underſtanding, and unprejudiced, ſtood aſtoniſhed at the epidemical Infatuation; the Jeſuits rejoiced in their unexpected Succeſs, flattering themſelves that the Reception, which One of their Order had met with from Proteſtants, whoſe Religion he had embraced, would ever deter others from following his Example; their Proteſtant Champion triumphed, boaſting he had all the Dignitaries of the Church on his Side, and with them the whole Nation, except *Fools* and *Knaves*; applauded his own wonderful Sagacity; railed at the Jeſuits in public, till he was out of Breath, for *ſcreening their worthy Brother*, and met them in private to receive from them further Intelligence, and Directions how to uſe it (C).

The Jeſuits were not yet ſatisfied: They found, that tho' they had impoſed their Lies and Calumnies on great Numbers of good and well-meaning, but leſs diſcerning, Proteſtants, yet many, both of

(C) This ſhall be authenticated hereafter by *poſitive Evidence*, owned even by him to be quite *unexceptionable*.

the Prieſthood and the Laity, and they Men of too much good Senſe to miſtake Railing for Reaſoning, Abuſe for Argument, or the Teſtimonies of any given Number of Jeſuits for *demonſtrative Proofs*, looked upon the whole, as a wicked Contrivance of *an Order of Men remarkable for their Forgeries*; that my Friends in particular, who had been acquainted with my private Character, ſome theſe Twenty, ſome theſe Thirty Years, and ſome ever ſince a few Months after my Arrival in *England*, ſtill ſtood by me; and that the Support their Kindneſs gave me, kept me from ſinking under ſo cruel a Perſecution: In order therefore to deprive me of that Support, and at the ſame time make me appear guilty of every thing laid to my Charge in the Eyes of the World, they reſolved (who would believe that the Jeſuits, tho' ſupported by a Party of Proteſtants, would dare ſo much as to think of ſuch an Attempt in a Proteſtant Country!) they reſolved to drive me out of the Kingdom. With that View they wrote, or cauſed a Letter to be written to me, threatening me with a Proſecution for a capital Offence, *if I did not fly the Country as faſt as I did* Italy. In the Letter, the Place was mentioned where the Crime was ſuppoſed to have been committed, *viz. Little Wylde-ſtreet*, inhabited chiefly by Papiſts, Prieſts, and Jeſuits, and in the Neighbourhood of their *univerſal* Evidence *Hannah Hoyles*; the Accomplice was named, who was ready to ſwear to it, with the Man and Woman of the Houſe; and I was told by the Writer of the Letter, who pretended to be my Friend, *Whatever your Innocency may be, it cannot ſtand againſt the Oaths of three Perſons* (D). Had Fear of the threatened Proſecution prevailed, and made me fly the Country *as faſt as I did* Italy, all Mankind would have concluded me guilty of every Charge till then brought againſt me; new Lies would have been coined by the Jeſuits, would have been publiſhed to the World as unqueſtionable Truths by the Trumpeter of their Scandal, and all would have been credited, as no-body could contradict them. This, I knew, was what the Jeſuits aimed at. On the other hand, I was no Stranger to the violent, antichriſtian, and vindictive Spirit of the Society; knew, before Mr. *Arnold* made it known to the World [m], that they have Store of falſe Witneſſes at

[m] See Mr. Arnold's Motives, &c. p. 66.

(D) This Letter I received by the *Bath* Poſt: It has all the Poſt Marks upon it; and as I have it ſtill by me, every Gentleman is welcome to peruſe it.

their Command even in this Kingdom; and therefore had Reaſon to believe, that, if their Menaces had not the wiſhed for Effect, they would not content themſelves with Menaces only. However, truſting in my Innocence, I publicly bid them Defiance, and had the Advertiſement, which the Reader will find in Note (E), inſerted in the public Papers. Hereupon the Jeſuits, finding I was not to be intimidated with their Menaces, began, it ſeems, to dread the Iſſue of ſo deſperate an Attempt; and I heard of it no more. However, as the Libel, intituled, *A full Confutation*, &c. (the *Fire*, which the *Unmasker had prudently reſerved*, as he expreſſes himſelf in the Stile of a Ruffian or a Highwayman [n]), appeared at this time, and I was obliged to take the Country Air for a few Days on account of my Health, it was poſitively aſſerted, and believed by many, that my Friends had all to a Man forſaken me, convinced of my Guilt; and that I had thereupon *fled the Country*.

In the Height of this no leſs cruel than unjuſt Perſecution, Providence unexpectedly interpoſed in Defence of injured Innocence, and the wicked Deſigns of the Jeſuits were, when they leaſt expected it, laid open to the World. As I could expect no Teſtimonials in my favour from abroad, or from the Papiſts at home, I could only by Reaſonings confute their Lies and Calumnies. But *to oppoſe Poſitive Evidence only by Reaſonings*, had, I was told by the *Unmasker*, a *very ſuſpicious Aſpect*; nay, and not to credit the moſt incredible Facts upon the Evidence of Men known and unanſwerably proved to be Liars and Slanderers by Principle, was ſtiled, by this polite *Gentleman*, *Effrontery not to be parallelled*. Such was the State of the Controverſy, when, fortunately for the Cauſe of Truth, and unfortunately for the Jeſuits, and the unhappy Man whom they employed as their Tool, I was, contrary to all Expectation, furniſhed with *poſitive Evidence*, *poſitive Proteſtant Evidence*, owned and

[n] Bower and Till. p. 83.

(E) *Whereas a Gentleman received a Letter on* Tueſday *the Twenty-ſecond Inſtant, by the* Bath *Poſt, ſigned* David Turner, *acquainting him, under the Maſk of Friendſhip, with an intended Proſecution againſt him for a capital Offence, and thereupon adviſing him to fly the Country: He takes this Opportunity to let the Writer of that Letter know, that truſting in his own Innocence, and the Juſtice of the Law, he is not afraid of the Threats of his Enemies, nor of falſe Oaths; and deſires his pretended Friend, if he ſhould ſee* James Davis (the chief Evidence) *that he would recommend him by all means to apply to Mr. Juſtice* Fielding.

This Advertiſement was inſerted in the *Gazetteer*, *the Public Advertiſer*, and the *General Evening Poſt*, *February* 26, 1757.

even

even quoted by them as *unexceptionable*; I mean the *Evidence* of *William Arnold*, a Perſon well known to many Catholics in this Kingdom, and not an intire Stranger to the *Unmasker* himſelf. He was, like many others, perverted by the Jeſuits from Proteſtantiſm to Popery, and for ſome time ſo well pleaſed with his new Religion, that he declined a creditable and lucrative Employment offered him by the Government, when it was not yet publicly known that he was a Papiſt (F). This rivetted him in the Favour of the Jeſuits; and they placed an intire Confidence in ſo ſincere a Proſelyte, thinking him too faſt bound with the Fetters of Popery ever to attempt the Recovery of his former Proteſtant Liberty. But a more intimate Acquaintance with holy Mother Church plainly convinced him, that the Sanctity of her moſt zealous Members was all Grimace; that their Principles were unchriſtian, and their Practices a Scandal to the very Name of Religion, and unbecoming even an unenlightened Gentile. He thereupon applied to a learned and very worthy Clergyman of the Church of *England*, the Reverend *John Corpe*, Rector of *Wayford*, with whom he had formerly lived in great Intimacy; opened his Mind to him with the greateſt Freedom and Sincerity; acquainted him with every thing that had given him Offence in his new Religion, and, among the reſt, with the Conduct of the Jeſuits in regard to me. Upon this Intelligence, the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*, having firſt ſolved all his Doubts, and brought the ſtrayed Sheep back to the Fold, earneſtly preſſed him, in the next place, to *inform him of all he knew relative to the Perſecution raiſed by the Jeſuits againſt Mr.* Bower. Mr. *Arnold* not only complied with his earneſt Sollicitations, but was in the end prevailed upon by his Friend, notwithſtanding the Apprehenſion he was under of a Popiſh Perſecution, to conſent to his making what Uſe he pleaſed of the Intelligence he had given him. Mr. *Corpe* therefore, now well appriſed of the wicked Deſigns of the Jeſuits, and *thinking it*, to uſe his own

(F) In the late War, Mr. *Arnold* was appointed Agent for Priſoners of War, and ſick and wounded Seamen and Marines; and that Office he diſcharged to the intire Satisfaction of thoſe who employed him, inſomuch that he might have been honoured again with the ſame Commiſſion upon the breaking out of the preſent War. But, as he was then a Papiſt, he thought it would be utterly inconſiſtent with the Principles of moral Honeſty to eat the Bread of the Government, when he muſt be under the moſt violent Temptations of forfeiting his Allegiance to his King, and promoting privately the Intereſts of thoſe, who were bitter Enemies to all that is valued by a Proteſtant People. Theſe were the Motives that induced him to decline a creditable and lucrative Employment. (*See Mr.* Arnold's *Motives*, &c. p. 42.)

Words,

Words, *inconſiſtent with his Duty as a Chriſtian, and much more as a Proteſtant and a Clergyman, to ſtand by as an idl Spectator, and ſuffer a Man, though utterly unknown to him, to be condemned as guilty, when he had the moſt inconteſtable Proofs of his Innocence* [o], communicated, upon that Conſideration, to the Public the Two Letters which his Friend had written to him *concerning the Conduct of the Jeſuits in the Affair of Mr.* Bower, with ſome very pertinent Remarks, and a Preface prefixed to them (G). I ſhall here preſent the Reader with his Preface, or introductory Diſcourſe, in his own Words, that it may remain, ſo long as my Hiſtory ſhall remain, a Monument of his Candour and Goodneſs of Heart, as well as of his *ſincere* Love of Truth, and *unfeigned* Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion. It is as follows:

" The ſincere Love I bear to Truth, and the tender Regard I have
" for our moſt happy Conſtitution both in Church and State, will,
" I hope, plead my Excuſe for taking Part in the preſent Contro-
" verſy between *Archibald Bower* and the *Jeſuits*. It requires
" no great Penetration to ſee, that the Attack made upon that
" Gentleman is a Thing of ſome Conſequence to the Proteſtant
" Cauſe; for otherwiſe it will be hard to aſſign a probable Reaſon,
" that ſhould induce the profeſſed Enemies of our *Sion* to take ſo
" much Pains in rendering one Man deteſtable in the Sight of a
" whole Proteſtant Nation; one Man who, ſo far as I can find,
" has never given to any Proteſtant in the Nation juſt Cauſe
" of Complaint. Many and grievous are the Accuſations brought
" againſt him; no Colours are thought too black for him to wear;
" *an Impoſtor, a notorious Liar, a Senſualiſt, a Freethinker, a diſ-*
" *guiſed Papiſt,* are the ſounding Titles throughout the Bill of In-
" dictment, which ſome Proteſtants, as well as Papiſts, have thought
" fit to find againſt him."

[o] Preface to a Poſtſcript, p. 4.

(G) This Piece was publiſhed under the following Title: *Some very remarkable Facts lately diſcovered, relating to the Conduct of the Jeſuits with regard to Mr.* Bower, *which will greatly contribute to unravel the Myſtery of that Affair. By a Clergyman of the Church of* England.

In Perils by mine own Countrymen—in Perils among falſe Brethren. 2 Cor. xi. 26.

It underwent a Second Edition to which Mr. *Corpe* put his Name; and added a *Preface* and *Poſtſcript, ſhewing the many baſe Miſrepreſentations and notorious Falſehoods contained in the Poſtſcript of a Pamphlet, intituled,* A complete and final Detection, *&c.*

Mr.

" Mr. *Bower* being thus repreſented as a Monſter, hideous and " frightful, the whole World was taught to cry out, *away with " ſuch a Fellow from the Earth, it is not fit that he ſhould live.* " That ſuch a Cry ſhould have been raiſed by Popiſh *Prieſts*, " *Jeſuits*, *Monks*, *Friars*, and the whole *Tribe of Papiſts*; that " the Catholic Party, from which Mr. *Bower* had ſeparated himſelf, " ſhould leave no Stone unturned to blacken and defame him, was " nothing more than I expected to come from that Quarter; but " that a Proteſtant, and a Proteſtant Clergyman, ſhould be found in " this Kingdom ſo baſe as to join them, nay, and put himſelf at " their Head, and encourage them, is what I did not expect, and " what has quite ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed me. Such is the Temper " of Popiſh Zeal and Malice, as to render Proteſtant Succours alto- " gether unneceſſary in any Battles, that may concern the Intereſt of " holy Mother Church. Were Proteſtants as unanimous as they " ought to be among themſelves, they would ſtill have enough upon " their Hands to ward off the Blows that are continually aimed at " them from the Catholic Quarter. What then ſhall we think of " thoſe Proteſtants amongſt us, who glory in being employed as Po- " piſh Engines, and appear upon the public Stage as chief Actors in " a Catholic Tragedy?"

" It hath been Mr. *Bower*'s hard Fate to know and to feel the " Fury of miſguided Zeal and deliberate Malice. Had he not de- " clared himſelf an open Enemy of Popiſh Errors, had he not ſhewn " himſelf both willing and able to confute them, I am fully convinced " he never would have been the Object of Jeſuitical Malice and Po- " piſh Perſecution. If we ſearch the Annals of Time, we ſhall not " find one Man who had left the Papiſts, and had either done them " and their Cauſe actual Hurt, or was, in their Judgment, capable " of doing them Hurt, whoſe Character they have not endeavoured " to blacken. I cannot therefore tell, whether it raiſeth my Pity or " Indignation moſt, when I ſee Proteſtants ſo eaſily deceived by " Popiſh Appearances, ſo eaſily impoſed upon by the crafty Emiſſaries " of *Rome*, and ſo readily drawn into a Plot againſt themſelves."

" In this Light I cannot help placing the Controverſy between " Mr. *Bower* and the Jeſuits, which hath ſo long engaged the At- " tention of the Public. It is true indeed, at preſent, the poiſoned " Arrows of Popery ſeem to be pointed only againſt Mr. *Bower*; " yet, if this Attack ſhould be carried on by Proteſtants, and under

" colour of Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, or out of a pretended
" Love for Truth, who knows where a Popiſh Triumph will end?"

" As I live in the Country, at a great Diſtance from *London*,
" quite free, thank Heaven! from all Party Rage, from all Prepoſ-
" ſeſſion and Prejudice, I peruſed, with the utmoſt Impartiality, and
" equal Attention, whatever was publiſhed on either Side relating
" to a Controverſy, that appeared to me to be of the greateſt Conſe-
" quence to the Proteſtant Cauſe; and I can aſſure the Reader, that
" I was by that means ſo thoroughly convinced of Mr. *Bower*'s In-
" nocence, and the Malice of his Enemies, that it became to me
" Matter of the greateſt Aſtoniſhment, that any Man of Candour
" and Senſe ſhould be found in all *Britain*, who was not as tho-
" roughly convinced of the one and the other as I was myſelf. How-
" ever, as Men who value their own Peace, are not eaſily prevailed
" upon to intereſt themſelves in the Quarrels of others, I ſhould have
" contented myſelf with my own private Conviction, had not kind
" Providence, ever watching over the Innocent, ſupplied me, and
" indeed very unexpectedly, with ſuch Proofs of Mr. *Bower*'s In-
" nocence, as the Principles of Humanity and common Juſtice would
" not allow me to conceal from the Public: Proofs founded upon
" Facts too ſtubborn to be reſiſted, and too clear to be evaded with
" all the Magic of Jeſuitical Sophiſtry."

" Theſe *Facts* I ſhall now lay before the Public, as an Advocate
" for Truth and injured Innocence; and they will diſcloſe to the
" World a moſt wicked Plot formed againſt Mr. *Bower* by the
" avowed Enemies of our happy Conſtitution both in Church and
" State, and carried into Execution by *J*——*D*——*s*, Clerk, Author
" of the ſcurrilous and defamatory Libels publiſhed againſt the ſaid
" Mr. *Bower*, and *a Man, than whom the Papiſts and Jeſuits*
" *could not have found another more fit to execute their wicked*
" *Deſigns in all his Majeſty's* Britiſh *Dominions*. They could not
" at leaſt, I hope, have found another Clergyman, who would have
" ſubmitted to be the *Tool of Papiſts and Jeſuits, and to do their*
" *dirty Work for them*."

" As it would be a miſerable Waſte of my Time to follow my Pro-
" teſtant Brother and his Jeſuits through all the Kennels, into which
" they have raked for Dirt to beſpatter Mr. *Bower*, I ſhall refer the
" Reader to that Gentleman's *Anſwers* to the Libels publiſhed againſt
" him, and confine myſelf to the *Facts* that have been providentially

" thrown

" thrown in my Way. The Perſon, whom I ſhall introduce to " atteſt them, is one, whoſe Teſtimony, I am ſure, Mr. *D——s* " will read with Confuſion, Mr. *D——s*'s Catholic Patrons will ad- " mit with Sorrow and Amazement, and the Friends of Truth and " the Proteſtant Cauſe pay more Regard to than to an Hundred Cer- " tificates, an Hundred Letters, an Hundred Oaths of Men, who think " it not only lawful but meritorious to lye and to forge for the Good " of holy Mother Church; nay, and to confirm with the moſt ſolemn " Oaths their Lyes and their Forgeries."

" Mr. *William Arnold*, Apothecary, a Perſon well known to " many Catholics in this Kingdom, and not an intire Stranger to " Mr. *Douglas* himſelf, is one of the many who have been entrap- " ped in Popiſh Snares, and unhappily perverted from the Proteſtant " Faith by *thoſe*, who continually ſeek whom they may devour. " After having continued ſome time a Member of the Church of " *Rome*, he became better acquainted with its Rules and Precepts; " but he was not better pleaſed with the Change he had made. " However, as he at firſt became a Papiſt under a Conviction that the " Church of *Rome* was the one true Church of *Chriſt*, he was almoſt " afraid to think of leaving again his new Church; and yet found " himſelf unwilling to continue a Member of it with the many " Doubts and Scruples which continually increaſed upon him. In " this Situation of Mind he was pleaſed to addreſs himſelf to me, " as a Clergyman, with whom he had formerly been acquainted, " and, in a friendly Letter, propoſed ſome Queſtions of Contro- " verſy between the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *England*. " I very readily took upon myſelf the Task of ſatisfying his Doubts, " and anſwering his Arguments in favour of Popery. Our Corre- " ſpondence for ſome time ran in this Chanel, till at length my " Friend yielded to Truth; and I had the Happineſs of being an " humble Inſtrument in reſtoring him again a ſincere Member to " the Church, and reſcuing him from the violent Temptation of " being a diſloyal Subject to his Majeſty. My Friend was greatly " ſatisfied within himſelf, and expreſſed no ſmall Joy at the Step he " had taken. In the Courſe of our Correſpondence, he diſcloſed " to me many Anecdotes of *Popiſh Principles* and *Practices* in this " Kingdom, which ſerved only to ſtir me up to greater Diligence " in bringing him back to the Fold from which he had ſtrayed. As " the Diſpute between Mr. *Bower* and the Jeſuits made a great Noiſe

" at that time, and he had incidentally mentioned ſome Particulars
" relative to it, I urged my Friend very warmly to communicate to
" me all he knew concerning that Controverſy. The Teſtimony
" he now offers to the Public is in Subſtance nothing more than
" what he delivered to me, in private Correſpondence, near Twelve
" Months ago. Glad as I was to find any thing that might ſupport
" the Cauſe of Truth and injured Innocence, I carefully preſerved
" his Teſtimony for my own Satisfaction, without the leaſt Inten-
" tion of making any public Uſe of it. But when I found the Po-
" piſh Party, like the troubled Sea, could not be at reſt, but ſtill
" continued to caſt Mire and Dirt upon the injured Mr. *Bower*;
" when I ſaw plainly they were reſolved to eſtabliſh *an Inquiſition*
" even in this Kingdom; I then thought it high Time to diſcharge
" my Duty to God and Man, by endeavouring, as far as I was able,
" to ſtem the Torrent of *Popery*, and check, if poſſible, the quick
" Growth of thoſe Tares the perfidious Sons of *Rome* were about to
" ſow, to the Ruin of all that is dear to a true Proteſtant, and an
" honeſt *Britain*. For this Reaſon I very earneſtly entreated my
" Friend Mr. *Arnold* to publiſh to the World what he had diſcloſed
" to me in private, and to join with me in turning Advocate for
" Mr. *Bower*, notwithſtanding he was a Perſon intirely unknown to
" us both. He at firſt ſeemed very unwilling to appear in Public,
" and expreſſed moſt fearful Apprehenſions of a Popiſh Storm, that
" might fall upon him as well as Mr. *Bower*. He knew, he told
" me, the Principles of Catholics *too well not to be afraid of them*.
" It is needleſs to inform the Reader what Arguments I uſed, or
" what Motives I urged, to ſtir him up to withſtand a *Set of People*,
" who, by his own Confeſſion, were avowed Enemies to our moſt
" happy Conſtitution in Church and State, and ſecretly wiſhed for
" nothing ſo much as the total Deſtruction of both. I was verily
" perſuaded in myſelf, that neither he nor I could take a more effec-
" tual Method to convince the World that we were ſincere Friends
" of the Proteſtant Cauſe, than by unravelling the Myſtery of *Popiſh*
" *Plots*, and appearing publicly in Defence of the injured Author
" of the *Hiſtory of the Popes*."

" I muſt not forget to obſerve here, that this ſame Mr. *Arnold*
" had been often tampered with, and violently preſſed, to join in
" the Popiſh Cry againſt Mr. *Bower*. But the Fear of God, and the
" Love of Truth, very happily prevailed; and, while a Papiſt, he paid

" more

" more Regard to moral Honeſty than to all the preſſing Sollicitations " even of the invincible Mr. *D——s*, with all the Popiſh Train " at his Heels. Many indeed have been the Snares laid, and very " curious the Devices uſed at *other Times*, and upon *other Occa-* " *ſions*, to draw Mr. *Arnold* from the Paths of Truth, Reaſon, " and Loyalty, and tempt him into the Pit of Sorrow, Sin, and Diſ- " affection. Had not Providence ſheltered him under its Wings, " had not a natural Senſe of Honeſty and Goodneſs influenced his " Thoughts, and directed his Words and Actions, he muſt have fallen " into the various Snares deſigned for his Ruin. I cannot therefore " eaſily expreſs the Satisfaction I felt when I ſaw Mr. *Arnold* reco- " vered from the Danger he was in, and found him ready to deteſt " Error, and vindicate Truth. It may, perhaps, be ſtiled Preſump- " tion, if not Arrogance, in me to ſay, that his Teſtimony is deci- " ſive of the whole Controverſy between the Jeſuits, Mr. *D——s*, " and Mr. *Bower*. I am content to let it ſpeak for itſelf: And if, " after a ſerious and impartial Examination of what is now deli- " vered by Mr. *Arnold*, there ſhall be found any Perſons who ſhall " declare, that enough is not yet done to ſet this whole Controverſy " in a true Light, and to acquit Mr. *Bower* of the Charge brought " againſt him, I hope I may be pardoned by them, if I pity their " Prejudices, and lament their Want of Conviction; but I could " not pardon myſelf were I to follow the Example of Mr. *D——s*, " and declare in Public, that all ſuch Perſons muſt be either *Knaves* " or *Fools*."

" Thus much I thought proper to premiſe, as well for the Satiſ- " faction of the Reader, as in Vindication of myſelf, for the Liberty " I take in introducing the following Teſtimony of my Friend Mr. " *Arnold*."

And now to come to Mr. *Arnold*'s Evidence, as delivered to his worthy Friend and Correſpondent in the Two Letters I have mentioned: He there declares, and is ready to make Oath, " that, upon " his freely ſpeaking his Thoughts to the Jeſuit *Kingſley* his Con- " feſſor, and diſapproving their traducing a Gentleman's private Cha- " racter in ſo public a Manner, the ſaid *Kingſley* endeavoured to " ſatisfy him, ſaying, You know very well Mr. *Bower* was one of " us; he has apoſtatized from the true Religion and his Order, to the " very great Scandal of both; and not only ſo, but has written im- " piouſly againſt the Church, and is ſtill engaged in that dirty Work,

" ſo

" ſo that this Method is taken to diſcredit the Author, as the only " Way to diſcredit his Works, which will ſtand or fall according to " the Credit of the Author (A)." Mr. *Arnold* further declares, " that he well remembers Mr. *Kingſley* at this very time made a " Calculation of Mr. *Bower*'s Age, by reckoning how old he was " when he came to *England*, and how long he had been here; " which made him, according to his Account, Seventy-two or Three " at that time; at which Age, he ſaid, he made no Doubt but ſuch " a Shock as they ſhould give him would produce one or other of " the Two following GOOD EFFECTS, either put him into ſuch Diſ- " order and Confuſion of animal Spirits as would ſtop his Pen, by " giving him ſome Diſeaſe which might ſhorten his Days, or elſe " make him, after ſo violent an Attack, relent, and fly to his Reli- " gion and Order again, as the only true Harbour to ſecure him from " ſuch a Storm (B)."

As Mr. *Arnold* did not acquieſce in the Reaſons alleged by his ſpiritual Director to juſtify their Method of proceeding againſt their apoſtate Brother, *Kingſley* added, " that they had always treated Mr. " *Bower*, tho' an Apoſtate, with all manner of Complaiſance, and " had done their utmoſt to keep him in good Humour with them, " in hopes he might, one Day or other, come back to his Religion " and Order. Beſides, we have, he ſaid, great Things in the Gift

(A) Mrs. *Arnold*, Wife to Mr. *Arnold*, likewiſe declares, and is ready to make Oath, that ſhe has often heard her Confeſſor Mr. *Kingſley*, ſpeaking of Mr. *Bower*'s *Hiſtory of the Popes*, ſay, *to diſcredit the Author is the only Way to diſcredit the Work*; and *down with the Author, and the Work is good for nothing.*—The Jeſuits had, no doubt, read my *Hiſtory*; but did not, it ſeems, find out, till the very *learned* Unmasker informed them, that it is a *moſt deſpicable Performance*; that it is *calculated to promote Popery*, nay, and written by one of the Society *in Diſguiſe*, with a particular Diſpenſation from his Holineſs at *Rome*; for, had they been appriſed of this, inſtead of *diſcrediting the Author, in order to diſcredit more effectually the Work*, they would certainly have countenanced it, at leaſt, among their own People.

(B) The End thoſe good Fathers propoſed to themſelves was holy, and it juſtified all the Lies and Calumnies, and every other Means they could employ to compaſs it, agreeably to their known Maxim, *the End juſtifies the Means*. Indeed I never entertained the leaſt Doubt but that it was to *make me relent, and fly back to the Religion and Order I had left*, that the Jeſuits raiſed ſo furious a Perſecution againſt me; and I declared it in my Firſt Apology. (*Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p.* 107.) The Unmasker himſelf was not, it ſeems, unacquainted with this their Deſign; and therefore, joining his pious Endeavours to theirs, he took care to let me know, that *the Church of* England *is no Aſylum for an Outcaſt of the Church of* Rome; which was, in other Terms, bidding me return to that Church. But I have continued, and hope ever ſhall, to hold faſt the pure Doctrine I have embraced, in ſpite of the joint Efforts of the Jeſuits and their unnatural Ally to drive me back to the idolatrous Practices of Popery.

" of

" of our Church abroad; all which have been offered him, and " every Meaſure has been taken to regain him; but he ſtill perſiſted " obſtinately to go on in his Wickedneſs, which made us reſolve to " expoſe thoſe Letters, as no other Method would do with him (C)."

As thoſe Letters were in the Poſſeſſion of Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, and ſhewn by him, Mr. *Arnold* asked his Jeſuit Confeſſor, *how*

(C) Thus Father *Kingſley*: And here I beg leave to obſerve, that the Conduct of the Jeſuits in regard to me, as deſcribed by that Jeſuit, is intirely agreeable to the Conduct of the ſame Fathers in regard to *Jarrige* and *Reihing*, as deſcribed by *Bayle*. *Jarrige* and *Reihing* apoſtatized, as I have done, from the holy Catholic Church, and the holy Society of Jeſus; and the Jeſuits thought no Pains too much, no Offers too great, to reclaim the one and the other from their Apoſtacy. *Jarrige* yielded; but *Reihing perſiſting obſtinately to go on in his Wickedneſs*, they changed their Meaſures, had Recourſe to Slander and Defamation, publiſhed defamatory Libels againſt him, and publicly arraigned him of a criminal Converſation with a young Woman, giving out that he had fled to avoid Infamy and Puniſhment (1). This very Method they have purſued with me, and they purſue it with all who leave them after their laſt Vows and ſolemn Profeſſion, without any Regard to their Merit or Demerit, determined to leave no Means, fair or foul, unattempted to redeem their holy Society from the Diſgrace of having one of its Members die a Heretic. Had the Jeſuits in *Germany* been ſo fortunate as to find a Proteſtant Clergyman to eſpouſe their Cauſe, under colour of Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; to publiſh furious Invectives againſt their fallen Brother; to paint him at one time as a *zealous Papiſt, and a Jeſuit in Diſguiſe, licenſed by the Pope to wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm*; at another, as *neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant, but a determined Infidel*; and to extol them as Men *of Candor that did them Honour*, of *unexceptionable Characters*, and *unqueſtionable Veracity*; they might perhaps, by that means, have impoſed their ſlanderous Lyes, however contradictory, on the ignorant undiſcerning Multitude, and raiſed as violent a Perſecution againſt that good Man as they have done againſt me. But they found no ſuch Clergyman in the Reformed Churches of *Germany*; and there *Reihing* is, in ſpite of all the Efforts of Popiſh Malice, honoured to this Day as one, who *ſincerely* renounced, tho' a Jeſuit, the Error of Popery, and died a true Proteſtant.

As for the *Unmasker*'s wild Notions, *viz.* that *I courted the Jeſuits for ſeveral Years, without Succeſs, to be re-admitted into the Order, or received into Favour*; that *they obliged me to purchaſe my Return, or Forgiveneſs of my paſt Offences, with all I was worth*; that *they ſuffered me to continue in my Apoſtacy for the Space of Four Years after I had paid them the Purchaſe-money*; that *I had Connexions with them of ſuch a Nature, as made it to be Matter of the utmoſt Indifference, whether the Letters to* Sheldon *were forged or genuine*, &c. Theſe, and ſuch-like ridiculous, abſurd Notions, or rather Reveries, I fully confuted with Reaſonings, when I little expected that what I urged againſt them ſhould ever be confirmed by *poſitive Evidence*, or by the Teſtimony of the Jeſuits themſelves, owning that I did not court them, but they courted me; that they made me great Offers, which I rejected; that, in ſpite of all their Kindneſſes, I *perſiſted obſtinately to go on in my Wickedneſs*, or continued an obſtinate Heretic, that is, a true Proteſtant; and that it was becauſe *no other Method would do with me*, that they expoſed thoſe Letters.—The Jeſuits uſed the Word *expoſe*, the Forging of thoſe Letters being a Secret that they kept to themſelves, and could diſcover to *no Seculars*, not even to Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, nor to Mr. *Sheldon*, without a Breach of one of the ſtanding Rules of the Order (2).

(1) See Bayle's Hiſtor. Diction.

(2) See above, p. 59.

that Genteman came to be the chief Agent employed in this Affair, ſince the Letters were written to the Provincial of the Jeſuits? To this the Jeſuit anſwered, " that they had furniſhed Sir *Henry* " *Bedingfeld* with the Letters in queſtion to act for them, as it " would be conſtrued a perſecuting Spirit in them, who were un- " juſtly charged with being of that Diſpoſition; and that they judged " it would make its Appearance in the World better from a Lay " Quarter than from the peaceable Miniſters of Chriſt (D)."

Thus far, from *poſitive Evidence*, of the Motives that induced the Jeſuits to raiſe, in a Proteſtant Country, ſo furious a Perſecution againſt one of their Order, a Convert from Popery to Proteſtantiſm; of the End they propoſed to themſelves in raiſing it; and of the Perſons they employed as their Agents or Tools, *viz.* a Popiſh Layman, and a Proteſtant Clergyman, to carry it into Execution, keeping themſelves as much as poſſible out of Sight, leſt *the peaceable Miniſters of Chriſt ſhould be charged with being of a perſecuting Diſpoſition.* I have already alleged many remarkable Inſtances to ſhew to the World what ſort of Men I have to deal with, what little Regard they pay to Conſcience, Honour, Honeſty, or Truth; and ſhall add here, upon the ſame *poſitive Evidence*, one more, as remarkable as any I have yet produced. It is as follows, and it will give us an Inſight into the Characters of my Accuſers, and at the ſame time ſome Notion of their unchriſtian and iniquitous Method of proceeding in the preſent Controverſy.

(D) That a Papiſt, under the immediate Direction of the Jeſuits, ſhould have ſubmitted to the Drudgery of carrying on a Perſecution for them againſt an Apoſtate from their Church and their Order, is not at all to be wondered at. A Papiſt, as ſuch. is a Perſecutor by Principle, whatever Moderation he may hypocritically affect, the better to impoſe upon ſimple and credulous Proteſtants. But what muſt the World think of a Proteſtant *Miniſter of Chriſt*, and Member of a Church that abhors, to her Glory be it ſaid, all Perſecution, taking upon him to act a Part, the odious and antichriſtian Part of a Perſecutor, which the Jeſuits themſelves thought it inconſiſtent with their Characters, as *Miniſters of Chriſt*, openly to act, and therefore transferred it to a Layman! What Pains has this Man taken to ſcreen his Friends the Jeſuits, and prevent the Odium of ſuch a Perſecution from falling upon them? The Jeſuits, ſays he, thoſe innocent Lambs, *are no ways concerned in this Affair*; *they bear* B——r *no Rancour*, *no Ill-will*; nay, *they are his beſt Friends*, (Full Confut. p. 36.) and *have expreſſed the utmoſt Concern that the Letters were made known to Proteſtants.* (Complete Detect. p. 28.) But we have here *poſitive Evidence* to the contrary; and even abſtracting from that, no Man can ſuppoſe that one, known to be under the Influence of the Jeſuits, and intirely governed by them, would communicate to Proteſtants Letters written to their Provincial, againſt their Will, or without their Approbation, without the Approbation, at leaſt, of the Jeſuit his Confeſſor, or of Father *Carteret*, who had been long his Family Director, was Provincial of the Order when the Letters were made public, and in *London?*

Mr.

Mr. *Arnold* had a Siſter, who died at *Bath*; on which Occaſion he took a Journey to that Place, and talking there with a Servant Maid, who had formerly lived with his Siſter, of a vexatious Law-ſuit, and the many other Troubles which ſhe had had, and which, the Maid believed, had ſhortened her Days, ſhe told him, ſhe fancied there was a Love-affair between her and one Mr. *Bower*, which might have added to her other Troubles. Mr. *Arnold* had never before heard of that Love-affair or Courtſhip from his Siſter, nor from any-body elſe. However, he communicated this Intelligence to his Father Confeſſor Mr. *King ſley* in private friendly Confidence, upon that Jeſuit's painting me, who was quite unknown to him, in ſuch Colours as made him look upon me as the moſt wicked Wretch upon Earth. About Two Years after this Converſation, and a little Time before the preſent Controverſy commenced, the ſame Jeſuit coming to Mr. *Arnold*'s Houſe, and putting him in Mind of what he had formerly told him, ſaid, He apprehended he muſt have ſome Letters from Mr. *Bower* to his Siſter in his own Hand-writing. Mr. *Arnold* aſſured him, that he never had had any Letters of Mr. *Bower*'s Writing in his Poſſeſſion; but the Jeſuit, nevertheleſs, deſiring him to get together all his Siſter's Letters, that he might ſee whether ſhe had made any mention of Mr. *Bower* in them, the Letters were got together accordingly, and peruſed firſt by *King ſley*, and afterwards by Sir *Henry Beding feld*, Mr. *Arnold* waiting upon that Gentleman with them at his Requeſt and Mr. *King ſley*'s. Sir *Henry* entered on that Occaſion upon the Affair of the Courtſhip, when Mr. *Arnold* related to him what he had told to his Confeſſor; but injoined him Secreſy, as the Affair had never been publicly talked of; and Sir *Henry* gave him his Word of Honour that he would never mention it.

Mr. *Arnold* had ſcarce begun to talk of the Affair, when an elderly Gentleman coming into the Room, he roſe up, and dropt the Converſation, till Sir *Henry* deſired him to go on, ſaying, *that Gentleman there is a Man of Honour, and my particular Friend, and I will be anſwerable for his Secreſy as well as my own.* This *Man of Honour*, and Sir *Henry*'s *particular Friend*, was, as Mr. *Arnold*'s Confeſſor afterwards informed him, the good Father *Carteret*, then Provincial of the Order. As Mr. *Arnold* came down the Stairs from Sir *Henry*, he met, and was not a little ſurpriſed to meet there, a *tall, thin Clergyman, in his Gown and Caſſock, running up very*

briskly to him. The *tall, thin Clergyman* was the Reverend Mr. *Douglas*, Vicar of *High Ercal, Salop.*——As my Name was not ſo much as once mentioned in Mrs. *Arnold*'s Letters to her Brother, nor ſo much as a diſtant Hint given in them of any Courtſhip whatever, Sir *Henry* ſent them back to Mr. *Arnold* early next Morning, with a Note to return him Thanks for the Peruſal of them (D).

Mr. *Arnold* expected Sir *Henry* would keep his Word of Honour; but, to his great Surprize, the above-mentioned *tall thin Clergyman*, coming to his Houſe on the 22d of *November* 1756, produced a Letter, which, he ſaid, he had received from Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, who preſented his Compliments to him, and deſired he would hear him read how he had ſtated the Caſe of Mr. *Bower*'s Correſpondence with his Siſter, in order to make it public, if he approved of it. Mr. *Arnold* was not more ſurpriſed at Sir *Henry*'s Intention of publiſhing to the World an Affair, which he had promiſed, upon his Honour, he would never mention, than he was at the Manner in which it was ſtated in the Paper that the ſaid Clergyman brought and read to him for his Approbation; for in that Paper it was aſſerted, as poſitive Matter of Fact, that I *had courted Mrs.* Arnold *for many Years*; that I *had engaged her Affections by repeated Promiſes of Marriage*; but, *trampling under Foot the moſt ſacred Obligations, had diſappointed her*; and *that ſhe, hearing I was married, broke her Heart, and died.* Thus was I charged, in the moſt poſitive Terms, with the Death, or, as it was called in that Paper, with the *Murder* of Mrs. *Arnold*; and the Charge was worked up with all the Virulence of the keeneſt Malice. Mr. *Arnold*, ſhocked at his being required to authenticate what he never ſaid, nay, what he had always declared he could not ſay in Conſcience, told Mr. *Douglas*, that his Siſter had had many and grievous Troubles, particularly a vexatious Law-ſuit, that had plagued her for many Years; that it was not in his Power to affirm which of her Troubles was the greateſt, or whether ſhe died of Trouble or any other Diſeaſe; that all the Evidence he could produce in this weighty Matter was hear-ſay Evidence from the Tattle of a Servant-maid, who was ſince dead, and perhaps would deny it, if ſhe were living; and he therefore deſired

(D) The Note was as follows: *Sir* Henry Bedingfeld's *Compliments to Mr.* Arnold, *with many Thanks for the Peruſal of the Letters: They can be of no Service to the preſent Affair.*
Wedneſday.

Mr.

Mr. *Douglas* would not depend upon him to atteſt his Paper. Hereupon the Reverend Gentleman, pretending to acquieſce, deſired him to be eaſy, and aſſured him, that, as he did not approve of it, no Notice ſhould be taken of it; but, at the ſame time, he invited, and very earneſtly preſſed him to appoint ſome Evening that Week to take a Glaſs at his Houſe with him and a Friend or Two, when they were to talk this Matter gravely over again (E).

This Converſation Mr. *Arnold* communicated to *King ſley* his Confeſſor, declaring to him at the ſame time, that he could not in Conſcience ſuffer the Story of his Siſter, as repreſented by Mr. *Douglas*, to be publiſhed upon his Authority. *King ſley* replied, after pauſing a little, " Why, I don't know well what to ſay to it: " I am afraid all this will rather harden *Bower* than do him any " Good: I wiſh we had never begun it. But, as to *Bower*, you " may be aſſured it is quite over with him; his Word will never be " taken again for any thing; ſo that you have nothing to fear from " him, if you ſuffer the Story of your Siſter to be inſerted upon " your Authority." The godly Director puts Conſcience quite out of the Queſtion, inſinuating to his ſpiritual Pupil, that, *as he had nothing to fear from me*, he might ſafely arraign me, or ſuffer me to be arraigned, upon his Authority, of no leſs a Crime than Murder, though he did not know nor believe me to be guilty. Thus Mr. *Arnold* underſtood his ghoſtly Father: And how was he ſhocked, as he was not yet ſo far jeſuited as to have renounced the Principles of moral Honeſty, at ſuch a wicked Inſinuation from the Perſon,

(E) " What could Mr. *D——s* propoſe to himſelf," ſays here very pertinently the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*, " in thus " inviting Mr. *Arnold*, after the above " Converſation, a Man whom he had never ſeen before, and who had never ſeen " him, but when he met him *running briſkly up ſtairs to Sir* H. B. *and Father* " Carteret, Provincial of the Jeſuits? (the " hopeful Triumvirate!) Have we not " too much Reaſon to believe, that Mr. " *D—s* and his Friend or Two flattered " themſelves, that ſome Word or Expreſſion might eſcape Mr. *Arnold* over a Bottle which they could lay hold of, and " conſtrue into his authenticating their infamous, lying, defamatory Paper, and " conſenting to its being made public? " But Mr. *Arnold*, knowing what ſort of " Men he had to deal with, was too much " on his Guard to fall into the Snare, and " therefore refuſed to comply with the inſidious Invitation.—Mr. *D--s* tells us, " that *he blames himſelf for nothing in this whole Affair, but for having hazarded a Converſation with a Man he did not know.* But it was plainly Mr. *Arnold*'s " Fault, and not his, that he did not hazard a Second Converſation with him, " which he would very readily have done; " but Mr. *Arnold* was too well appriſed " of his Views to hazard another with " him (1)."

(1) Remarkable Facts, &c. p. 61, 92.

whom he had truſted with the Care of his Soul! And theſe are the Men of *unexceptionable Characters*, of *unqueſtionable Veracity*, of *Candor that does them Honour*, upon whoſe Evidence all, who are not *Fools* or *Knaves*, muſt ſwallow the greateſt Improbabilities without Examination, and contrary to Reaſon!

Not long after this Converſation with Father *Kingſley*, Mr. *Arnold* was favoured with a Viſit by the great Father *Baker*. This Jeſuit is the Firſt of the Order in the whole Kingdom, the moſt ſucceſsful of any in perverting his Majeſty's Subjects, an intimate Friend and Acquaintance of our Baronet, and one highly reſpected and eſteemed by the leading Men of the Popiſh Party here. This very *eminent* Jeſuit honoured Mr. *Arnold* with a Viſit on the 26th of *January* 1757, was introduced to him with great Ceremony by Mr. *Wheeble* a Jeſuit, whom Mr. *Arnold* was well acquainted with; and when they were all Three ſeated, Father *Baker*, after returning Thanks to God, with his Eyes lifted up to Heaven, upon hearing that the whole Family were Catholics, asked Mr. *Arnold* whether he knew Mr. *Bower*. He anſwered he did not, nor had he ever ſeen him in his Life. "But, Sir, replied the Jeſuit, you know there was "a Courtſhip between him and your Siſter; I beg to know all you "can tell me about that Affair; and whether you think, that the Diſ-"appointment ſhe met with in not marrying Mr. *Bower*, was the Oc-"caſion of her Death." In Anſwer to this, *Arnold* told him he had heard, that Mr. *Bower* had made ſuch an Offer to his Siſter; but that his Evidence was only hear-ſay Evidence, as he had no Proof from his Siſter herſelf, either in Writing or by Word of Mouth, to ſupport that Story; that, as to the Cauſe of her Death, ſhe had been long involved in a Law-ſuit of the utmoſt Conſequence, which, ſhe foreſaw, would end in her Ruin; had met with nothing but Croſſes and Diſappointments all her Life; that it was unlikely any Man would marry a Woman ſo circumſtanced; that ſhe herſelf could not expect it; and, laſtly, that it was impoſſible for him to determine what was the Cauſe of her Death. *Baker* owned, that what *Arnold* ſaid ſeemed to him to be *very juſt and true*; but entreated him to wait on Sir *Henry* a Second time, inſinuating to him, that, if he obliged Sir *Henry*, he would honour him with his Cuſtom, and very good Cuſtom it was, according to the Account he gave to the *Apothecary* of himſelf in the Interview he had with him (*Remarkable Facts, p. 53*). But to that Inſinuation Mr. *Arnold* paid no kind of Regard;

nor

nor could he be prevailed upon to wait on the Baronet a Second time, as he had already told him all he knew of the Matter, and was determined to tell him no more than he knew (F).

Now,

(F) Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, in order to invalidate the Teſtimony of Mr. *Arnold*, tells us, in his Friend the *Unmasker*'s laſt Performance, p. 134. 233. that the *Apothecary owned to him, that he had burnt a Year before a whole Bag or Buſhel full of* B—r's *Letters to his Siſter; and that ſhe, upon hearing* B—r's *Marriage confirmed, was deeply affected with it, pined away, and died in a few Months after.* But I. Mr. *Arnold* has ſolemnly declared, and is ready to make Oath, that he did not at any time tell Sir *Henry* that he ever had in his Cuſtody ſo much as a ſingle Letter written by Mr. *Bower* to his Siſter; or that he had a Year before burnt a whole Bag or Buſhel full of any ſuch Letters; or that, in all the Converſation that paſſed between him and Sir *Henry* upon this Subject, he let fall any Expreſſion that ſo much as intimated Mr. *Bower* to be, in any Shape, the Cauſe of his Siſter's Death. (*Remarkable Facts, p.* 52.) II. How improbable is it, and altogether incredible, that Mr. *Arnold* ſhould have aſſured *Kingſley* his Confeſſor, that he never had in his Poſſeſſion, nor ſo much as ſaw, any one Letter from Mr. *Bower* to his Siſter, as that Jeſuit well knows he did, and ſhould have told Sir *Henry* the very next Day, or the Day after, that he had burnt a whole *Bag* or *Buſhel* full of ſuch Letters a Year before? III. Mrs. *Arnold*'s Partner ordered all her Letters, that were not about Buſineſs, to be burnt after her Death; and the Perſons who burnt them are ſtill living, and know, that Mr. *Arnold* never ſaw one Letter from me to his Siſter. What then could have tempted him to tell to Sir *Henry* ſuch a notorious Falſhood, as that *he had burnt a whole Bag or Buſhel full of* Bower's *Letters to his Siſter*, and that at a Time when he did not know why thoſe Letters were ſought for? Is it not by far more probable (even abſtracting from Mr. *Arnold*'s Declaration, which he is ready to confirm upon Oath) that he ſhould have ſpoken the Truth to Sir *Henry*, as he had done the Day before to his Confeſſor, than that he ſhould have owned the Truth to the one, and told a notorious Untruth to the other, without any Motive whatever tempting him to it?

Sir *Henry*, to clear himſelf from the Imputation of forfeiting his Word of Honour, tells us, that the *Apothecary* did not injoin him Secrecy in the Firſt Interview he had with him, when he talked to him of his Siſter's Affair; but *probably* injoined it in the Second, when he brought him his Siſter's Letters, as they regarded only Family Tranſactions. But Mr. *Arnold* ſolemnly declares, that he never had but one Interview with Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* in the whole Courſe of his Life; and that it was in that Interview Sir *Henry* told him he *would be anſwerable for the elderly Gentleman's Secrecy as well as his own:* But whether Sir *Henry* had One Interview with him or Two, it is manifeſt from the Letter Mr. *Arnold* wrote at that very time to Mr. *D——s*, that he had deſired Sir *Henry* to keep ſecret what he had told him concerning the Affair of his Siſter: for in that Letter he writes thus: *Sir* Henry Bedingfeld *can't but remember, when I had the Honour to wait on him, that I then injoined him Secrecy* ON MY SISTER'S ACCOUNT, (*Remarkable Facts, p.* 27.) But Sir *Henry* did not, it ſeems, remember it. Indeed the Baronet has given us, on another Occaſion, a very remarkable Inſtance of the Shortneſs of his Memory; for the Reaſon he alleged on the Fifth of *June* 1756, at Ten in the Morning, for not ſending the Originals of the Six famous Letters to be examined by me, was, *that the ſame were ſealed up with other Papers of Conſequence, and in the Hands of his Lawyer; or were in ſome Bureau, of which he could not find the Key*; and yet, from the Atteſtation of the Notary Public, it appears, that the ſaid Letters were returned to Sir *Henry* the preceding Day (*Mr.* Bower's *Affidavit, with Obſervations, p.* 30. 33. 34.): So that, on the Fifth of *June* at Ten in the Morning, he could not tell what was become of Letters of *Conſequence*, that were returned to him on the Fourth of the ſame Month. Thus we may account for that

Gentle-

Now, as Mr. *Arnold* had, on the one hand, declared over and over again, that he did not know what the Death of his Siſter wa owing to, and therefore could not in Conſcience and Juſtice aſcribe it, nor conſent to its being aſcribed, upon his Authority, to Mr. *Bower*; and, on the other hand, they had no other Evidence to ſupport ſo heavy a Charge, who would not take it for granted, that they dropt it, at laſt? But what ſort of Men have I to deal with! Our very conſcientious Proteſtant Divine, the Man who *is only actuated with the Love of Truth*, and *advances nothing but upon the moſt unqueſtionable Authorities*, charged me, in his very next Libel, with the Death of Mrs. *Arnold*, and, what almoſt exceeds all Belief, upon the Authority of her Brother; that is, of the very Perſon, who had ſo often proteſted againſt its being publiſhed upon his Authority, *becauſe he did not know nor believe it to be true.* Thus, at p. 43. of that Libel (*Full Confutation*, &c.) he ſpeaks of Mrs. *Arnold*'s Death in the following Terms: *If he* (Bower) *borrowed his compaſſionate Plea from a real Occurrence, Mrs.* A——d *at* Bath *who died of a broken Heart, might, for aught we know, furniſh him with the Ground-work of it:* And at p. 47. of the ſame Libel, *Bower*, ſays he, *gave Hopes of Marriage to Three Woman at* LEAST *at the ſame time*; and among the Three is reckoned *Mrs.* A——d *at* Bath, *who died ſoon after ſhe heard of his Marriage.* Now, can any Man read theſe Paſſages without concluding the Diſappointment Mrs. *Arnold* met with from me to have been the Occaſion of her Death? And what Evidence had Mr. *D——s* to charge me with the Death of the ſaid Mrs. *Arnold*, and to take from thence Occaſion to repreſent me to the World as *a Man capable of practiſing any Arts of Impoſition, as one who had no Regard to the moſt ſacred Obligations, but was capable of denying any Truth, however* CERTAIN? He aſſures the Public, that *he has advanced nothing with reſpect to this Affair, but what he had undoubted Evidence to prove.* Indeed ſuch a Charge, it muſt be allowed, required ſuch Evidence, the moſt clear, the moſt inconteſtable; and yet our godly Divine's *undoubted Evidence* to prove, that the Diſappointment Mrs. *Arnold* met with from me was the Occaſion of her Death, is no other than that of her Brother Mr. *Arnold*

Gentleman's forgetting what paſſed at an Interview that he had ſome Months before; but how ſhall we account for his remembering what paſſed in an Interview that he never had?

declaring

declaring to him, as he himſelf has owned, *that he could not poſitively ſay what was the real Cauſe of her Death; for her Health had ſuffered by an unſucceſsful Law ſuit* (Complete Detect. p. 137.) Thus is a Man made by our worthy Divine publicly to atteſt a very heavy Charge as *certainly true*, which he had privately declared to him that he could not in Conſcience atteſt, *becauſe he did not know it to be true.* Is this his boaſted Candor, his ardent Love of Truth! But I leave the unhappy Man to the Stings of a guilty Conſcience, if he is not as much hardened againſt them as he is againſt all Senſe of Shame and Decency. It is enough for me to have ſhewn, that he has adopted, at leaſt in Practice, the wicked Principles of thoſe who employ him, and is therefore no more to be credited than they, that is, than known Slanderers and Liars.

But Mr. *Arnold* told Mr *D.* that *B——r, in many of his Letters to his Siſter, ſubſcribed himſelf* HUSBAND; that, *from the Time his Siſter* (who was then Forty Years of Age) *heard of* B——r's *Marriage* (who was on the wrong Side of his grand Climacteric) *ſhe took little or no Nouriſhment but what ſhe had from Cordials*, and died in a few Months, *&c.* Theſe, and many more ſuch-like improbable Tales, are gravely fathered upon Mr. *Arnold* by the *Unmasker* in his laſt Performance (*Complete Detect. p.* 137.) But Mr. *Arnold* has declared in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that he never told Mr. *D——*, nor any other Perſon, in the whole Courſe of his Life, that many or any of Mr. *B——r's* Letters to his Siſter were ſigned *Huſband*, &c. This Declaration he is ready to confirm upon Oath; and challenges Mr. *D* —— to declare, in like manner, if he dares, that he ever told him that many or any of Mr. *B——r's* Letters to his Siſter were ſigned *Husband* (*Remarkable Facts, p.* 59, 60.) Add to this, that Mrs. *Arnold's* Partner well knows, that Mr. *Arnold* never ſaw One Letter from me to his Siſter, as has been ſaid above; and the ſame Partner, as well as the Perſons who burnt her Letters after her Death, are ready to atteſt, that none of them were ſigned *Husband.* If Mr. *Arnold* therefore told Mr. *D——s*, that many of my Letters to his Siſter were thus ſigned, he told him a notorious Falſhood: And what could he poſſibly have in his View, what could he propoſe to himſelf in impoſing ſuch a Lye upon Mr. *D——s*, when he would not conſent to his publiſhing any thing concerning the pretended Courtſhip, nor could he be prevailed upon, even by his ghoſtly Father, to atteſt what he did not know to be true? But that Mr. *Arnold*

nold never told Mr. *D*— that many of my Letters to his Siſter were ſigned *Husband*, may, I think, be unanſwerably proved from Mr. *D*— himſelf; for, in his laſt Performance, publiſhed long after his Converſation with Mr. *Arnold*, he reproaches me with having *artfully engaged Mrs.* Arnold's *Affections, and at the ſame time taken care not to expoſe myſelf to the Severity of the Law* (Complete Detect. p. 30, 31.) Now, if Mr. *D*—— had been told by Mr. *Arnold*, that One ſingle Letter of mine to his Siſter was ſigned *Huſband*, no room would have been left for ſuch a Reproach, as Mr. *D*— himſelf muſt own, if he is not as little acquainted with the Law as he ſeems to be with the Goſpel. His therefore being told ſo by Mr. *Arnold* is a mere Invention of his own fertile Brain, to authenticate thoſe of his Popiſh Patron, and with them the many Falſhoods which he himſelf has advanced to work up the *Story of a Courtſhip*, as Sir *Henry* is pleaſed to ſtile it, into a Murder, as *Iago*, whom, one would think, he had taken for his Pattern, does the Story of a Handkerchief in a Play, which he frequently quotes.

As for Mrs. *Arnold*'s *taking no Nouriſhment*, &c. *from the Time ſhe heard of Mr.* B——r's *Marriage*; her Partner well knows, and to her I appeal, that I had not ſeen Mrs. *Arnold*, nor written to her, for ſeveral Years before her Death; and that ſhe never aſcribed her Death to me; but was frequently heard to ſay, Mr. ——, the Perſon who was at Law with her, *will be the Death of me.* Add to this the intire Agreement there is between Mr. *Arnold*'s Account of his Siſter and the Teſtimony of a very worthy and eminent Phyſician at *Bath*, who attended Mrs. *Arnold* in her laſt Illneſs; for he likewiſe ſays, in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*, that his Patient had met with great Troubles and Diſtreſſes, and was much perplexed in her worldly Affairs; but not the leaſt mention is made, nor ſo much as a diſtant Hint given, of any Diſappointment in Love, or of any ill Conſequences thence ariſing (*Remarkable Facts, p.* 44.) It is therefore falſe that *ſhe took no Nouriſhment*, &c. and either Mr. *Arnold* told an Untruth in ſaying ſo, or Mr *D* — in pretending he ſaid ſo. There does not appear even the leaſt Degree of Temptation to induce Mr. *Arnold* to invent ſuch a Story; but a Man, who has not ſcrupled to make another atteſt as a *certain Truth* what he did not know to be true, may well be ſuppoſed capable of atteſting himſelf what he knew to be falſe, the rather as he has, in many other Inſtances,

knowingly departed from Truth, as ſhall be made undeniably to appear in the Sequel.

It is here to be obſerved, that Mr. *D*——*s* was under an Obligation of Secreſy with reſpect to the Affair of Mrs. *Arnold*, which he has publiſhed to the World, and ſo notably improved; for, upon Mr. *Arnold*'s refuſing to authenticate the infamous Paper which he brought to him from Sir *Henry*, as has been ſaid above, *he bid him be eaſy; and aſſured him that no Notice ſhould be taken of that Affair, as he did not approve of it* (Remarkable Facts, p. 27.) *Arnold* never did approve of it; nay, he declared in a Letter to *D*—— himſelf, that *he was abſolutely againſt it* (Ibid.) But *D*—— nevertheleſs publiſhed it, without any Regard to Mr. *Arnold*'s Proteſtations againſt it, or his own Word: And what Appellation a Man deſerves who pays no Regard to his Word, it is needleſs to ſay. *But I was*, ſays he, *in Poſſeſſion of the Story from Sir* H. B. *without any Injunction of Secreſy* (Complete Detect. p. 137). The pitiful Subterfuge! It was after he was in Poſſeſſion of the Story from Sir *H. B.* viz. when he brought the above-mentioned Paper to Mr. *Arnold* for his Approbation, that he aſſured him no Notice ſhould be taken of that Story, *&c.* and he therefore forfeited his Word in publiſhing it to the World, as Sir *Henry* forfeited his Word in telling it to him. Mr. *Arnold* may well be thankful for not hazarding a Second Converſation with a Man of that Character, and his ſelect Friends, eſpecially *over a Bottle*, if our Reverend Gentleman's Friends and *Bottle-companions* were Men of no more Honour than himſelf.

The World is but too apt to conſtrue the moſt undeſigning Correſpondence between Perſons of different Sexes, nay, and common Civilities, into a Courtſhip; but an *Unmasker* alone can improve them into a *barbarous Murder*. This the *Unmasker of the diſguiſed Jeſuit* has done with the Help and Concurrence of his Jeſuits, and his Popiſh jeſuited Friends, as we have ſeen; and my expoſing to the World the baſe Means they have employed for that Purpoſe, will, I hope, appriſe every unprejudiced and ſenſible Reader of the Characters of the chief Actors in this Catholic Tragedy, and at the ſame time plead my Excuſe for dwelling ſo long on ſo trifling a Story.

Mr. *Arnold*'s Converſation with Father *Baker* was not confined to the Affair of his Siſter alone. As he had read my *Anſwer to a*

ſcurrilous Pamphlet, he reproached the Jeſuits with giving out that Dr. *Aſpinwall* died a *Roman* Catholic; with publiſhing Letters containing falſe Facts, and bearing falſe Dates; with introducing a Woman and a Child that could no where be found, *&c.* The Jeſuit replied with no ſmall Confuſion and Concern, *I am ſorry we ever began this Controverſy with Mr.* Bower: *We have, I confeſs, ſaid a great deal too much, and a great deal more than we can prove: I wiſh we could drop it, and go no farther; but we have begun, and don't know how to end; and God knows what will be the Conſequence.* He added, *tho' we cannot find the Woman and the Child*, laying his Hand on his Breaſt in a very ſolemn Manner, *Mr.* Bower *is the greateſt Villain upon the Face of the Earth. Upon my Conſcience he did tell me ſome Years ago, that he was concerned with ſuch a Woman, and had ſuch a Child* (Remarkable Facts, p. 31, 32.) He might likewiſe have added, and we Jeſuits were ſuch natural Fools as never to inquire whether there really was ſuch a Woman, though nothing was more eaſy than to make that Inquiry; and Mr. *Bower* could not demand back a conſiderable Sum of Money in our Hands, if there was no ſuch Woman.

That Dr. *Aſpinwall died a faithful Son of the Church of* Rome, was aſſerted by the *Unmasker*, in his Firſt Libel, as an undoubted Truth: *Dr.* Aſpinwall, ſays he, *died a faithful Son* of the Church of *Rome. The Fact was notorious at the Time; and Mrs.* Aſpinwall *made no Secret of her Husband's dying Sentiments, and, being a good Proteſtant, would not permit a Prieſt to adminiſter Extreme Unction to the Doctor, who deſired it.* But that there is not a ſingle Word of Truth in all this, nay, that Dr. *Aſpinwall* lived not only a *ſincere*, but a moſt *zealous* Proteſtant from the Time he left the Church of *Rome*, and the Order of the Jeſuits, to the Hour of his Death, has been proved beyond all Poſſibility of Doubt. (*See my Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p.* 114, *& ſeq.*) I ſhall therefore only obſerve here, that no Man of any Principles, moral or religious, would have publiſhed ſuch a Tale to the World, as a *Fact that was notorious*, and robbed by that means, ſo far as in him lay, a moſt worthy Clergyman, after his Death, of the good Name he deſervedly acquired in his Life-time, without firſt inquiring, whether the defamatory Tale had any Foundation, or what Foundation it had in Truth. Had the *Unmasker* thought it worth his while to make that Inquiry, he would have found the Whole to be a wicked, malicious,

and

and intirely groundleſs Calumny, as has been ſhewn: But it is not the Buſineſs of an *Informer*, of a profeſſed *Slanderer* or *Tale-bearer*, to examine into the Truth of the *Tale* he bears. If it ſerves the Purpoſe of his Malice, that is enough for him to publiſh it to the World as an undoubted Truth, be it true be it falſe. That the World ſhould believe Dr. *Aſpinwall* to have lived a Hypocrite, and died a Papiſt, anſwered the Purpoſe of the *Unmasker*'s Malice to the Height of his Wiſhes; for, as I had lived in the greateſt Intimacy with that good Man almoſt from my Arrival in *England* to the Hour of his Death, our *Lover of Truth* thought, that if he could perſuade Mankind that Dr. *Aſpinwall* was a Papiſt in his Heart, while he outwardly profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant, he would thereby greatly corroborate the ſame Charge againſt his Friend, as both had originally been Jeſuits. He wanted no more; and upon no better Authority than that of a bare Hear-ſay or flying Report, the worſt of Evidence, he aſſerted it as an *undoubted Fact*, as *a Truth not to be queſtioned*, that *Dr.* Aſpinwall *died a faithful Son of the Church of* Rome; and tho' looked upon by all who knew him as the beſt of Men, he was found in the End to be the very worſt, the baſeſt of Hypocrites. What Malice, what Villainy (the Reader will forgive the Expreſſion) can equal this! And this is the Man *concerned only for Truth*; the Man who *advances nothing but upon the moſt unqueſtionable Authorities*. My Acquaintance with good Dr. *Aſpinwall* proved very fortunate for me, as I owe to him, in ſome Degree, my Converſion. (*See Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet*, *p.* 31, 32.) but it has proved very unfortunate for him; ſince it is not to be doubted but he would have been ſuffered to lie undiſturbed in his Grave, had he never been acquainted, nor any-ways connected with me (E). It was to ſtab my Repu-

(E) Had I been a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, common Prudence would have taught me to avoid, of all Men, Dr. *Aſpinwall*, whom I could not but ſuppoſe, as he himſelf had long been a Jeſuit, thoroughly acquainted with all the Wiles of Men of that Order, and no leſs willing, as he was a moſt zealous Proteſtant, than capable of *unmaſking the dangerous Hypocrite*: But, inſtead of declining all Acquaintance with a Man of that Character, I applied to him, as ſoon as I began ſeriouſly to think of renouncing the Errors in which I was brought up; and he was ſo fully convinced of my Sincerity when I renounced them, that he lived with me, from that time to the Hour of his Death, in the greateſt Friendſhip and Intimacy; nay, he recommended to me, with his laſt Breath, the publiſhing of a Work which he had written, and out of which I have quoted ſeveral Paſſages; wherein he condemns, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, ſome of the fundamental Doctrines and moſt favourite Practices of the idolatrous Church we had both renounced. Such were *the dying Sentiments* of Dr. *Aſpinwall*, and ſuch the Opinion he entertained, to his laſt Moments, of the *Jeſuit*

Reputation through his, that his has been ſo inhumanly ſtabbed, when he was no longer in a Condition to ſpeak for himſelf (F).—— As for Mrs. *Aſpinwall's making no Secret of her Husband's dying Sentiments, and not ſuffering a Prieſt to adminiſter Extreme Unction to the Doctor, who deſired it*, I entirely agree with the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*, that it is an Invention of our *Tale-bearer's* own fertile Brain, to give ſome Appearance of Truth to his ſlanderous Tale (*Remarkable Facts, p.* 67.) for, ſo far as I have been able to learn, none, even of thoſe who had heard that Dr. *Aſpinwall* died a Papiſt, ever had heard of that particular Circumſtance (G).

To complete the Character of this Man as a *Tale-bearer among the People*, and a Slanderer of the Dead as well as the Living, I ſhall add One Inſtance more of his *Baſeneſs* relative to the Subject in hand. In ſpeaking of Dr. *Aſpinwall's* Death with a very worthy

in Diſguiſe; but the Glory of *unmaſking the daring Hypocrite* was reſerved for a Man, who knew ſo little of the Jeſuits as to pronounce them all Men of *unexceptionable Characters*, and *unqueſtionable Veracity*.

(F) Let me recommend to this Man's Peruſal the Fourteenth Sermon of the late Mr. *Seed*, on *Evil-ſpeaking*. He will there learn what Tenderneſs is due to the Memories of the Dead: *There is a Tenderneſs due*, ſays that excellent Writer, *to the Memories of thoſe, who are no longer in a Capacity to ſpeak for themſelves; and therefore we ought to be very careful not to charge any Crimes upon them, of which we have not* STRONG AUTHENTIC PROOFS, *either from perſonal Knowledge, or from Perſons of unſuſpected Veracity: Where there is even a* FAINT PROBABILITY *that the Fact, of which they are accuſed, might be otherwiſe than it is repreſented, there we* OUGHT TO BE SILENT. But the *Unmasker* may, probably, himſelf have preached, in his uncouth, aukward Way, againſt *Evil-ſpeaking*, and condemned in his Sermon what he has ſo flagrantly practiſed in his Libels.

(G) The Story of Dr. *Aſpinwall's* dying a Papiſt was, no doubt, originally invented by the Papiſts, and propagated by ſome Proteſtants, as well as by them; by ſome Proteſtants, who, from a Meanneſs and Littleneſs of Soul, envied the Doctor his Preferments in the Church. The Popiſh Prieſts and the Jeſuits have Two Things in their View in ſpreading ſuch Reports of thoſe who have left their Religion; the one to diſcredit with Proteſtants all Converts from the holy Catholic Apoſtolic Church of *Rome* as Hypocrites and Impoſtors, actuated by human Motives alone; the other, to perſuade their own People, that even they chuſe to die *true Sons* of that holy Church, who had been ſo wicked as to forſake her in their Life-time: And the *Unmasker*, as a *zealous Proteſtant*, has made it his Buſineſs, throughout his Four Libels, to confirm what the Popiſh Prieſts ſay on that Head to keep ſuch of their People ſteady as ſeem to waver in their Faith. If there are Arguments in favour of Proteſtantiſm as oppoſite to Popery, that carry Conviction with them, as there certainly are, why may not a Papiſt, who dares to attend to them, be convinced by them, and become a *ſincere Proteſtant?* That this was the Caſe of Dr. *Aſpinwall*, and likewiſe of *Reihing*, another Jeſuit, is very certain (*See Bayle's Hiſt. Diction.*), tho' it was not the Caſe of a *Jarrige* nor a *Bruys*; Two Inſtances which the *Unmaſker* ſo victoriouſly triumphs in, and from which he would have us to conclude, that all Converts from Popery are *Impoſtors* and *Hypocrites*.

Divine

Divine of our Church, I told him, that I had viſited the Doctor a little before he died (H), and had found the Reverend Mr. *Barton*, who attended him in his laſt Illeſs, reading to him the Prayers for the Sick out of the common Prayer Book. The *Unmasker* was ſoon informed of what I ſaid; and let us ſee what Uſe he made of it: *Mr.* B—r, ſays he, *told a very worthy Divine, of high Rank in our Church, that he himſelf, and Mr.* Barton, *then Curate of St.* Ann's (*but who had alſo been a Popiſh Prieſt*) *attended Dr.* Aſpinwall *during his laſt Illneſs. I fear, that, by this Declaration, Mr.* B—r *will increaſe the Suſpicions which had been entertained before by many concerning his own Faith, without convincing any one, as he intended it ſhould, that* Aſpinwall *did not die a Papiſt.* Surely this Man muſt have flattered himſelf that the Divine might not recollect what had paſſed in his Converſation with me concerning Dr. *Aſpinwall*; or, if he did, that he would not, perhaps, publicly contradict ſo groſs a Miſrepreſentation of what I had ſaid. I can no otherwiſe account for his making me tell to a Perſon ſtill living what I never told to him, nor to any-body elſe: But the very worthy Divine remembered perfectly well what had paſſed in that Converſation, and, being a Gentleman as well as a Divine, thought himſelf bound in Conſcience and Honour to contradict ſo notorious a Falſhood. He took accordingly the very Firſt Opportunity, without any Application from me, to ſend me his Confutation of it, *ſolemnly declaring, that he never heard it ſuggeſted by any one, that Mr.* Bower *attended Dr.* Aſpinwall *during his laſt Illneſs, but Mr.* Barton *only, till he ſaw it in Print* (See Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Phamphlet, p. 99, 100.) Thus has this *Son of Calumny* improved my paying Dr. *Aſpinwall* a Viſit in his laſt Illneſs as a Friend, into my

(H) As I was in the Country when Dr. *Aſpinwall* was taken dangerouſly ill, the Reverend Mr. *Barton*, who attended him in his Illneſs, and was known to be a Man of exemplary Piety, acquainted me by a Letter, which he wrote at his Requeſt, with the Danger he was in; and begged I would haſten to Town, my dying Friend having expreſſed a great Deſire to ſee me before he died. Upon the Receipt of that Letter, I flew to Town; and entering his Lodgings in *Pall-mall*, found Mr. *Barton* ſaying the Prayers of the Church of *England* for the Sick in his Room. He had written *an Expoſition of the Epiſtle of St.* Paul *to the* Romans, and it was chiefly to recommend that Work to me that he deſired to ſee me. I took my Leave of him after I had been about half an Hour with him, and I ſaw him no more; for tho' he did not appear to me to be in any immediate Danger, he died that Night, or the next Morning (*See Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p.* 123, 124.)

attend-

attending him in his laſt Illneſs AS A PRIEST (I). What a large Field would this give for furious and illiberal Invectives, Exclamations, Declamations, Vociferations, *&c.* were I inclined to indulge that Humour? But ſuch Methods of carrying on a Controverſy I leave to the *Unmasker*, and conclude on this Head with the following Syllogiſm: *Whoever aſſerts, to the Deſtroying or Leſſening of a Man's good Name, as a certain Truth what he does not certainly know to be true, is a Liar and a Slanderer; but the* UNMASKER *has done ſo, in aſſerting it as a* NOTORIOUS FACT, as a certain Truth, that Dr. *Aſpinwall died* A FAITHFUL SON OF THE CHURCH *of* Rome; *therefore the Unmasker is*, &c. and we are to give ourſelves no further Trouble about this Part of his eſtabliſhed Character.

Father *Baker*'s Converſation with Mr. *Arnold* will furniſh us with Matter for Two Obſervations more: And, I. From the Words of that *Eminent* Jeſuit it is manifeſt, that the preſent Controverſy was begun, and is carried on by the Jeſuits; and conſequently that the *Unmasker* is employed by them only as their Tool, or a mere Drudge to do their dirty Work for them: We *began the Controverſy*, ſays *Baker*, and WE *don't know how to end* (K). He added, *God knows what*

(I) I ſay *as a Prieſt or a Clergyman*; for when a Clergyman is ſaid to have *attended one in his laſt Illneſs*, all underſtand by theſe Words, that he attended him as a Clergyman; in the ſame manner as when a Phyſician is ſaid to have attended one in an Illneſs, all underſtand that he attended him as a Phyſician. This Man, however, in order to reconcile his aſſerting that I told the Divine *I had attended Dr.* Aſpinwall *during his laſt Illneſs*, and the Divine's ſolemnly declaring that *he never heard it ſuggeſted by any one that I attended Dr.* Aſpinwall *in his laſt Illneſs*, gravely tells us, that I *mentioned my having been with* the Doctor, or having viſited him in his laſt Illneſs; and that when he ſaid, *Mr.* Bower *and Mr.* Barton *attended the Doctor in his laſt Illneſs*, he *dreamt of no other Meaning*, tho' no-body but himſelf could have *dreamt* of that Meaning; nay, tho' no-body can read that Paragraph without ſeeing very plainly, that *he himſelf* did not dream of that Meaning when he wrote it. Should a School-boy, when caught in a Lye, uſe ſuch a Plea to avoid a Whipping, he would deſerve to be whipped twice, and ſoundly.—How much muſt this Man be at a Loſs for *Inſtances of* Bower's *Fraud*, ſince he alleges my underſtanding his Words as they were underſtood by everybody elſe, and thereupon uſing, in One place, the Word *aſſiſted*, inſtead of the ſynonymous Word *attended as a moſt remarkable Inſtance of his Fraud* (See Full Confut. p. 28.) He will find his Friends, the Monthly Writers, guilty of the ſame *Fraud*, and among them the Author of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who, underſtanding his Words as I have done, took from thence Occaſion to publiſh to the World, that *I attended Dr.* Aſpinwall (*who*, he ſays, *was known to die a Papiſt*) *in his laſt Moments, and on that Occaſion* OFFICIATED AS A PRIEST (*Gentleman's Magaz. for Feb.* 1757.)

(K) The Jeſuit *Kingſley* talked in the ſame Stile, telling Mr. *Arnold*, that *he was well aſſured* Bower *could give no Anſwer to* THEIR *Phamphlet; that he knew better what it was to have to do with them; and that, if he once began to ſcribble, he might*

what will be the Conſequence: And he talked like a wiſe Man; for tho' the *Unmasker* has perſuaded many, *Nine Parts in Ten of the Nation*, if he is to be credited, and *a very formidable Body of Clergy*, that the Jeſuits are no-ways concerned in this Diſpute, but that the Unmasking of the *diſguiſed Jeſuit* is intirely owing to his own wonderful Sagacity; yet even the moſt Prejudiced will, one time or other, return to their Senſes; will find, upon cool Reflection, that they have been moſt groſly impoſed upon; that the *diſguiſed Jeſuit* was not only a ſincere but a zealous Proteſtant; and that he was, on that Account alone, as cruelly perſecuted by the Enemies of our happy Conſtitution in this Proteſtant Kingdom, as if he had renounced their Religion, or written againſt it in a Popiſh: *And God knows what will be the Conſequence.* II. In this Converſation no Notice was taken either by the great Father *Baker*, or by the other Jeſuit, of Mr. *Arnold*'s Objections to the Genuineſs of the *Six Letters*. On the contrary, they ſeemed to be greatly concerned at THEIR having made them public, when they wanted the neceſſary Proofs to aſcertain their Authenticity. The Jeſuits, therefore, did not look upon their Friend the *Unmasker*'s Arguments as *demonſtrative Proofs*, that none but *Fools* or *Knaves* could reſiſt. I am rather inclined to believe, that they looked upon all in that Light, who were, or pretended to be, convinced by ſuch *Demonſtrations* (L).

And

might as well put his Head into a HORNET'S NEST, *as he would never find any End of his Work* (Remarkable Facts, p. 20, 21.) By *an Hornet's Neſt* the Jeſuit probably meant the *Monthly Writers*, whom the Popiſh Party early took care to retain.

(L) Mr. *Arnold* obſerves that the Seventh Letter was not ſo much as mentioned in that Converſation by either of the Jeſuits, nor dreamt of by him (*Remark. Facts. p.* 33.) It was not, probably, then even dreamt of by them; or, if it was, they did not venture to produce it, till the famous Affair of *the Man and the Bottle* convinced them, that there was nothing ſo improbable, nay, ſo impoſſible, but many of the good People of *England* were ready to believe, if properly prepared to receive it. Indeed it was not more improbable that a full grown Man, even the luſtieſt Grenadier in the Guards, ſhould ſqueeze himſelf into a Quart Bottle, than that I ſhould have written to the Provincial, offering myſelf ready, like an obedient Son of the Society, to go to what Part of the known World he ſhould think fit to ſend me, after I had publiſhed the Preface to my Hiſtory of the Popes, and declared to the World my Intention of attacking the whole Syſtem of Popery: And it is no leſs improbable that any Jeſuit would then have received ſuch a Letter from me, or taken upon him to convey it to his Provincial, than it is improbable that I ſhould have written it: but the Jeſuits did not doubt that they, who had ſwallowed the one Improbability, or rather Impoſſibility, would ſwallow the other; and they ſwallowed it accordingly.—As to many it appeared highly improbable, and next to impoſſible, that I ſhould have written ſubmiſſive Letters to the Superior of the Jeſuits, while I was upon the very Point of

And thus far from Mr. *Arnold*'s Evidence, which he is ready, if required, to confirm upon Oath, before any Magiſtrate, or in any Court of *Great Britain:* And I am thereby cleared from the principal Articles of the Charge brought againſt me. Theſe are, that I *aſſociated with the Jeſuits to obtain Forgiveneſs of my paſt Offences, and be re-admitted into the Order* (M); that *I lent a Sum of Money to* Hill *their Procurator to convince them that I was ſincere in my Deſire of being re-admitted*; that, *Four Years after I had given ſuch a ſatisfactory Proof of my Sincerity, I was reconciled to the Church, and received again into the Order*; that, *I am a Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*; that *I have, or have had, Connections with the Jeſuits, of ſuch a Nature, as to make it to be Matter of the utmoſt Indifference, whether the Letters, aſcribed to me, are genuine or no*; that I *have acted and continue to act, under hand in Concert with them*; that I *have a Diſpenſation from my Jeſuit Superior, or his Holineſs at* Rome, *to wear the Mask of a Proteſtant, and*

publiſhing the Preface to my Hiſtory; it was, in all Likelihood, to remove that Objection, that the good Fathers made me write One more ſubmiſſive than all the reſt, after I had publiſhed it; in the ſame manner as the Wonder-working Man, whom the Jeſuits ſeem to have copied, in order to ſatisfy his numerous Spectators that he could enter into a Quart Bottle, promiſed, if they favoured him another Night with their Company, to enter into a Pint one. The *Unmasker* himſelf was aware of the Improbability of my correſponding with the Jeſuits after the Publication of my Preface; and the Reader will find above, at P. 39, 40. the wretched Quibbles that this wretched Tool of the Order employs to elude that Objection.

(M) As I never had met with any Ill-treatment from the Jeſuits, nor had I quitted their Religion or Order out of Pique to them, or to any Man elſe, I lived upon good Terms with them, as well as with ſome other Papiſts who had known me abroad; was viſited by them, and returned their Viſits; not thinking that I was to omit any common Acts of Civility due to them, and to every other Man, or that I was bound to quarrel with them becauſe I diſliked their Religion. Thus, and no otherwiſe, did I *aſſociate* or *correſpond* with *ſome* Jeſuits and Papiſts, even after I had left the Church and the Order, nay, while I was actually writing againſt their Doctrine and Principles. This Correſpondence, ſuch as it is, was not carried on *clandeſtinely*; my Proteſtant Friends all knew of it, and from me, as they are ready to declare. Had I been a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, had I *acted in Concert under-hand with them*, common Prudence, or rather *the peculiar Talent*, which he is pleaſed to give me, *low Cunning*, would have taught me to conceal, with the utmoſt Care, my being acquainted with any of them, and, above all, to ſhun their Company in public, and only meet them, like another *Nicodemus*, in the Night: But I have acted quite otherwiſe, as I have ſaid, and all my Friends know. If Mr. *Folkes* therefore, late Preſident of the *Royal Society*, concluded or ſuſpected me to be a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, from my ſpeaking in *Lewis* the Bookſeller's Shop to ſuch of them as I knew, he reaſoned more like an *Unmaſker*, as little acquainted with the Laws of good Breeding as with thoſe of Chriſtianity, than like a *Preſident of the Royal Society*. But as this Man has made many ſay what they never did ſay, and me among the reſt; ſo has he made ſome reaſon, and among them Mr. *Folkes*, as they never did reaſon, and none could reaſon but himſelf.

even

even to write the Hiſtory of the Popes, &c. Theſe are the chief Articles of my Indictment; and they have furniſhed the *Unmasker* with Matter for ſo many illiberal, furious, and long-winded Invectives: But from all and each of the ſaid Articles I am fully cleared by the Evidence before us; for it appears from that Evidence, that I did not court the Jeſuits *to obtain of them Forgiveneſs of paſt Offences*, but that they courted me to accept of the Pardon they offered me; that I did not lend my Money to *Hill to regain their Favour, and purchaſe my Re-admiſſion*, but that they made me great Offers, would have received me with open Arms upon my own Terms; nay, that they raiſed the preſent moſt furious Perſecution againſt me, to oblige me by that Means, ſince all other Means had proved ineffectual, to return to the Church and the Order. From the ſame Evidence it further appears, that I neither have, nor ever have had, *any ſecret or dangerous Connections with the Jeſuits*; that I never have *acted in Concert with them*, &c. but, on the contrary, that I withſtood all their Kindneſſes, rejected all their Offers, would hearken to no Terms, but *continued obſtinate in my Wickedneſs*; that is, a true Proteſtant, in ſpite of all their Endeavours to reclaim me; and that thereupon they produced the *Six Letters*, flattering themſelves, that if the Shock it would give me did not force me back into their Arms, it would affect me ſo as to occaſion my Death, or at leaſt ruin my Health, and thus divert me from purſuing my Hiſtory, that Hiſtory *which is intirely copied from Popiſh Writers, and calculated to promote Popery*. The ſame Evidence affords us an Argument of no ſmall Force againſt the Genuineſs of the Letters to *Sheldon*; for though it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Jeſuits would acknowlege themſelves guilty of ſo notorious a Forgery, nor could they indeed own it even to their beſt Friends or neareſt Relations, without tranſgreſſing one of the ſtanding Rules of the Order, as I have already obſerved; yet it would puzzle them to reconcile my repenting, or having ever repented of my Wickedneſs, my returning to my Duty in the Order, and writing thoſe Letters as a contrite Penitent, with my PERSISTING *obſtinately to go on in my Wickedneſs*. The Jeſuit *Kingſley*, at leaſt, could no otherwiſe have expreſſed himſelf than he did in telling Mr. *Arnold*, that I thus PERSISTED *obſtinately to go on*, &c. if I had never repented of my Wickedneſs, nor returned to the Order. Add to this, that if I returned to the Order, and wrote the Letters in queſtion, I paſſed myſelf upon

the Jeſuits for a ſincere Penitent after my Firſt Apoſtacy, and relapſed by a Second, worſe than the Firſt, into the ſame Hereſy: And yet of this Second Apoſtacy *King ſley* took no kind of Notice to Mr. *Arnold*, when he wanted to juſtify their antichriſtian Attack upon me; but only ſaid, that I *had apoſtatized from the true Church, and writ impiouſly againſt it*: A plain Proof this, that, when he was not upon his Guard, he knew nothing of my having apoſtatized twice, or writ the Letters in queſtion. But that thoſe Letters are a *palpable and barefaced Forgery*, has been proved above by Arguments, to which no Anſwer has yet been returned, that I have not fully confuted.

Should any one queſtion the Truth and Credibility of Mr. *Arnold*'s Evidence, the following Remarks will, I doubt not, ſatisfy every Man of Judgment and Candor, that *if any Teſtimony upon Earth*, to uſe the Words of the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*, *deſerves Attention and Credit*, *that which is here offered is and muſt be ſuch Teſtimony*. For, in the Firſt place, it is to be remarked, that the worthy Divine, whom I have juſt mentioned, has communicated nothing to the Public but what Mr. *Arnold* had communicated before in private Confidence to him as a Friend. Now, what could poſſibly tempt Mr. *Arnold* to invent and impoſe upon his Friend ſo many *falſe Facts*, or any *falſe Fact* at all, in his private Letters to him? and that in behalf of a Perſon that was utterly unknown both to him and his Friend, and at a Time when neither entertained the leaſt Thought or Deſign of ever making that Intelligence public; nay, when *Arnold* inſiſted upon its being kept inviolably ſecret. Had he been acquainted with me, he might be ſuſpected of Partiality even in his private Letters; but he had never ſo much as ſeen me when he wrote them, nay, he was ſtrongly prejudiced againſt me, till the Facts he relates convinced him of my Innocence, and the Malice of my Enemies. He is not therefore *Mr.* B——r*'s Advocate*, as Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* is pleaſed to call him, but an Advocate for Juſtice and Truth.——II. As he could not be influenced by any Kindneſs or Friendſhip for me in diſcloſing the above Facts to his Friend, ſo neither could he be thereunto prompted by Motives of Intereſt; for what Advantage could he propoſe to himſelf in privately diſcovering thoſe Facts to a Friend, and confining them to his Breaſt alone? for thus he confined them, and thus they would have remained, for him, ever confined, as he was no Stranger to the vindictive Spirit of the *holy Society*, had not his Reverend Friend urged his conſenting to their

their being laid open to the World, and his publicly appearing in Defence of injured Innocence, as an indiſpenſable Duty incumbent upon him. It was his Intereſt, as we have ſeen, to take part with the Jeſuits in the preſent Diſpute, or at leaſt to be ſilent; but yielding to the truely Chriſtian and forcible Arguments of his Friend, he ſacrificed his Intereſt, as well as his Peace and Tranquillity, to Juſtice and Truth.——III. The Evidence, that is here offered, has been owned by the *Unmasker* himſelf for *unqueſtionable:* But this I do not allege as a Proof of its really being ſo; for he has extolled as *unqueſtionable*, as *irreſiſtable*, as *unexceptionable*, as *deciſive*, &c. the Evidence of every lying Papiſt and Jeſuit that he has had Occaſion to produce. I have taken notice of it only to ſhew the unfair Dealing, to ſay no worſe, and the matchleſs Aſſurance of the Man, in *queſtioning*, as he does in his laſt Libel, the very ſame Evidence when it makes againſt him, which he had produced as *unqueſtionable* when it made for him, or rather when he *pretended* that it made for him: For Mr. *Arnold* never atteſted, as has been ſhewn, what he introduced him as actually atteſting; but declared to his Face that he could not atteſt it, becauſe he did not know it to be true. His thus forging Mr. *Arnold's* Teſtimony to authenticate a Falſhood, when he could not procure it, plainly ſhews what Account he made of the Teſtimony which he now ſtrives to depreciate.——IV. Had Mr. *Arnold* intended to favour me at the Expence of Truth, he would, in the Firſt place, have pretended, that his Jeſuit Confeſſor had, amongſt other things, told him, that the Letters to *Sheldon* are a Forgery: But tho' it appears, from what that Jeſuit told him in private Confidence, when not upon his Guard, that the ſaid Letters are a Forgery, yet he does not pretend, that he or any other ever owned them to him in plain Terms to be ſo: A convincing Proof this that he has ſpoken the Truth, and nothing but the Truth. As I know that the Jeſuits are forbidden, by One of the fundamental Laws of the Order, to *reveal to Seculars, or others*, what is ſecretly tranſacted among them, I ſhould have been the Firſt to queſtion Mr. *Arnold's* Evidence, had he pretended to have been truſted by any of them with that Secret; but he has advanced nothing throughout his Teſtimony, that I have not ſhewn to be intirely agreeable to the Principles of the Jeſuits, as well as their Practice, in regard to thoſe who have left them.——Add, to what has been ſaid, the Character which the worthy Divine, whom I have ſo often had Occaſion to mention,

has given of Mr. *Arnold* to the World upon his own Knowlege, *viz*, that of *a Perſon of great Skill and Judgment in his Profeſſion, of a good Neighbour, and a Man of great Humanity, as well as ſtrict Honour and Veracity*; and he, who gives him that Character, is known, by all who know him, to be himſelf not only a Man of untainted Reputation, but of as exemplary a Life and Converſation as any of his ſacred Profeſſion in the Three Kingdoms.

To conclude, if any Teſtimony upon Earth deſerves Attention and Credit, that which is here offered, is and muſt be ſuch Teſtimony. However, ſhould any queſtion the Truth of the Facts thereby atteſted, I ſhall not break into indecent and furious Invectives againſt them, either as *Fools* or *Knaves*; but pity their Prejudice, and wiſh, that their paying more Regard, in the preſent Diſpute, to the moſt *exceptionable* Evidence upon Earth, than to the moſt *unexceptionable*, could be aſcribed to Prejudice only: But ſome there are, who, by an unchriſtian Turn of Mind, are ready to credit every ill-natured Story they hear; but will never be undeceived, that they may not be thought to have been ever deceived: And theſe, with the Ignorant, the Credulous, the Undiſcerning, the Inattentive, make up *the Nine Parts in Ten of the Nation*, that, the *Unmasker* ſays, he has on his Side: For Nine Parts in Ten of this, as well as of every other Nation, are Men of that Stamp; and if we add to them all the Papiſts and Jacobites, all the Monks, Popiſh Prieſts, Friars, and Jeſuits, in the Iſland, who are all to a Man the *Unmasker's* Friends, and my Enemies, they will form a very conſiderable Body; and he may, if he pleaſes, put himſelf at their Head, and boaſtingly ſay, *Nos numerus ſumus*, &c. but that is all he can ſay. As for his *formidable Body of Clergy*, it is not near ſo *formidable* as he repreſents it; nay, if a Liſt were taken of my Friends and my Enemies in that venerable Body, I ſhould, I am very ſure, have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of the one or the other. The *Monthly Writers* he has indeed with him; and I want no ſtronger Proof of the irreſiſtible Force of the Evidence here offered, than its having been, by thoſe *candid* Writers, concealed with great Care from the Public. They were ſenſible they could not invalidate ſo poſitive, ſo peremptory, ſo unexceptionable Evidence; and they therefore, with their uſual *Candor*, choſe to ſuppreſs it, taking no kind of Notice of Mr. *Arnold's* Two Letters containing that Evidence; of the Reverend Mr. *Corpe's* introductory Diſcourſe to thoſe Letters, inſerted above; nor of the

judicious Remarks which that worthy Divine has added to them, and they knew not how to confute. Thus Nine Parts in Ten of this Nation know not to this Day, that ſuch Perſons as *William Arnold*, and the Reverend *John Corpe*, have ever exiſted; while the contradictory Teſtimonies of the *Gays*, the *Hoyles's*, the *Hornes*, are, by theſe *impartial and unprejudiced Critics*, obtruded upon the World as *deciſive of the whole Controverſy*, and with them the Teſtimonies even of nameleſs Witneſſes, likewiſe *unqueſtionable*, tho' they know not who they are, what Degree of Credit they deſerve, or whether they deſerve any; nay, whether they ever have had any Exiſtence, and are not ſo many *Heaths* and *Cummins*. I ſaid the *contradictory Teſtimonies*, &c. for *Horne*, an obſcure Surgeon, who pretends to have ſerved the Empreſs of *Ruſſia* in that Capacity, will have me to have been reconciled to the Church and the Order by Father *Carteret* in 1745. But *Gay*, as credible a Witneſs as he, has given the Surgeon the Lye, declaring, that I was reconciled many Years before both to the Church and the Order; that, *my Faculties being reſtored* to me, I performed the moſt awful Function of the Popiſh Religion; and that he was preſent when I performed it *(See above, p.* 61.) But that Contradiction our *Monthly Writers* have as carefully concealed from the Public as *Arnold*'s Evidence: And could they have more plainly ſhewn under whoſe Influence they write in the preſent Diſpute (N)?

I ſhall cloſe this Part of the Controverſy with laying before the Reader a few Contradictions out of the many, which our *great Lover of Truth* has been guilty of during the Courſe of it; and leave him the Task of *racking* and *torturing* his own Words ſo as to reconcile *himſelf* with *himſelf*, as he has *racked* and *tortured* the Words of his Clients the Jeſuits, in order to reconcile their contradictory Teſtimonies *(See above, p.* 60, 61.) That the Contraſt may be more viſible, I ſhall place his contradictory Aſſertions oppoſite to each other in one and the ſame Page, thus:

(N) It is to be obſerved, that Mr. *Arnold*'s Teſtimony, expoſing, in Two Letters, the wicked Conduct of the Jeſuits towards me, and his *Motives*, &c. diſplaying the unchriſtian Principles of the Papiſts in general, and the Jeſuits in particular, are the only Pieces that have eſcaped the Notice of our *Monthly Writers*, out of the many that have lately been publiſhed. What that may be owing to, I leave the World to judge.

" *B— r*

" *B*——*r* had not come into " *England*, after throwing off " his Order, on account of any " Scruples of Conſcience, but " after his *Order had thrown off* " *him* on account of Irregulari- " ties in his Conduct." *(Six Letters, p.* 31.)

" *B*——*r* had only been diſo- " bedient to his Superiors as a " Jeſuit; had been known, for " many Years after his Arrival in " *England*, in the *Character of* " *a Jeſuit*: He paſſed ſometimes " for what he *really was*, *a Je-* " *ſuit*." (Ibid. p. 57. 39. 28, 29.)

" He was happily diſengaged " from religious Prejudices; was " a Freethinker; a Papiſt To-day, " a Proteſtant To-morrow; a- " gain a Papiſt, if it could ſerve " a Turn; and even a Champion " for Proteſtants, without being " a Chriſtian, nay, being a de- " termined Infidel." *(See above, p.* 10, 11.)

" He was a zealous Catholic, " and could appeal, for the Sin- " cerity of his Attachment to the " Catholic Faith, to Facts of the " moſt ſatisfactory Nature. He " is a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, al- " lowed by the Pope, and his " Jeſuit Superior, to wear the " Mask of Proteſtantiſm, in or- " der to ſtrike ſome *effectual* " *Blow* in favour of Popery." (*See above*, *p.* 11, &c.)

" *B*——*r* had induſtriouſly " avoided telling us that he was " a Jeſuit." *(Six Letters, p.* 56.)

" He paſſed himſelf ſometimes " for what he really was, a Je- " ſuit; he had been known for " many Years in the Character " of a Jeſuit; Proteſtants eagerly " ſubſcribed to his Hiſtory as be- " ing written by a *Jeſuit*." (See above, p. 34.)

" To give the Jeſuits a ſatiſ- " factory Proof that he was ſin- " cere in his Deſire to be re- " admitted into the Order, *&c.* " he lent them a Sum of Money, " *&c.* and he was thereupon re- " admitted, in a formal Man- " ner, by Father *Carteret*, in " 1745." *(Six Letters, p.* 74.)

" He was himſelf a Prieſt and " a Jeſuit when he lent the Je- " ſuits his Money in 1741." (Ibid. p. 66.)

" As

" As a Jeſuit Mr. *Shirburn* " could have no Property." *(Full Confut. p.* 33.)

" When a Jeſuit becomes poſ- " ſeſſed of any Property, *&c.*" (Ibid. p. 38.)

" It never hath been charged " to Mr. *B——r*'s Account that " he was reconciled to the " Church of *Rome*; and for a " very good Reaſon, becauſe he " had never renounced it." *(Six Letters, p.* 34.)

" Mr. *Horne* was produced as " a Witneſs to prove, that our " Convert was reconciled to " Popery by Father *Carteret.*" (Full Confut. p. 81.)

I could allege, out of this Man's Four infamous Libels, other Inſtances, without Number, of his contradicting himſelf, and knowingly departing from Truth, with the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations of his ſtrict Adherence to it in his Mouth: But the few before us are more than ſufficient to convince the World, that there is nothing our Lover of Truth ſcruples to ſay, when it anſwers the Purpoſe of his Malice to ſay it; and nothing he bluſhes to unſay, when it ſerves the ſame Purpoſe to unſay it: And what Appellation the Man deſerves, who can thus give himſelf, without bluſhing, the Lye, the World need not be told.

Having thus confuted, with the Help of the *Unmasker* himſelf, the many Lyes and Calumnies that the Jeſuits have invented, and he has, as the Trumpeter of their Scandal, publiſhed to the World to prove my Relapſe into Popery, as well as my Return to the Order, and aſcertain by that Means the Genuineſs of the Letters to *Sheldon*; I ſhall now lay before the Public ſome Lyes and Calumnies of this Man's own, that have nothing to do with my Relapſe into Popery, with my Return to the Order, with my being a Papiſt or Proteſtant, but are only calculated to rob me of what is dearer to me than Life itſelf, my Reputation and good Name, or, as he himſelf has expreſſed it, to *bring me to Infamy:* An Exploit worthy of a Preacher of the Goſpel! But whether he has brought me or himſelf to Infamy, the World will judge from what they read in the following Pages.

As this Man had, in his Firſt Performance, claimed the *Thanks of every true Proteſtant in particular, and the Inhabitants of* Great Britain *in general*, for *unmasking the diſguiſed Jeſuit*, and thereby ſaving the Proteſtant Religion in theſe Kingdoms from imminent Ruin,

Ruin, I deſired, in my Anſwer to that Piece, to know why he had not ſet his Name to ſo meritorious a Work, that the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* might not be at a Loſs to whom they were ſo highly indebted: And now let us hear what Anſwer he returned to that Queſtion; *My prefixing my Name*, ſays he, *would have been of real Service to my Cauſe*, &c. *but my Reaſon for concealing it was a good one: Unleſs I had acted with this Prudence, I ſhould have expoſed myſelf to the Reſentment of a Man, who has ſhewn the World, by his paſt Conduct, that he is capable of going all Lengths to gain his Ends, and to eſtabliſh his Character* (Bower and Till. compared, p. 70.); that is, I ſhould have expoſed myſelf to the Reſentment of a Man who is capable of breaking my Bones, or cutting my Throat, *to eſtabliſh his Character*: An excellent Method, it muſt be owned, for a Man to *eſtabliſh his Character* in this Country. But, Reverend Sir, give me Leave to ſay, that you depart here, as I have ſhewn you to have done in many other Inſtances, from the known Truth; for you very well knew, that the Piece, for which you impudently claimed the Thanks of every true Proteſtant, was an infamous, lying, defamatory Libel; that you acted contrary to the Laws both of God and your Country in writing and publiſhing it; and that it was not through Fear of a Dagger or a Cudgel that you prefixed not your Name to it, tho' your apprehending, or rather pretending to apprehend, ſuch Treatment, ſufficiently ſhews, that you are conſcious to yourſelf you deſerve ſome Correction. Indeed, in no Country, but this, would you have with Impunity, abuſed and inſulted, as you have done, Men of the Firſt Rank and Diſtinction, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they would not renounce common Senſe, and yield an implicit Faith to your contradictory Lyes, and the Lyes of thoſe, to whom you have let yourſelf out for a Tool. You would have been taught any-where elſe to reſpect your Betters, and give Honour to thoſe to whom Honour is due.——I knew, from the Beginning, of whoſe Brain thoſe *Billingſgate* Declamations were the Productions; and you are ſtill, worthy Sir, not only alive, but ſleep in a whole Skin: And that you may not plead the ſame *good Reaſon for concealing your Name*, ſhould you publiſh hereafter any new Lyes of your own, or of your good Patrons the Jeſuits, what is ſaid in Note (O) will leave you no room to doubt of your being as well known

(O) Did not your Father keep a Coffee-houſe not far from *Charing-Croſs?* Did he not break more than once to make you a Parſon? Was it not in your *nido paterno*,

known to me, as if you had prefixed your Name in Capitals to your Four voluminous Libels.——No one can peruſe thoſe Libels with the leaſt Degree of Attention, without obſerving, that the Author, like the reſt of the infamous Tribe of *Slanderers*, *Informers*, and *Tale-bearers*, frequently inſinuates more than he ſays, leaving the prejudiced or ill-natured Reader to infer from his Words what he himſelf was aſhamed or afraid to expreſs in plain Terms. Thus, in the Inſtance before us, he does not openly ſtigmatize me with the Name of Murderer, Aſſaſſin, *&c.* but from his Words it is viſible, that he meant I ſhould be looked upon in that Light by ſuch as are unacquainted with my Character; though he muſt, probably, have known, that I am looked upon by all, who are acquainted with it, as a Perſon of a very different Diſpoſition and Temper. He has heard, at leaſt, nothing from them to the contrary, and I *have ſhewn the World* nothing to the contrary by my *paſt Conduct*, elſe he would rather have magnified it, according to his Cuſtom, than paſſed it over in Silence: But he wanted a Pretence to diſguiſe the true Reaſon for not prefixing his Name to his Libels; and thinking that ſuch an Inſinuation would not only paſs with *the many* for a *good one*,

paterno, or in your Father's Coffee-houſe, a Place of common Reſort for the lower Sort of the Ill-affected to the Family on the Throne, that you imbibed the Principles which made you ſo readily undertake, and ſo zealouſly defend, the Cauſe of the Papiſts and Jeſuits? And was it not upon the Applauſe you met with from the Ignorant for detecting the Reveries of a Madman (which, by the way, many others had detected before you), that you began to think of emerging out of your original Obſcurity, and, wanting Abilities to diſtinguiſh yourſelf in your Profeſſion, you degraded a Succeſſor of the Apoſtles into an *Informer* or *Tale-bearer*, and ſet up for *Unmaſker General* of Impoſtors and Hypocrites, ſparing no Lyes nor Calumnies to make thoſe, whom *it fell to your Lot to unmask*, Impoſtors and Hypocrites, nay, Aſſaſſins and Cut-throats, or any thing elſe, whether they were ſo or not; in the ſame manner as your Brother *Unmasker*, now lying in *Newgate*, made thoſe, whom *it fell to his Lot to unmask*, Robbers and Thieves, pretending to have nothing in his View but the Good of the State, as you pretend to have nothing in yours but the Good of the Church (*See the Seſſions Papers of the 3d, 4th, 5th, of June* 1756.) I might add, that Nature itſelf has marked you very ſtrongly; but I do not reproach you therewith, as it is no Fault of yours. You are only to blame for not checking the villainous Diſpoſitions which you brought with you into the World, eſpecially after you had embraced a Profeſſion that requires all *the Purity and Sanctity of the Goſpel*, which you have ſo often in your Mouth to diſguiſe the Malice of your Heart, and give greater Weight to your Slanders. And now you are, I believe, ſatisfied that your Safety is not owing to your being unknown to me, and conſequently that you will be in no greater Danger of having your Bones broken, or your Throat cut, ſhould you prefix your Name to any new Scandal you may publiſh (for it is the undoubted Privilege of a Man of your Character to have the laſt Word), than you are at preſent as an anonymous Libeller, or a Stabber of Reputations in the Dark.

but would, at the ſame time, reflect Infamy upon me, he choſe it accordingly, without any Regard to Conſcience, Honour, Juſtice, or Truth. What he may have *ſhewn himſelf capable of by his paſt Conduct*, I know not, and think it beneath me to inquire. I confine myſelf wholly to his Conduct in the preſent Diſpute, it being my Buſineſs to defend myſelf, and not to arraign him any further than is indiſpenſably neceſſary for that Purpoſe: And the Inſtance before us of his Conduct in the preſent Diſpute might alone be ſufficient to make, if *not Nine Parts in Ten*, at leaſt the Tenth Part of the Nation, that is, Men of Judgment and Candour, look upon him in a very different Light from that, in which he holds himſelf out to *the Inhabitants of* Great Britain *in general*, in the Light of a malignant Slanderer, and not of a Lover of, or Inquirer after Truth. We have heard a great deal of this Man's Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; but he himſelf has here unwarily betrayed his ſo much boaſted Zeal to be quite of a Piece with his Love of Truth and his Candor, that is, mere Cant and Hypocriſy; for what Meaning can his Words quoted above bear but the following? *My prefixing my Name to my Pamphlet would have been of real Service to my Cauſe*, that is, to the Proteſtant Religion, *and of ſignal Detriment to Mr.* Bower, that is, to Popery; but I ſhould thereby have expoſed myſelf to the Danger of having my Brains knocked out, or my Bones broken by that deſperate Ruffian; whereas I chooſe, notwithſtanding my Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, to live and to die in a whole Skin, and had rather the Proteſtant Cauſe ſhould forego the Advantage, that would accrue to it from my GREAT NAME being known, than that my dear Perſon, dearer to me than any Cauſe, ſhould be expoſed to any Danger. Is not this, Reverend Sir, in *plain Engliſh*, the Meaning of your Words? And what a valiant Champion you are for the Proteſtant Cauſe! You can rail, you can abuſe, you can call Names for that Cauſe; but that is, it ſeems, the Whole of your Zeal.

The candid *Unmasker*, not ſatisfied with repreſenting me as a *Deſperado capable of going all Lengths*, &c. paints me, in p. 30. of his Libel, *Six Letters*, &c. as *an abandoned Profligate, rioting in Brothels, and glorying in my Shame.* Let us hear him: *Mr.* B——r, ſays he, *far from concealing his Irregularities, uſed to glory in them. Amongſt other Stories, he hath frequently entertained his Companions with an Account of his being met coming out of a Houſe of*

civil Reception in the Regions of Covent Garden *by an Acquaintance, who asked him,* Mr. *B*——*r,* is this your *Roman* Hiſtory? *When we conſider, that he was, at leaſt, Forty Years of Age before he came to* England, *and that he did not begin to write the* Roman Hiſtory *till ſeveral Years after; to find him, ſo late in Life, thus revelling in Brothels, and glorying in his Shame, giveth us no very favourable Notion of the Regularity of his Conduct.* Who would not conclude from what is ſaid here, that I had ſpent the greater Part of my Time in *Houſes of civil Reception,* or Brothels? And yet this Charge (will the Reader believe it?) has no other Foundation in Truth than my ſtepping into one of thoſe Houſes on Occaſion of a good-natured Action, to call from thence a young Gentleman, and being addreſſed by his Father, who happened to ſee us coming out together, in the above Words (*See my Anſwer to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, p.* 97, 98.) The Fact is well known: I uſed to relate it among my Friends as a comical Adventure. The *candid Unmasker* himſelf, no doubt, heard it thus told; and my *revelling in Brothels,* my *boaſting of my Irregularities,* and *glorying in my Shame,* are all Additions or Improvements of his own: But the good Man was determined, out of his great Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, to *bring me to Infamy,* whether I was Papiſt or Proteſtant, *Jew* or *Mahometan*; and, in order to that, not only the indifferent, but the moſt commendable Actions were to be turned into Crimes. And is he not therein as culpable as if he had gone into the ſame Houſe, prompted by a Motive of a very different Nature from mine? A Writer, with whoſe Writings I wiſh our Divine were as well acquainted as he ſeems to be with our *Engliſh* Plays, or with *Foxes* and *Firebrands,* aſſures us, that he is, at leaſt, quite as culpable, ranking *Railers* and *Revilers,* that is, Slanderers, falſe Informers, and Tale-bearers, with *Fornicators,* nay, and with *Idolaters, Adulterers,* &c. (*St. Paul,* 1 *Cor.* v. 11. vi. 9, 10.)

Thus far our worthy Divine has *brought,* not *me,* as every candid and unprejudiced Reader muſt own, but himſelf, to Infamy; and ſo it uſually happens in the End to all Slanderers, Spies, Informers, and Tale-bearers. Let us now proceed to ſome other Inſtances of this Man's *Candor,* of his *Love for Truth,* and *Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion,* Words which he has ever in his Mouth. I have lived theſe Thirty-four Years in this Country, have of courſe dealt with many Tradeſmen of different Callings, have been truſted with very conſi-

derable Sums; and I challenge any Man to ſay, that I ever have wronged, or attempted to wrong him in One ſingle Farthing. The *Unmasker* himſelf knows that I have not; for moſt of the Tradeſmen whom I have employed, moſt of the Servants who have lived with me, have been applied to, and privately examined by him, or his Emiſſaries, in regard to my Honeſty: An Employment this worthy of a Divine! And what did he and the reſt of his Tribe find with all their Inquiries and Searches? Why, they found nothing but what they were mortified to find, *viz.* that I had ever dealt fairly and honeſtly with all Men; and that my Character was quite untainted in that reſpect: But what Character, what Honour or Honeſty is Fence againſt the Tongue or the Pen of a Slanderer? Our godly Divine, after ſolemnly declaring, nay, and (what muſt ſhock every Man who has any Senſe of Religion) after calling God, in the moſt awful Manner, to witneſs, that he bears me no Ill-will, no Reſentment, or Malice (*Full Confut.* p. 93.) employs a whole Chapter of his laſt Performance, wherein he exceeds even himſelf in Abuſe and Scurrility, and has, in a manner, exhauſted our Language in odious Apellations; employs, I ſay, a whole Chapter of that Performance in the *Compariſon between* B——r *and* Fournier; that is, between a Perſon who has never wronged, nor attempted to wrong any Man, and one whom he paints as a notorious Forger and Cheat, that would have defrauded one of our Prelates of a very conſiderable Sum: And what can this be aſcribed to but the moſt inveterate Malice? and yet our good, our religious, our conſcientious Divine is not afraid to call God to witneſs that he bears me none. What will ſuch a Man ſtick at, or from what Villainy will his Principles, religious or moral, reſtrain him?——As he compares me to *Fournier*, ſo does he compare a Noble Friend and Patron of mine to the Friend and Patron of that Monk. If he thereby intends to impeach the Diſcernment and Probity of that Noble Peer, it will only ſerve to ſhew, that no Merit, however diſtinguiſhed, is out of the Reach of his Malice, of that Malice, which he impiouſly calls God to witneſs he harbours not in his Heart. The great Pains he has taken to eſtrange that Nobleman from me, as well as the reſt of my Friends, by ſcurrilouſly abuſing them at one time with an Arrogance ſcarce to be matched, and as highly commending them at another, ſufficiently ſhews what Value he and the Party ſet on their Judgment; but they are too great Friends to Juſtice and Truth to be biaſſed by Abuſe or by Praiſes: Proofs alone will convince

vince them of my Guilt; and no Proofs of it have yet been alleged capable of convincing them, or indeed any Man elſe of Candor and Senſe, who will peruſe my Anſwers to them with any Degree of Attention.——*Clement Chevallier*, Eſq; may, for aught I know, be the only Friend the Monk of *Chalis* has; but the Noble Peer, whom I have juſt mentioned, is not the only Friend I have in this Nation. The *Unmasker* indeed aſſures us, that he has the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* in general, and all, or almoſt all the Dignitaries of the Church on his Side; nay, and that they (the matchleſs Aſſurance of this vain Man!) admire his CANDOR *and Learning* (Full Confut, p. 73.) Indeed, as he has, by crying up his wretched Quibbles for *demonſtrative Proofs*, perſuaded the Undiſcerning and the Inattentive that they really are ſo; he may, in like manner, by boaſting of *the impartial Judgment of the Nation*, have made them believe, that I have been condemned by that Judgment: But it happens quite otherwiſe; he has been condemned, and I have been abſolved, by the Judgment of the more valuable Part of the Nation, that is, of all ſenſible and unprejudiced Men, who have coolly examined what has been offered on both Sides (P). There is not therefore the leaſt Similitude between the Caſe of *Fournier* and mine; and the Compariſon ſerves only to ſhew the Malice of the Man who compares them. May I not, with more Reaſon, compare him to his *Newgate Brother Unmasker*, who filled his Purſe at

(P) Amongſt theſe, a Perſon of Quality publicly declared, after peruſing this Man's very Firſt Libel, *Were Mr.* Bower *guilty of every thing laid here to his Charge, I had ſtill rather be Mr.* Bower *than the Author of that Piece*; ſo plainly did he diſcover in the Author of that Piece an unparallelled Rage of Malice, of Rancor, of Envy, and a Badneſs of Heart incompatible with every good Quality. He obſerved at the ſame time ſo many Improbabilities, Abſurdities, and Contradictions boldly aſſerted in that doughty Performance, and ſuch pitiful Quibbles obtruded upon the Public for *demonſtrative Proofs*, that he could not help expreſſing as great Surprize at the Ignorance or Knavery of the Man, as he did at his Malice. A Divine of Merit and Rank in our Church, an intire Stranger to me, ſaid, within theſe few Months, in a great Company, *I would not be Mr.* D——s *for the King's Civil Liſt, no, not for the World.* He, no doubt, diſcovered in Mr. *D*—— the Slanderer as well as the Hypocrite, not only diſguiſing, but ſanctifying the Malice of thoſe who employ him, as well as his own, with the Name of Zeal for Religion: And who would, *for the World*, be ſuch a Man! That worthy Divine does not ſtand ſingle; many more of that venerable Body, and they Men of Merit, are known to think no better of our zealous Proteſtant Champion than he does; and they would, upon a Muſter, form a Body, that would put out of Countenance the *formidable Body* which he ſo frequently boaſts of.

the

the Expence of the Blood of his innocent Fellow Citizens, as he has filled his at the Expence of their Reputation and good Name (Q) ?

To proceed : In ſpeaking with a Noble Lord of the Letters to *Sheldon*, when they firſt became the Talk of the Public, I ſaid, that thoſe Letters were produced by the Jeſuits ; and that their Evidence, as they were my avowed Enemies, ought not to be admitted ; ſince, even by the Laws of the Inquiſition, the Informer is not admitted as an Evidence, if the Party informed againſt had named him amongſt his Enemies. What I ſaid the *Unmasker candidly* improved, in his Firſt Libel, into a *Panegyric on the Inquiſition* : *Mr.* B——r, ſays he, *once forgot himſelf, when he told a Noble Lord, that the* Engliſh *entertained very wrong Notions of the Inquiſition ; for that there was no Court upon Earth took ſuch Pains to come at Truth ; that the utmoſt Care was taken to prevent any accuſed Perſon from ſuffering through Malice or Reſentment*, &c. (Six Letters, p. 65, 66.) as if I had proclaimed the Inquiſition the moſt equitable Court upon Earth, and that in a Family, where I had related not only the *bloody Tale*, which it ſo much mortifies him and his Party to hear, but many other ſhocking Inſtances of the Injuſtice of that Court, as well as its Cruelty. He adds, *This Character given of the Inquiſition*, &c. *ſurpriſed the Noble Perſon.* The Noble Perſon might well have been ſurpriſed, had I given the Character that the *Unmasker* makes me give of that Tribunal, and, like him, unſaid at one time what I had ſaid at another : But, to the beſt of my Memory, his Lordſhip expreſſed no Surprize at what I ſaid ; and, after all, it matters little whether he expreſſed any or not, as I aſſerted nothing but what I knew to be true, and what every one will find to be ſo, who will give himſelf the Trouble of conſulting the Writers who have given us the beſt and moſt authentic Accounts of that Office. I ſhould not have thought a Miſrepreſentation ſo groſs, ſo abſurd, ſo improbable in itſelf, worthy of my Notice, had not the *Unmasker*, in his laſt Libel, p. 56. reproached me anew with the above *Panegyric on the Impartiality of the Inquiſition.* Upon his producing a lying *Certificate* from the Inquiſition, certifying that I had never belonged to it, I asked, Why did the Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts ſuffer me, for

(Q) The Name of that *Unmaſker* is, if I miſtake not, *Macdaniel.* He was the Chief of a moſt infamous Gang of *Unmaſkers*, who, for the Sake of the Reward, made it their Buſineſs to charge Men with Robberies which they had not committed. *Macdaniel*, and the reſt of that Crew, were all good Catholics.

Thirty

Thirty Years together, to relate, in all Companies, the unheard-of Barbarities of the Inquiſition, without applying for an *authentic Certificate* to ſilence and confound me? I ſhall ſet down here this very polite Gentleman's Anſwer, in his own Words, to that not impertinent Queſtion, that the Reader may have a Specimen, at the ſame time, of his Logic and Manners: *Mark here*, theſe are his Words, *the aſtoniſhing Inſolence of the Man! Didſt thou then, in* ALL *Companies, relate the unheard-of Barbarities of the Inquiſition? Haſt thou forgot thy Panegyric on the Impartiality of that Tribunal, which ſo much ſurpriſed the Noble Lord, who had it from thy own Mouth? Didſt thou expatiate on theſe Barbarities at Mrs.* Hoyles's, &c.? *Were theſe the Topics of thy private Conferences with Fathers* Carteret *and* B——k——r? *Didſt thou entertain the Circle of thy Catholic Friends at the Shop of Mr.* Lewis *with ſuch Matters*, &c.? And thus he goes on thouing me, and repeating what has been over and over again unanſwerably confuted. Now, the Argument contained in theſe Words, if they contain any, is this, B——r *did not relate the Barbarities of the Inquiſition to every Papiſt, Jeſuit, and Prieſt, whom he knew and happened to meet at* Lewis's, *at Mrs.* Hoyles's, *in the Streets, or any-where elſe; therefore he did not relate thoſe Barbarities in* ALL *Companies.* Who can but admire his Logic, and the Force of his Reaſoning! His Language is of a Piece with his Logic; for what Gentleman would addreſs his Valet or Footman as he addreſſes me in the Words I have quoted! Was you yourſelf, good Sir, even while you was yet a Boy in your Father's Coffee-room, ever addreſſed in that Stile by any Man of good Manners and Breeding? Your Gown and your Caſſock give you the Appearance of a Gentleman; but your Language betrays your original Meanneſs, as the Ears did the Aſs in the Fable. The Motto which you have prefixed to your laſt Libel, *viz.* that *you bear me Antipathy becauſe you are a very good Man, and I am a very bad one*, ſuits well with your Vanity, and the mighty Opinion you entertain of your own Goodneſs and Virtue, as well as with the unchriſtian Diſpoſition of your Mind; but, had you wanted a Motto adapted to your Language, *Ovid* would have furniſhed you with it in the following Verſe, *Et documenta damus qua ſimus origine nati*; that is, *We ſhew from what Origin we are ſprung.*

I ſhall trouble the Reader with one Inſtance more of our candid *Unmasker's irreproachable Conduct* in the preſent Diſpute. It is as fol-

follows, and muſt convince every Reader, that no Calumny can be invented to *bring me to Infamy*, which he is not ready to adopt, come from what Quarter it will, or that he ſcruples to publiſh to the World, be it ever ſo groundleſs, as an unqueſtionable Truth. This Man himſelf, or ſome of his Junto, having found, in hunting after the Woman and Child mentioned in the Letters to *Sheldon*, a Woman in a Family which I frequented, who had no Child, but had Two Nieces, they thereupon charged me (being, it ſeems, loth to loſe their Labour), with having *endeavoured to unſettle the Proteſtant Principles of the Two young Perſons*; and the Charge was by the *Unmasker* publiſhed to the World in the moſt poſitive Terms: *Mr.* Bower, ſaid he, *muſt recollect* (*and, if he does not, others do*), *that, while he frequented this Family, he expreſſed ſo much pious Care for the religious Welfare of the Two young Perſons, that he endeavoured to unſettle the Proteſtant Principles in which they were educated*, &c. (Bower and Till. p. 81, 82.) The Calumny was credited by many well-meaning Proteſtants, who, not being acquainted with me, could not perſuade themſelves that a *Clergyman* would be ſo baſe as to bring ſo heavy a Charge againſt me in ſuch poſitive Terms, without being well aſſured of its Truth (R); and by them I was looked upon not only as ſtill a *Papiſt* and *Jeſuit*, but as a moſt zealous *Miſſionary in Diſguiſe*: And yet that our good Divine was ſo baſe; that the ſaid Tale, how poſitively ſoever aſſerted by him, had not the leaſt Foundation in Truth, but was, on the contrary, a moſt wicked, malicious, and groundleſs Calumny, was declared by the young Ladies themſelves to one of the Junto, upon his applying in Perſon to them to confirm it. And from what Quarter had the *Unmasker* his Intelligence, he who *advances nothing but upon the moſt unqueſtionable Authorities?* Why, *he had it from an eminent*, but nameleſs *Proteſtant Phyſician not far from* Soho-ſquare; *who told it upon the Authority of* nameleſs *Perſons acquainted with the Family, to Two Reverend*, but nameleſs, *Divines of the Church of* England. Thus the Author of a Poſtſcript in the *London Chronicle*, *March* 25th 1758. But what Liar, or Slanderer could ever be convicted of lying and ſlandering; or what

(R) They did not, it ſeems, recollect, that the ſame *Clergyman* had painted me before as a *Freethinker*, as *neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant*, *nor even a Chriſtian*; and conſequently as one utterly incapable of expreſſing *much*, or any *pious Care for the religious Welfare of the Two young Perſons* or of any other Perſons whatever.

Crime

Crime might not the moſt innocent Perſon upon Earth be arraigned of, nay and convicted, if the Teſtimony of nameleſs Witneſſes were to be admitted? Might not I, were I under as little Reſtraint from Juſtice and Conſcience as our worthy Divine, thus charge him with picking of Pockets, pretending that I had my Intelligence from an eminent Phyſician not far from *Soho* or from ſome other Square, who told it, upon the Authority of the very Perſons, whoſe Pockets he picked, to two or to half a dozen Divines of the Church of *England?* What Anſwer would he return to a Charge of that Nature (S)? Would he not challenge me to name the Perſons, in order to know whether they exiſted or deſerved any Credit? As he would challenge me in that Caſe, I challenge him to name the Perſons, who told that Lye to the *eminent* Phyſician, and the Phyſician, who told it to the Two Divines; and that he may have no Plea or Pretence whatever for not complying with this Challenge, I hereby publicly promiſe to give them no ſort of Trouble on that Account: But they are all, I am ſatisfied, imaginary Perſons, introduced to conceal the good Catholic, who invented that Story, and upon whoſe Authority it was afterwards publiſhed (T).——For it is our *candid Unmasker*'s Way, and indeed the Way of the Party, to introduce Witneſſes, that either are dead and cannot contradict them, as in the Caſe of good Mrs. *Aſpinwall* (See above, p. 94.) or never have lived, as in the Caſe before us, and in many others, which it would be too tedious to mention; inſomuch that when they name none, the Reader may take it for granted that they have none to name.

(S) As to the Improbability of the Fact, no Improbabilities, no Reaſons or Arguments are of any Weight, according to him, againſt poſitive, tho' nameleſs Evidence, in the oppoſite Scale. Beſides, it is not more improbable that he ſhould pick Pockets, than that I, or any Man elſe, ſhould *expreſs much pious Care for* any one's *religious Welfare*, or ſhould endeavour to convert them to Popery, without being either Papiſt, or Proteſtant, or even a Chriſtian.

(T) As for the *eminent Phyſician not far from* Soho Square; a Man-Midwife lived in that Neighbourhood, *viz.* in *Poland-Street*, at the Time the Poſtſcript before us was publiſhed; and I have Reaſon to believe that he is the Perſon pointed at there, as he is one of the *Unmaſker's* intimate Friends; who has accordingly made free with him on other Occaſions. But that *eminent Phyſician* upon Application being made to him, has declared that *he knows nothing at all of the Matter*; and it will puzzle the *Unmaſker*, to find another *eminent Proteſtant Phyſician not far from* Soho-Square, that knows more of *the Matter* than he does. In the Neighbourhood of the ſame Square, lived *that eminent Proteſtant Phyſician* Dr. *Sh—b—r*, till his extraordinary Merit intitled him to a Lodging more fit for Men of his Character; and the *Unmaſker* may, for aught I know, have received his Intelligence from him, as a Fellow Labourer, who has exerted the ſame Zeal for the Good of the State, as he has done for the Good of the Church.

I ſaid in a Pamphlet intituled, *One remarkable Fact more*, &c. that Sir *H. B*—— viſited the young Ladies before the Publication of the above defamatory Article, and that he was aſſured by them of the Falſity thereof; and I ſtill believe it, as my Intelligence came from one, whom I know to be intimately acquainted with the Family, and from whom I have a Letter in my Cuſtody, wherein it is ſaid Mr. ——'s *Family are ready to atteſt the Falſity of the Charge againſt Mr.* Bower, *as they can do it with Truth.* This Letter is dated the 15th of *December* 1757, and ſeveral of my Friends have ſeen it. Indeed we ſhould not have known, had not that Perſon informed us, that Sir *H. B*—— had applied to the young Ladies in Perſon to confirm the Charge, and that they had refuſed ſo to do, declaring it to be falſe and groundleſs. For that Sir *H.* kept to himſelf, and ſuffered ſo wicked, and ſo groundleſs a Calumny to be credited by many, though he knew it to be ſo, I ſuppoſe that he might SAFELY ſay, *my Conduct in the Affair of Mr.* Bower *has been ſtrictly honeſt and totally diſintereſted* (Full Confut. p. 73.) The Baronet owns, in the Paper quoted above, that Application was made by him, in Perſon, to the young Ladies and Family to atteſt the Truth of the Facts contained in the ſaid Article, and does not deny his having been aſſured by them, that thoſe Facts had not the leaſt Foundation in Truth; but has not, for all his *ſtrict Honeſty* and boaſted *Diſintereſtedneſs*, yet openly acknowleged what he durſt not deny. He only pretends the Application to have been made after the Publication of that *defamatory Article*; and that he aſſerts upon the Authority of his own *Memorandum Book*, of *the Perſon he hired his Horſes of, and that Perſon's Servant, who drove him.* Theſe *inconteſtible* Authorities, if admitted, will indeed prove, that he viſited the Family after the above Article was publiſhed, but do not prove that he did not viſit them before. And after all it matters not much when that Viſit was made, or whether the Baronet was aſſured by the Family of the Falſity of the Charge before or after it was publiſhed to the World. If that happened before, he could not, as is evident, SAFELY *declare, that his Conduct was ſtrictly honeſt and totally diſintereſted*, in ſuffering a Calumny ſo prejudicial to the Reputation of an innocent Perſon to be impoſed upon the World, by the Tool of the Party, as unqueſtionably true, when he knew it to be unqueſtionably falſe. If it happened after, he would, indeed, in that Caſe have acted a *ſtrictly honeſt* and *totally diſintereſted* Part, had he publicly retracted the

Calumny

Calumny when he could no longer doubt of its being quite groundleſs, or cauſed it to be retracted in the Libel againſt me (The *Full Confutation)* that was then in the Preſs, and made its Appearance ſoon after. This is no more than what a *ſtrictly honeſt*, and *totally diſintereſted* Man would have done, and thought himſelf bound in Honour and Juſtice to do. But inſtead of that, the *diſintereſted* Baronet has not owned, even in the Paper mentioned above, the Charge to be falſe; but, on the contrary, has concealed, with great Care, from the Public, what paſſed in the Interview he had with the Family; inſomuch that, for any Thing that is ſaid in that Paper, the Reader might ſtill ſuppoſe the Charge to be true. And how will he reconcile his *ſtrict Honeſty* and boaſted *Diſintereſtedneſs* with his thus ſuppreſſing the Evidence, that would have cleared me from ſo heavy a Charge, and letting me ſuffer, in my Reputation, as if I were guilty, when he knew I was innocent? What Notions muſt this *Honourable Gentleman* have formed to himſelf of *Honour* and *Honeſty!* We have ſeen him publiſhing to the World, what he had engaged his Word of Honour to keep inviolably ſecret *(See above, p.* 83, 84, *&* 87, Note F), and here we find him concealing from the World, what he was bound in Juſtice and Honour to publiſh; and yet declaring *that his Conduct in the Affair of Mr.* Bower *has been ſtrictly honeſt and totally diſintereſted* (Full Confut. p. 73.) So fully is he ſatisfied, that to publiſh the Evidence, which he thinks may any ways make againſt me, and ſuppreſs that which he apprehends may make any ways for me, is, in the preſent Diſpute between his Jeſuits and me, *ſtrictly honeſt and honourable.* But if he deſpiſes, as he *modeſtly* ſays he does *(Full Confut. p.* 73.) all *who are of a different Opinion*, there are, I believe, few Men of any Honour or Honeſty in *Great Britain*, whom he does not deſpiſe.

It is not at all to be doubted but Sir *H.* communicated to the *Unmasker* the *mortifying* Intelligence he received on occaſion of the Viſit he made to the above-mentioned young Ladies in Perſon, *viz.* that I *had never endeavoured directly nor indirectly to unſettle their Proteſtant Principles; that no Converſation was ever had between them and me that had any Tendency to alter or unſettle thoſe Principles; but, on the contrary, that it tended to confirm and to ſtrengthen them;* as the Baronet, I ſay, imparted, without all doubt, that Intelligence to his Friend the *Unmasker*, it was chiefly, and indeed indiſpenſably incumbent upon him, as he had publicly charged

me in the moſt poſitive Terms with having *endeavoured to unſettle the Proteſtant Principles of the Two young Perſons*, publicly to retract, whether his Catholic Patron agreed to it or not, ſo groſs a Calumny, when he could no longer doubt of its being deſtitute of all Foundation in Truth (W). By ingenuouſly owning that he was miſinformed, as a Man of any Conſcience or Honour would have readily done, he would in ſome Degree have anſwered the Character, which he gives us of himſelf, *viz.* that of a Man *concerned only for Truth and the Diſcovery of Truth.* But how will he, or even his Principals the Fathers of the Holy Society, with all their Sophiſtry, reconcile that Character with his concealing the known Truth, that Falſhood and Slander, impoſed by him on the Public, might ſtill take Place of it? Indeed, from this Man's whole Conduct, in the Courſe of the preſent Diſpute, it appears but too plain, that it is a ſtanding Rule or fixed Maxim with him (a godly Maxim, only worthy of ſuch a godly Divine,) to *ſpeak all Words that may do Hurt*, and never to retract what he has ſpoken, be it ever ſo prejudicial to the Reputation of the Dead or the Living, and ever ſo groundleſs or unanſwerably diſproved and confuted. Of this we have, beſides the Inſtance juſt mentioned, and I could mention many more, a very remarkable One in the ſcandalous Tale he publiſhed to the World of Dr. *Aſpinwall*'s dying a Papiſt, and has not yet contradicted, though it has been proved by the moſt unexceptionable Evidence this Nation affords, that he lived and died a ſincere Proteſtant, and the Slanderer has been called upon not only by me, but by that worthy Divine of the Church of *England* the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*, to retract it (*Remarkable Facts*, *p.* 67.) and make ſuch an Acknowlegement of his own *Baſeneſs* as may be as commonly known as the Slander was believed. Surely he cannot but know, that to rob a Man, either in his Life-time or after his Death, of the good Name he had deſervedly acquired, is highly immoral, and that he, who has injured another in his Reputation, either by inventing Tales,

(W) Were a Perſon arraigned of a capital Offence at the *Old-Bailey*, would not the Informer, ſhould he afterwards find the Party informed againſt to be innocent of the Charge, be bound in Conſcience and Juſtice to declare it? Would he not act a moſt unjuſt and villainous Part ſhould he decline it, and let Innocence ſuffer upon his Information? The Application is obvious; and I ſhall leave the *Unmaſker*, who had informed againſt me as a Jeſuit and a Popiſh Miſſionary *endeavouring to unſettle the Proteſtant Principles of two young Perſons*, to clear himſelf, if he can, from acting ſo unjuſt and ſo villainous a Part in not declaring the Information he had given to be falſe, when he knew it to be ſo.

to blacken it, or by confirming and ſpreading thoſe invented by others, is no leſs bound in Conſcience and Juſtice to make Reparation, by publicly unſaying what he had publicly ſaid, than he, who has injured another in his Fortune, is bound to reſtore what he had unjuſtly taken away. Theſe are eternal Laws of Morality as well as Religion. But our *religious* Divine is above them; and inſtead of complying with that moral as well as Chriſtian Duty, he ſtill pretends, in order to exempt himſelf from it, to queſtion the Truth of a Fact atteſted beyond all Poſſibility of Contradiction, ſaying in his laſt Libel, p. 139, *if the Report of Dr.* Aſpinwall's *dying a Papiſt be falſe*, &c. which is owning himſelf to have been ſo *baſe* as to publiſh to the World ſo wicked a Calumny for an *undoubted Truth*, for a *Fact that was notorious*, though he knew it to have no better Foundation than a *bare hearſay Report*, and yet refuſing to retract it, as if ſuch a Report could counterbalance the moſt unexceptionable Evidence, that can be poſſibly had in Matters of this Nature. And what muſt every true Proteſtant think of a Proteſtant Divine extolling, as this Man does, the Evidence of a *Carteret*, of an *Alticozzi*, of a *Maire*, of a *Ridolfi*, of every other Jeſuit, of a Footman of the Jeſuits, of a low Popiſh Dram-ſeller; of every other Papiſt, as *deciſive of the whole Controverſy*, pretending *Reaſons and Arguments to be of no Weight againſt ſuch Evidence in the oppoſite Scale*; inſulting and abuſing, with all the Scurrility of a mannerleſs foul-mouthed Scold, thoſe, who do not acquieſce in it; and, at the ſame Time, depreciating the Teſtimony of Proteſtants of the moſt untainted Characters, and known Veracity, as not of Weight enough to overbalance even a common Report? Does he not thereby but too plainly ſhow, that there is no Truth, how poſitively ſoever atteſted by the moſt unexceptionable Evidence, which he is not ready to queſtion, and no Falſhood or Slander, be it atteſted by the moſt exceptionable, which he is not ready to impoſe, if he can, on the Public, as the one or the other ſerves the Purpoſe of his Malice? And in what could he have betrayed a more unchriſtian and villainous Mind! He frequently boaſts of his *Induſtry*, and the *indefatigable Pains* he has taken in his favourite Character, that of an *Informer* or an *Unmasker*: And indeed it muſt be owned that his Labour and Induſtry have not been ill employed. For if he has not unmasked a Papiſt and Jeſuit in the Diſguiſe of a Proteſtant, he has detected a *Slanderer* and *Tale-bearer*, a *Friend and Ally of the Enemies of our Country, an abject Tool of*

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the Jeſuits, impoſing their Lyes upon the Public, and promoting, by that Means, their wicked Deſigns, in the Diſguiſe of a Proteſtant Clergyman, and under colour of Love for Truth and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion! That he has acted all along in that Character, baſely proſtituting the ſacred Names of Truth and Religion to give a ſanctified Gloſs to his antichriſtian Principles, and infamous Conduct, has been proved by inconteſtible Facts in the foregoing Sheets; and I entertain not the leaſt Doubt but that they, who ſhall peruſe them with any Degree of Attention and Candor, will thenceforth look upon *J. D*—— in no other Light than that of a *malignant Slanderer*, of a *falſe Informer*, and the *baſeſt of Hypocrites*, worthy of being driven, with Ignominy, from the ſacred Miniſtry, agreeably to the Canons of the Church in the purer Ages (X), and left to earn his Bread by his new Employment, which ſuits him much better than that of a Preacher of the Goſpel, and is incompatible with it.——It grieves me to ſpeak of a Proteſtant Clergyman in any other Terms than thoſe of the greateſt Reſpect. But every Man is bound in Juſtice, for the Sake of others as well as his own, to brand with Infamy a *Slanderer* and *falſe Informer*, be who he will, as well as a Thief or a Robber. For he, who has injured one Perſon in his Reputation or Fortune, threatens every Body, and thus becomes a public Nuiſance and a common Enemy: And it is only in that Character that I have, by a Principle of Self-defence, expoſed the Baſeneſs of a Man in every other Reſpect below my Notice (Y).——It will not, perhaps, be amiſs to obſerve here, that this Man's Conduct, how baſe ſoever and infamous, is no Reflection upon the venerable Body, to which

(X) The Council of *Agde* orders a ſcurrilous Clerk to be degraded, *Clericum ſcurrilem, &c. ab Officio retrahendum* (*Conc. Agathen.* Can. 70.) and the fourth Council of *Carthage* will have an *evil-ſpeaking Clerk*, eſpecially if he is a Prieſt, to be forced to aſk Pardon, and if he will not, to be degraded; *Clericus maledicus*, theſe are the Words of the 57th Canon of that Council, *maxime in Sacerdotibus, cogatur ad poſtulandum Veniam, ſi noluerit degradetur.* That, *J. D*——, the *Unmaſker*, is a *ſcurrilous Clerk*, an *evil-ſpeaking foul-mouthed Prieſt*, and that he conſequently ought, according to theſe Canons, to be *removed from his Office*, and *degraded*, none need to be told, who have but dipt into any of his four voluminous Libels.

(Y) I am not quite unprovided with Anecdotes relating to this Man's private Life and Converſation, that would do him no Honour, were I to publiſh them to the World. But I ſcorn to degrade myſelf into a Scavenger to throw Dirt with a Scavenger. I have in Juſtice to myſelf, and to every other Perſon, who has a Character to loſe, ſhewn him to be a *notorious, foul-mouthed Slanderer*, paying as little Regard to Decency as to Truth. And what have I to do with the wretched Man's Character, or the Foulneſs of his Manners, in any other Reſpect, were they even as foul as his Language?

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he belongs. Worthleſs Perſons have, at one Time or other, crept into the beſt Societies. In the College of the Apoſtles, conſiſting only of Twelve, there was a *Judas*; and no Wonder, that in ſo numerous a Body, as that of our *Engliſh* Clergy, there ſhould be a *D*—.

And thus far of the ſeveral Articles of the chief Charge brought againſt me, *viz.* of my relapſing into Popery, and returning to the Order I had left; of my Writing the Seven penitential Letters to *Sheldon*, Provincial of the Jeſuits; of my acting underhand in Concert with them, and other Popiſh Emiſſaries here; of my having a Diſpenſation from my Jeſuit Superior, and his Holineſs himſelf, to wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm, and even to attack the whole Syſtem of Popery, in order to *ſtrike*, when an Opportunity offers, *a more effectual Blow*, to the utter Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion in theſe happy Kingdoms, and the re-eſtabliſhing of the Popiſh in its Room; Abſurdities too groſs in themſelves to have deſerved a ſerious Anſwer, had they not been ſwallowed (no Doubt, for want of Reflection) by many well-meaning Proteſtants of the Clergy as well as the Laity: And this, I hope, will plead my Excuſe with the learned Proteſtants abroad (if they can believe it) for interrupting a Work, which they have thought worthy of their Approbation, and every Man, who has but dipt into it, muſt look upon as alone a full Confutation of ſuch an extraordinary Charge.

Let us now proceed to a Charge of a very different Nature, brought againſt me by the ſame worthy Proteſtant Divine, ſerving a more wicked Set of Men, if poſſible, than the Jeſuits themſelves, in the ſame Capacity, in which we have ſeen him ſerve them, I mean the Miniſters of that helliſh Court, called *The Holy Inquiſition againſt heretical Pravity*. For to them too, even to the Miniſters of that infernal Court, not only the Enemies, but Perſecutors by their very Inſtitution of the Proteſtant Name, has our good Divine, glad to oblige any, who will employ him in his Way, let himſelf out for a Tool, and the Inſtrument of their Revenge upon an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic. And the Accuſation he prefers againſt me as ſuch, in this his new Character, is as follows: That I have pretended, and ſtill pretend, to have been Counſellor of the Inquiſition, without having ever belonged to the *Holy Office* in that or any other Shape whatever; and thereupon, not having the Fear of God before my Eyes, have arraigned, as an Eye-witneſs, that holy, that juſt,

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that merciful Tribunal of ſuch a ſhocking Piece of Cruelty and Injuſtice, *the Invention of my own fertile Brain*, as has created in all, who heard it, an irreconcilable Averſion not only to the Holy Tribunal, that *Bulwark againſt heretical Pravity*, but to the Religion that encourages and ſupports it.

Such is the Charge: And as it is matter of the utmoſt Importance, that his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects ſhould not be miſled into a Belief of ſuch Cruelties being really practiſed by the Holy Inquiſition, ſince they would conclude from thence the Church of *Rome* to be ſtill, in our Days, the ſame unchriſtian, mercileſs, blood-thirſty Church as ſhe was in former Times, when ſhe *ſlew her Thouſands and ten Thouſands*, or rather her hundred Thouſands; as it is, I ſay, Matter of the utmoſt Importance, that his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects ſhould not imbibe Notions of ſo pernicious a Tendency, the *Unmasker* has thought it a Duty incumbent upon him, *as a good Subject and a Proteſtant Clergyman*, to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the innocent, but much injured Inquiſition; to diſprove the remarkable Inſtance, that the *Popiſh Miſſionary in Diſguiſe* has alledged, in all Companies, of their Cruelty and Injuſtice; to efface, by that Means, the Impreſſion, that ſuch unheard-of Barbarity may have made upon the Minds of credulous and ſimple Proteſtants, to the Diſadvantage of the Holy Catholic Church; and, in ſhort, to *wipe both the Church and the Holy Office clean.* In order to that, he has been plentifully ſupplied with original Papers, Atteſtations, Certificates, *&c. &c.* by the Inquiſition itſelf, all declaring, certifying and atteſting, that I never was Counſellor of the Inquiſition; nay, that at *Macerata*, where I pretend to have exerciſed that Office, there is no Inquiſition, nor Counſellors of the Inquiſition, but only a *poor Vicar* ſent thither by the Inquiſitor General reſiding at *Ancona*: And the Miniſters of the Holy Inquiſition, you muſt know, who have iſſued theſe Certificates, *&c.* are all Men of ſuch Probity, Candor, and Veracity, that were they guilty of the Cruelties charged upon them, they would ingenuouſly own it, and rather ſuffer all Mankind to look upon them as the moſt inhuman Race of Men upon Earth, than redeem themſelves from ſuch an Imputation at the Expence of Truth; inſomuch that *nothing ſeems neceſſary to induce us to pay entire Credit to their Certificates than* (or but) *to have full Aſſurance that ſuch Perſons do exiſt* (Full Detect. p. 54.) Such is the Opinion our Divine entertains, and requires the Proteſtant Inhabitants of *Great Britain*

Britain to entertain (on pain of being deemed *Fools* or *Knaves*) of the Miniſters of an Office confeſſedly inſtituted to ſuppreſs, nay to perſecute Truth with Rack and Faggot, and eſtabliſh Falſhood in its Room.

But what if it ſhould be made to appear from theſe very Certificates, from theſe *Delphic* Oracles, that *there is an Inquiſition at* Macerata; *that the Perſon, who preſides in it there, is not a bare Vicar to the Inquiſitor General at* Ancona, *but himſelf an Inquiſitor, though not an Inquiſitor General*; and that *he has, as ſuch, his Counſellors and other proper Officers under him?* The Task is not ſo difficult as it may ſeem at firſt View to thoſe, who have peruſed theſe *Certificates* only ſuperficially, or receive without Examination all Certificates, come from what Quarter they will, certify what they will, as *irreſiſtible Proofs*, or *unanſwerable Evidences*; eſpecially when they have the *Seals of Office* (no Matter of what Office) annexed to them.

And in the firſt Place, that there is an Inquiſition at *Macerata* is owned by the Inquiſitor General himſelf in both his Certificates: The *Holy Inquiſition at* Macerata, ſays he in his firſt Certificate, *is Subject to our General Inquiſition of* Ancona; again, *our General Inquiſition is at* Ancona, *and that at* Macerata *is ſubject to it* (Complet. Detect. p. 62.) and in his ſecond Certificate, the *Office of the Holy Inquiſition in the City and Dioceſe of* Macerata *was ſubject to our General Inquiſition of* Ancona, *&c. from its very Foundation* (Ibid. p. 67.) ſo that, if the Inquiſitor General may be credited, there is an Inquiſition at *Macerata*, though ſubject (in what Senſe we ſhall ſee hereafter) to the Inquiſition General at *Ancona*, and conſequently not a *poor Vicar* only, but an Inquiſitor with his Counſellors and other Officers, who compoſe that Court, Office, or Tribunal; for without them there can be no Court of Inquiſition, as there can be no Court of Judicature without Judges. Hence the Perſon, who preſides at that Court in the City of *Macerata* is diſtinguiſhed with the Title of *Inquiſitor* by the three *eminent Jeſuits* (Six Letters, p. 86.) and two of them were public Profeſſors in that Univerſity, *viz. Conyers* long before my Time, and *Lunardi* ſome Years after it. The three *eminent Meſſieurs*, as they are ſtiled, little imagined, it ſeems, that the Inquiſitor of *Macerata* was to be degraded into a *poor Vicar*, and they therefore gave him his proper Title, that of *Inquiſitor*. And thus far I am obliged to them, but much more to good Father *Zabberoni* Inquiſitor General, for giving

the Lie, in this public Manner, to thoſe, who have poſitively aſſerted that there is no ſuch Thing as an Inquiſition at *Macerata*.

Secondly, That the Inquiſitor of *Macerata* has his Counſellors as well as the Inquiſitor General of *Ancona*, or any other Inquiſitor, may be plainly gathered from the Certificate of *Euſebio Antonio Calabrini*, Capo Notaro or *Head Notary to the Holy* Roman *and univerſal Inquiſition*. For he tells us in his Certificate, that having diligently ſearched the Regiſters of the *Patentati* or Officers of the Inquiſition, he has found that *A. B*—— *never was, and is not now Counſellor for the ſaid Holy Office in the City of* Macerata (A). Now if there were no Counſellors of the Inquiſition in that City, would not the Notary have ſaid ſo at once, and ſaved himſelf the Trouble of *diligently ſearching the Regiſters* to know whether *A. B*—— had ever been Counſellor of the Inquiſition there? If there are no ſuch Counſellors there, ſurely the firſt Notary to the *Holy Office* could not but know it. And did he know, that there are none, and yet *diligently ſearched* the Regiſters to ſee whether *A. B*—— had ever been one of them! We muſt either ſuppoſe the *Capo Notaro* to be a very Idiot, or own, that there are Counſellors of the Inquiſition at *Macerata*. This may be illuſtrated by a parallel Caſe. Should the renowned *John Douglas*, for Inſtance, *Vicar of* High Ercal, Salop, *Doctor of Divinity*, &c. &c. &c. going abroad, pretend to have been one of the Repreſentatives of the *Engliſh* Clergy in the Houſe of Commons of *Great-Britain*, would the Speaker of that Honourable Houſe, if applied to, *diligently ſearch the Regiſters*, or examine the Liſts of the Members to ſee whether the ſaid *Douglas* had ever repreſented the *Engliſh* Clergy there? He certainly would not; but, inſtead of that, would certify at once, that there are no ſuch Repreſentatives in the *Britiſh* Parliament. The Application is obvious: And no Man, who is not himſelf, or does not ſuppoſe the *firſt Notary to the Holy* Roman *and univerſal Inquiſition* deſtitute of all common Senſe, can think that the ſaid Notary would have *diligently ſearched the Regiſters*, to know whether *A. B*—— had ever been Counſellor of the Inquiſition at *Macerata*, if there were no

(A) One would have expected, that the firſt Notary to the *Holy* Roman *and univerſal Inquiſition*, the firſt Tribunal in the Catholic World, would have ſpoken more properly in a formal Certificate, and ſaid, that *he had ſearched the Regiſters, but had not found that* A. B—— *was a Counſellor*, inſtead of ſaying, *he had found that* A. B—— *was not a Counſellor*. For how could he find that *A. B*—— was not a Counſellor? Was that marked in the Regiſters?

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ſuch Counſellors there! And thus I have, in a very few Words, made it undeniably appear from thoſe very Certificates, that, *there is an Inquiſition at* Macerata; that the *Perſon, who preſides in it, is himſelf an Inquiſitor*; and that *he has, as ſuch, his Counſellors, and other proper Officers under him* (B).

As to the Subjection of the Inquiſition of *Macerata* to that of *Ancona*, I muſt inform the Reader, that there are three Inquiſitions in that Part of the Papal Dominions, *viz.* at *Ancona*, at *Fermo*, and at *Macerata*, which extend their Juriſdiction, on the one Side, over the whole Province of the *Marca* to the Confines of *Abruzzo* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and over the Dukedom of *Urbino* on the other. Each of theſe three Inquiſitions has its peculiar Diſtrict; but that of *Ancona* alone is an *Inquiſition General*; and the Inquiſitor of that Place has, as *Inquiſitor General*, a Kind of Juriſdiction over the other two, by Virtue of which he may, in ſome particular Caſes, namely in that of formal Hereſy, order the Criminal to be removed, from their Priſons to his. Beſides, in all doubtful Caſes, the *particular Inquiſitors* are directed by the ſupreme Court at *Rome* to conſult their *General Inquiſitors*. When an Inquiſitor dies, or is removed, the Inquiſitor General names and recommends one to the Congrega-

(B) The Inquiſitor General atteſts, as we have ſeen, in his Certificates, that the *Holy Inquiſition at* Macerata *is ſubject to the general Inquiſition at* Ancona; *that he and his Predeceſſors have always deputed their Vicar to that Place*; and adds; FROM WHENCE *it evidently appears, that* A. B —— *never was Inquiſitor or Qualificator at that Place*: Which is arguing thus; The Inquiſition of *Macerata* is ſubject to that of *Ancona*, and we and our Predeceſſors have always deputed our Vicar to that Place; therefore *A. B* —— never was Inquiſitor or Qualificator at that Place. What a fine Specimen does the moſt Rev. Father *Zabberoni* give us here of his Logic! *Father* Zabberoni, *of the Order of Preachers, Maſter of Divinity, appointed by the Holy Apoſtolic See, Inquiſitor General againſt Heretical* (or Proteſtant) *Pravity!* The only Concluſion, that can be inferred from that Antecedent, would be this; *therefore if* A. B—— *ever was Inquiſitor or Qualificator at that Place, he was deputed to it by our Predeceſſors, or by us.* But from the Inquiſition of *Macerata* being ſubject to that of *Ancona*, and the Inquiſitor of *Ancona* having always deputed his Vicar to *Macerata*, it does not *evidently appear*, nor appear at all, that even the above mentioned *John Douglas*, never was Inquiſitor or Qualificator in the City of *Macerata*, as is obvious to common Senſe. *And it is alſo certain*, continues the Inquiſitor, FROM *what has been ſaid, that our Inquiſition General is at* Ancona, *and that at* Macerata *is ſubject to it.* And what has been ſaid FROM WHENCE that can be *certainly* inferred? Why it has been ſaid, that *our Inquiſition General is at* Ancona, *and that at* Macerata *is ſubject to it*; and FROM THENCE *it is certain*, ſays the Inquiſitor, *that our Inquiſition General is at* Ancona, *&c.* One would think that the *Italian Maſter of Divinity* had learnt to reaſon of our *Engliſh Doctor* of Divinity. I have often ſaid, that for Abſurdity and Nonſenſe our *Doctor* has not his Fellow; but now I find he has, and wiſh I had no Reaſon to believe, that the *Maſter* and the *Doctor* have the ſame Divinity, as well as the ſame Logic.

tion at *Rome* for his Succeſſor; and the Perſon whom he names is commonly, but not always, appointed by the Congregation to ſucceed him. And it is in this Senſe only that the Inquiſition of *Macerata* is ſubject to that of *Ancona*, and the Inquiſitor at the former Place is *Vicar* to, or *Deputy* of, the Inquiſitor General at the latter.—And here I cannot help obſerving, that *Zabberoni* does not *certify* in either of his *Certificates*, that there are no Counſellors of the Inquiſition at *Macerata*, being ſenſible that the contrary can be inferred from the Certificate of the *firſt Notary*, by thoſe who narrowly examine it. He only dwells, and very artfully, on the Subjection of the one Inquiſition to the other, flattering himſelf, that the unattentive and undiſcerning will conclude from thence, that at *Macerata* there is only a *poor Vicar*, or a Deputy of his without Counſellors, or any other Officers. The *ſagacious Unmasker* has done ſo accordingly, and from thence taken Occaſion to condole the City of *Macerata*, with a great deal of impertinent Nonſenſe and empty Scurrility, for the Loſs of its Inquiſition, its Inquiſitor, and his twelve Counſellors. But ſhould he not at the ſame Time have condoled his *Holy* Roman *and univerſal Inquiſition* upon their having one for their *Capo Notaro*, or firſt Notary, ſo void of common Senſe as *diligently to ſearch the Regiſters*, in order to ſee whether he could find there what he could not but know (if there are no Counſellors of the Inquiſition at *Macerata)* was not to be found there, nor no where elſe!—But after all, the ſo much boaſted Subjection of the one Inquiſition to the other, is altogether foreign to the Purpoſe. For ſo long as it is true, that there is an Inquiſition at *Macerata*, and that the Perſon who preſides in it, has his Counſellors and other proper Officers attending him, what matters it whether his Inquiſition be ſubject to that at *Ancona*, or no; whether he be appointed by the Inquiſitor General at that Place, or by the Congregation at *Rome*; and be called *Inquiſitor*, as the three *eminent Meſſieurs Jeſuits* ſtile him, or only *Vicar* to the Inquiſitor General?

Zabberoni certifies by his ſecond Certificate, p. 67, that *from the 5th of* May 1724, *to the 20th of* March 1732, *the Office of Vicar of* Macerata *was exerciſed by Father* PIUS ÆNEAS Montecuculi: And this, he ſays, *appears in Page 42 of the Regiſter of the Patentati. If* A. B—— *therefore*, adds the *Uumasker*, *exerciſed the Office of Counſellor for three Years, and eſcaped out of* Italy *in* 1726, *he could not poſſibly be choſen by* Montecuculi, *as he expreſly ſays he was.*—I anſwer; *Montecuculi's* Patent may, for aught I know, bear the Date

Date *Zabberoni* mentions. But the knaviſh Inquiſitor well knows, that Father *Montecuculi* acted, in every reſpect, as Inquiſitor long before that Time, his Predeceſſor being incapable of acting; and he could tell us too, if he pleaſed, what that unhappy Man's Illneſs was owing to, and whether what was then whiſpered about, in *Macerata*, concerning it, had any Foundation in Truth, or no.—As one Leaf may be eaſily foiſted in, and twenty-one-may be tranſcribed without much Difficulty; I take it for granted, that at Page 42 of the Regiſter, which is now ſhewn, Father *Montecuculi* has no other Name than that of *Pius Æneas*. But all, who ever correſponded with him, know, and ſo does *Zabberoni*, that beſides the *Pagan*, as they call it, he had a Chriſtian Name, *viz.* that of *Innocent*, and that he invariably ſigned himſelf *I. Montecuculi* (C). It would puzzle, I believe, the Inquiſitor General, and the General of the *Dominicans* himſelf, to alledge another Inſtance, of a Religious of that Order having a *Pagan* Name only. They, who have ſuch Names, are, in ſome Orders of Friars, made to drop them intirely, and in

(C) What the *Unmasker* writes upon this Head is worthy of Notice, and I ſhall give it in his own Words. *I am afraid*, ſays he, *the Reader acquainted with the* Italian, *and accuſtomed to ſee the Subſcriptions of Natives of that Country, will challenge him to produce an Inſtance, when the Chriſtian Name is ſubſcribed only with the initial Letter. I have examined many* Italian *Subſcriptions, and* INVARIABLY *find, that an* Italian, *if he has but one Chriſtian Name, ſigns it* ALWAYS AT FULL LENGTH; *and I have aſked Natives of that Country, who aſſure me, that this Cuſtom prevails* (Full Confut. p. 13.) In his laſt Libel, p. 72, he refers the Reader to what is ſaid here, and adds; FORTUNATELY *for Mr.* B——r *he did not hazard a Reply*—UNFORTUNATELY for Mr. *D——s* one of his chief *Italian* Evidences, *viz* Proſpero Aſcenziarii, *Canon of the Cathedral Church of* Macerata, has but *one Chriſtian Name*, and that one Name, he ſigns in his firſt Letter, produced by this very *D——s*, *only with the initial Letter*, thus, *P. Aſcenziarii* (Full Detect. p. 58.) And is not the ſame Mr. *D——s* a moſt extraordinary Man! He firſt poſitively aſſerts upon his own Experience, as well as upon the Teſtimony, as *he pretends*, of Natives of *Italy*, that *an* Italian, *if he has but one Chriſtian Name*, NEVER *ſubſcribes it only with the initial Letter, but ſigns it* ALWAYS AT FULL LENGTH: He then produces a Letter from an *Italian* having but *one Chriſtian Name*, and yet ſigning that one Name with the *initial Letter only*; and after that victoriouſly triumphs, as if no ſuch Inſtance could be produced; no ſuch Inſtance as that, which he himſelf had produced but a few Pages before. O RARE *J. D——s!* I ſaid, *as he pretends*, for the Inſtance before us, and his impudently departing from Truth, and giving himſelf the Lie, on ſo many Occaſions, ſo well authenticated, muſt ſatisfy every ſenſible and candid Reader, that his *examining many* Italian *Subſcriptions*, his *aſking Natives of* Italy, *&c. &c.* are all *mere Inventions of his own fertile Brain*. He has, perhaps, *aſked* his Friend, the Lackey Mr. *Ceſar Pariſetti*: But whatever that Lackey may have told him, it is manifeſt from the Letter of the Canonico, *P. Aſcenziarii*, that an *Italian*, having but one Chriſtian Name, does not *ſign it* ALWAYS at FULL LENGTH. They, who correſpond with Natives of *Italy*, know that the Cuſtom in Queſtion prevails there as much as it does in *Great-Britain*, in *France*, and in *Germany*.

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ſome to add the Name of a Saint to them (D). I know not whether Father *Montecuculi* quite dropt the *Pagan* Name of *Pius Æneas*, but am very confident, that *Zabberoni* in his *Certificate*, has knaviſhly dropt the Chriſtian Name of *Innocent*. However I am obliged to him for owning, that ſuch a Man, as Father *Montecuculi*, has exiſted. For how could I have proved his Exiſtence, had he taken it into his Head to deny it——But *Regiſters*, cries the *Unmasker*, *cannot lie*. I anſwer; Experience teaches us, that Regiſters can lie and have lied; that *Maſters of Divinity* can lie and have lied, and ſome *Doctors* too.

I ſhall now proceed to the two *Certificates* or *original Letters* of the *Canonico*, whom I have juſt mentioned, *P. Aſcenziarii*, *Originals* indeed, whether we conſider the Language, or the Matter they contain. The Language is ſo coarſe, ſo vulgar, and ſo ungrammatical, that, if they really came from a Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Macerata*, one would be tempted to think, that he had made his Footman write them, and had not himſelf thought it worth his while to read over what he had written. As there are many Gentlemen in this Kingdom, who underſtand the *Italian* perfectly well, I ſhall preſent them (in Note E) with one of theſe curious Pieces, the firſt and the

(D) In my Time a young Man at *Rome*, named *Ercole* or *Hercules*, being ordered to change his Name upon entering among the *Capuchins*, and chuſe another, there being no *Saint Hercules*, anſwered, that he embraced ſo holy a State of Life on purpoſe to make a Saint of that Name: Which Anſwer the Fathers were ſo well pleaſed with, that they allowed him to keep his old Name, adding that of a Saint to it.

(E) The Letter is as follows.—

Macerata, 19 Marzo, 1757.

QUanto ha ſcritto, ſe circa il Conte Vincenzo della Torre, e che lui ſia ſtato Conſultor del S. Officio é tutto falſiſſimo arcifalſiſſimo, e ſe lui non ſe n'andava ſareble incappato lui nel S. Officio. Sappia che i Jeſuiti in queſto ſtato mai han potuto porre il naſo nel S. Officio, ne ſotto queſto cielo é ſtato mai il Conte Vincenzo della Torre. Riſpondo queſti pochi verſi, acció non m'accuſi negligente a ſuoi demandi, e coſtantemente mi raſſegno,

Suo Servo Obligmo,

P. ASCENZIARII.

The firſt Sentence, *quanto há ſcritto, ſe circa*, &c. is abſolutely unintelligible—*che lui ſia ſtato*, that him has been; *ſe lui non ſe n'andava*; if him had not gone off; *ſareble incappato lui*, him would be (inſtead of *ſareble ſtato* would have been) caught in the Holy Office; *falſiſſimo arcifalſiſſimo*, a bouncing Lie or a great Gun; *porre il naſo* (an *Italian* would have ſaid *ficcare il naſo*) thruſt their Noſe; *negligente a ſuoi demandi*, neglectful to your Demands, &c. are Expreſſions either quite vulgar or ungrammatical, ſuch as would better become a Porter or a Carman in common Speech, than the Canon of a Cathedral Church in a Letter, which he could not but know would be made public——In the ſecond Letter are ſome Blunders in point of Language, and a very unaccountable one in point of Senſe. The *Canonico* begins that Letter thus: *Subito tornato il Padre Vicario del S. Uffizio, non mancai comunicarle la ſua*, &c. That is, as ſoon as the Father Vicar returned I did not fail, or neglect, to communicate your Letter to him; where inſtead of *non mancai comunicare* he ſhould have ſaid DI *comunicare*, it being the

the ſhorteſt, in the *original Italian*, and leave them to judge whether I exaggerate or no.——In theſe Letters I am charged by the *Canonico* (for ſo I ſhall call him) in the firſt Place, with *black Attempts*, meaning no doubt, the pretended *Intrigue with a Nun*; and my Flight from *Italy* is imputed to a Proſecution carried on againſt me by the Inquiſition on that Account. But with reſpect to the Intrigue, I have confuted the Charge, ſo far as it is poſſible for any Man to confute a Charge of that Nature, and cleared myſelf more effectually than the *Unmasker* could clear himſelf, were he arraigned of a criminal Converſation with the Widow *Hoyles*, whom he is known to have frequently viſited in a private Room behind that *immaculate Lady's* Dram-ſhop (*See above p.* 50). As to the ſuppoſed Proſecution of the Inquiſition, I have proved, beyond Poſſibility of Contradiction, the Letter of the *three eminent Jeſuits* aſcribing my Flight to my

the ſame Blunder in the *Italian* to leave out the Particle *di*, as to leave out the Particle *de* in the *French*, and ſay, *je n' ai pas manquè lui communiquer*, inſtead of DE *lui communiquer*. But none, who are not Natives of *Italy*, or are not accuſtomed to ſpeak the Language of that Country, know when the Particle *a* is to be uſed before the infinitive Mood, when the Particle *di*, and when neither. And how came our Canonico to metamorphoſe the Father Vicar into a Woman, ſaying *non mancai comunicarle*, I did not neglect to communicate to her, inſtead of *comunicargli* to communicate to him! But what are the Blunders in point of Language to the following in point of Senſe? Our *Canonico* ſays, that the Vicar of *Macerata* told him that he *would have written* to the Inquiſitor of *Ancona*, to ſend him the Proofs, but the Inquiſitor *anſwered* him that he had already ſent them to *Rome* (Complete Detect. p. 59.) that is, he would have written to the Inquiſitor, but the Inquiſitor ſaved him that Trouble by anſwering his Letter before he wrote it. Is it poſſible that a Canon of the Cathedral Church of the Univerſity of *Macerata* ſhould write ſuch groſs Nonſenſe! I ſhould rather aſcribe ſo extraordinary a Piece to ſome poor blundering *Iriſh* Prieſt. For who elſe could make a Man anſwer a Letter, that he never received, nay, that was never written! This Letter, ſays the Unmaſker, was written *to a Gentleman of* Italy, *who reſides in* London, *is known to Perſons of great Diſtinction, and keeps up a conſtant Correſpondence with* Macerata, *about his private Affairs*. So ſays the *Unmaſker*; but I am too well acquainted with the Wiles and cunning Devices of the Jeſuits not to ſuſpect every Thing that comes from that Quarter, and am very well ſatisfied, that there is not a City, Town, or Village in all *Italy*, from whence they are not capable of producing Letters to ſome NAMELESS *Gentleman* of *Italy who reſides in* London, is known to NAMELESS *Perſons of great Diſtinction*, and *keeps up a conſtant Correſpondence with all thoſe Cities, Towns, and Villages, about his private Affairs*. For my own Part, I never ſhall believe, nor can I, Letters, fraught with ſuch unaccountable Blunders in Grammar as well as in Senſe, to have been written by a Prebendary of the Cathedral of *Macerata*, till he himſelf, *P. Aſcenziarii* himſelf, has owned them for his to ſome Proteſtant of unqueſtionable Veracity. As the pretended Writer of theſe Letters has but one Chriſtian Name, *viz. Proſpero*, and ſigns that one Name with the initial Letter only, the *Unmaſker* can, but with a very ill Grace, maintain them to be genuine, when he has aſſured us, (*after examining many* Italian *Subſcriptions, and asking the Natives*) that an *Italian*, having but one Chriſtian Name, ſigns it INVARIABLY at full Length.

being

being proſecuted by that Tribunal, to be filled with ſuch choaking Improbabilities, not to ſay Impoſſibilities, as no Man, who has but one Grain of Senſe, can poſſibly ſwallow (*See above from p.* 45. *to p.* 51.)

To what has been ſaid in the Places I have quoted, I ſhall add here, 1*ſt.* Lord *Aylmer*'s Friends could hear of no *black Attempts*, upon the ſtricteſt Enquiries concerning my Character, made only a Twelvemonth after I left *Italy* (Anſwer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet, p. 33, 34, —63.) nor could a worthy and learned Divine of our own Church ſo late as 1750, though he applied to one, an *Iriſh* Prieſt, who knew me perfectly well, while I lived at *Macerata* (Ibid. p. 63.) 2*d.* In my Flight from *Italy* I repaired to a College of Jeſuits, of the *Scotch* Jeſuits at *Douay*, and *was entertained by them for ſome Time with great Kindneſs*; as they themſelves have owned to their Friend the Unmasker (*Six Letters, p.* 87.) Now, if I had fled for *black Attempts*, or to avoid the Puniſhment due to *black Attempts*, can any Man poſſibly think, that inſtead of repairing to *Holland* or to *England*, as I might have eaſily done, and bid the whole Order Defiance, I would have put myſelf in the Power of thoſe who could, and certainly would have puniſhed me for them? 3*d.* Upon my Arrival in *England*, I met with the ſame kind Treatment from Father *Parker*, then Provincial, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits here in *London*, as I had met with from the *Scotch* Jeſuits at *Douay*; and they continued to entertain me, with the greateſt Kindneſs and Civility, till I left them, in ſpite of all their Endeavours to keep me in their Church and the Order. My putting myſelf in their Power abroad is a plain Proof that I was not conſcious to myſelf of any *black Attempts*, and their uſing me ſo kindly, both at home and abroad, muſt convince every Man of common Senſe, that they knew of no ſuch Attempts, and conſequently that it is *falſiſſimo arci-falſiſſimo*, moſt falſe and more than moſt falſe (a cant Expreſſion among the Vulgar in *Italy*) that *if him had not gone off, him would be caught in the Holy Office.*

I cannot help obſerving here how unjuſt it is, how iniquitous and wicked to recur to *Rome*, or to *Italy* for my Character, when I have lived Thirty-four Years in *England*; to apply for it to Papiſts, to Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, whoſe Religion I have not only renounced but attacked, perhaps, not quite unſucceſsfully; to credit all the Evil they can ſay of me, who are known to ſpare no Lies nor Calumnies

to defame ſuch as have left them, and at the ſame Time to pay no kind of Regard to the Teſtimonies of Proteſtants, no leſs eminent for their Probity and Abilities than for their Rank, who have known me, and known me intimately, ſome theſe Twenty, ſome theſe Thirty Years, and ſome ever ſince a few Months after my Arrival in *England*. Let thoſe, who apply to *Rome* for my Character, go to *Rome* for the Characters of the firſt Reformers, and they will ſoon be furniſhed with Plenty of *Original Papers*, *Certificates*, *Atteſtations*, &c. &c. painting thoſe great and worthy Men in blacker Colours than they have painted me, as they have done Holy Mother Church greater Miſchief than I have done her, or am capable of doing. I challenge the whole Popiſh Tribe, and with them their Proteſtant Tool, to name one ſingle Perſon, quitting their Church and writing againſt it, whom they have ſpoken well of, one ſingle Perſon, whoſe Character they have not attempted, when an Opportunity offered, to blacken, charging him with ſome *black Attempts* or other, either in his Life-time, or after his Death, and, if they allege but one, I will no longer object to the Evidence of Papiſts and Jeſuits. But till they produce ſome ſuch Inſtance, no ſenſible and candid Man can think, that it is *without the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon*, that I except againſt their Teſtimony, as I thereby defend, not my own Cauſe only, but that of Converts from Popery in general, nay, and of the Proteſtant Religion itſelf, which they pretend no Catholic to have ever embraced, who had not firſt abandoned himſelf to all Manner of Wickedneſs.—Father *Courayer* is known to be a Man of a blameleſs Life and Converſation, as well as of great Learning, and therefore worthy of a better Panegyriſt than the Man, who extolls to the Skies, with his fulſome Panegyrics, every Popiſh Prieſt, Monk, Friar and Jeſuit, who have helped him to any ſcandalous Anecdotes. However that good Father would not, perhaps, chuſe, for all his Goodneſs, to ſtand to the Character, that his old Friends at *Paris* would give him, were they applied to by a *D*——*s*, or any other Dealer in Popiſh Scandal.

To return to the curious Piece before us: As there is no Inquiſition here, ſays the *Canonico*, the Regiſter of the Patentati is not here; *Siccome qui non é Inquiſizione, non vi é il regiſtro de Patentati*—— Anſwer. As it appears from the Certificate of the Inquiſitor General, ſaying over and over again *the Holy Inquiſition at* Macerata, *&c.* that there is an Inquiſition there, the Regiſter of the Patentati muſt,

of courſe, be there. The Truth is, the Regiſter, and all other Records belonging to the *Holy Office* at *Macerata*, are lodged in that Inquiſition, in the *Inquiſition General* at *Ancona*, and in the *Univerſal Inquiſition* at *Rome*; for it was at *Rome* that the *Capo Notaro diligently ſearched the Regiſters*, &c. unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have undertaken, for that Purpoſe, a Journey of 170 Miles. I ſhall leave the *Unmasker* to reconcile the *Canonico*, certifying that *there is no Inquiſition* at *Macerata*, with the Inquiſitor General ſaying, *the Holy Inquiſition of* Macerata; which Words, one would think, imply, that there is an Inquiſition there.

The *Canonico* does me the Honour to call me a *worthleſs Apoſtate*, his Holineſs not having, it ſeems, let him, as he has done the *Unmasker*, into the Secret, *viz.* that I am no Apoſtate, but *a zealous Miſſionary in Diſguiſe, licenſed by the Holy Apoſtolic See to wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm in order to ſtrike a more effectual Blow.* And how ungenerous was it in this Man to publiſh to the World what his Holineſs had revealed, in private Comfidence, to him, and to him alone! To be ſerious; ſhould a Man gravely advance ſuch palpable Abſurdities in any Country but in this, he would be hiſſed out of every Company he came into, as a natural Fool, or a deſigning Knave, or a Mixture of both.——The Jeſuits aſcribed my Flight from *Italy* to one *black Attempt* only. But the *Canonico* imputes it to *black Attempts*, ſuppoſe to half a Dozen, or a Dozen; for all which and each of them I *ſhould be* (or ſhould have been) *caught in the Inquiſition, if I had not gone off.* Now I wiſh *the Gentleman of* Italy, *who reſides in* London, *and keeps up a conſtant Correſpondence with* Macerata, would deſire his Correſpondent, with my Compliments to him (as I am told that he is an old Acquaintance of mine, though I remember no ſuch Perſon) to ſpecify ſome of thoſe *black Attempts*, cognizable by the Inquiſition, beſides that, which the Jeſuits have charged me with, and I have unanſwerably diſproved. If he knows of no other, he muſt excuſe me, if I brand him for a Slanderer and a Liar, not only confirming the Lies and Calumnies invented by the Jeſuits, but adding to them, like our *Proteſtant Unmasker*, Lies and Calumnies of his own.

The *Unmasker*, after producing the above abſurd, lying, contradictory *Certificates*, as ſo many *demonſtrative Proofs* and *unanſwerable Arguments, that muſt command Aſſent*, addreſſes himſelf to me thus: *It is now put out of thy Power to conceal, any longer, with all thy Sophiſtry, that thou haſt built the Ground-work of thy*

Fortune, in England, *on Tales deſtitute of Truth* (Complete Detect. p. 62.)——From the Airs this Man gives himſelf throughout all his Libels, one would conclude him to be a Perſon of the firſt Rank in *Great Britain*, at leaſt deſcended in a ſtrait Line from the famous *Scotch Chevey Chace Hero*. But the matchleſs Inſolence of the Man! He, who thus takes upon him to *thou* me, as if I were his Valet, and has had the Arrogance to reproach a Gentleman of Fortune, dear to all, who know him, for his extenſive Good-nature and univerſal Benevolence, with having once been in Buſineſs, is himſelf but the Son of a poor *broken Coffee-houſe Man*; and he here only retorts upon me the Language, which he was frequently addreſſed in by ſuch of his Father's low, ill-bred Cuſtomers, as *it fell to his Lot*, in his original Condition, to attend. But to overlook his ill Manners, as no better can be expected from *Gentlemen* of his Rank it is juſt as true, that *I have built the Grounnd-work of my Fortune in* England, *upon Tales deſtitute of Truth*, as it is true, that you, Reverend Sir, have built the Ground-work of yours upon your Parts, or your Learning; when nothing is more certain, than that you owe what you are, and all you have, to your being CHEAP and contemptible. You underſtand me, and know too, that you owe more to the good Offices of a Fellow-ſervant of yours, a *Catholic*, than to any good Qualities of your own. And thus ſome, who are better acquainted with your paltry Affairs than I am, or care to be, have accounted for the mighty Encomiums you beſtow upon every Papiſt, whom you have Occaſion to mention, from Sir *H. B*——, your Popiſh Patron, down to *John Gay*, the antiquated Footman of the Provincials of the Jeſuits.

What this ſcurrilous Babbler means by ſaying, that *I have built the Ground work of my Fortune, and my Fame in* England *upon Tales deſtitute of Truth*, I know not, unleſs it be, that I have made a Fortune by my *Hiſtory*, and that they, who have ſubſcribed to it, or purchaſed it, have been *drawn in by my Inquiſition Tales*. But I have made no *Fortune* by that Work, as all my Friends know; nor have I got near ſo much by it, as I ſhould have done by another, which I declined in order to employ my whole Time and Labour upon this. Beſides, the Reception, which my Hiſtory has met with from the learned (except the very learned *J. D*——*s*, who has ſmelt out Popery in it, as he is a Man of a very ſhrewd Scent) plainly ſhows, that it was not becauſe I had belonged to the Inquiſition that they

encouraged it. Inſtead of an Eſtate, that Undertaking has produced, even in this Proteſtant Kingdom, a moſt furious Perſecution againſt me from the Papiſts both at Home and Abroad, which indeed I foreſaw, and foretold in my Preface (p. xv). But little did I imagine that a *Clergyman of the Church of* England would enliſt himſelf under their Banners, and carry on their Perſecution for them in the mean Capacity of their *Tool*, and the *Trumpeter of their Scandal.* Nor could I believe it, till I was told who the Man was, and what were his Principles. And what muſt the very loyal, and truly Proteſtant Univerſity of *Glaſgow* think of their *Exhibitioner* become the Advocate, or rather the *Drudge* and the *Jackal* of the avowed Enemies of our Religion, our King, and our Country!——But here our *Reverend Gentleman* ſeems, as we may obſerve by the Way, to be ſomewhat inconſiſtent with himſelf according to his Cuſtom. For he tells us at Page 59, that I *was ſo cautious as not to hazard my* Italian *Story beyond the narrow Circles of my unſuſpecting Acquaintances*, and conſequently that it was known to very few. Now how could a Story known to very few, and utterly unknown to the reſt of *England*, be the *Ground-work of my Fortune and Fame in* England? Surely *J. D——s*, for Nonſenſe and Self-contradictions, can be matched by none, but the *Canonico* of *Macerata*, who has made a Man anſwer a Letter, that never was written.——I cannot help obſerving here how true the Saying is, *when a Man is againſt Truth, Truth will be againſt him.* And Truth will prevail in the End. It will confound the Underſtandings of the wiſeſt Men, and make not only ſuch pitiful Scribblers as our *unfledged Divine*, but *head Notaries, Maſters of Divinity, Inquiſitors General, Canonicos* of Cathedral Churches, *&c. &c. &c.* contradict themſelves, and ſpeak, and write, and reaſon like arrant Idiots. Of this we have Four inconteſtible Inſtances in the Four *Certificates*, of which I have taken ſome little Notice; as every Man muſt own, who has attended to the groſs Abſurdities that I have pointed out to them, and is capable of diſtinguiſhing Senſe from the ſtarkeſt Nonſenſe.

To theſe Four Certificates, imported from *Italy* by my *beſt Friends* the Jeſuits, as ſo many Tokens of their Friendſhip for me, the *Proteſtant Patentato* of the *Holy Office* has added one of an *Italian* here, *viz.* of the above-mentioned Lackey Mr. *Cæſar Pariſetti*, perhaps, the *Gentleman of* Italy, *who keeps up a conſtant Correſpondence with* Macerata. For he, who has metamorphoſed one into a

Lady,

Lady, that was, within theſe few Years, a Stage-dancer, may well metamorphoſe an *Italian Lackey* into an *Italian Gentleman*. And what does this *Gentleman* ſay? Why, he ſays, 1*ſt*. *That he is a Native of* Macerata, *now five and forty Years of Age; that he knows very well the Family of* della Torre *at* Macerata; *that he ſaw there, about two Years ago, Count* John Louigi (*or* Luigi) della Torre, *whoſe Father's Name was Count* Louigi, *which Count* Louigi *had a Brother named* Thomas, *which* Thomas *ſettled at* Recanati; *but that he never heard of a Count* Vincenzo della Torre, *nor of any other Count* della Torre *being put into the Inquiſition and tortured ther, and if any ſuch Thing had happened, he muſt have heard it.*----Anſwer. That Mr. *Cæſar Pariſetti* is a Native of *Macerata*, and now Forty-Five Years of Age, may, for aught I know, be true; and it likewiſe may be true, that *he knows very well the Family* della Torre, if one may be ſaid to know a Family *very well*, who knows not whether they are Counts, or only private Gentlemen. For *Gian Luigi della Torre* whom he ſtiles *Count*, is no Count, but only Signor *Gian Luigi*, in *Engliſh*, Mr. *John Lewis*, as every Gentleman, that travels into *Italy*, may learn upon the Spot. *Gian Luigi*'s Father got a very conſiderable Eſtate, chiefly by Smuggling; and the Son, upon his Father's Death, removing from *Monte Santo*, where the Family lived, to *Macerata*, married Marquis *Ricci*'s Daughter of that Place, and ſettled there. I knew *Gian Luigi della Torre* perfectly well, and his Wife too, Signora *Nina* (and not *Conteſſa*) *della Torre.*----But Mr. *Lackey* Pariſetti *never heard of a Count* Vincenzo della Torre; what then? May not he, who has heard of a Count, nay, who has ſeen a Count, within theſe two Years, that never did exiſt, have not ſeen a Count, nor ever have heard of a Count that did exiſt?-----Our *Gentleman of* Italy adds, that *he never heard of a Count* Vincenzo della Torre, *nor of any other Count* della Torre *being tortured in the Inquiſition, and if any ſuch Thing had happened he muſt have heard it.* To be ſure, what paſſes in the Inquiſition is immediately divulged, and made known, *lippis & tonſoribus*, to every Porter and Footman. Should a Member of the Council of State at *Venice* relate what had paſſed at that Board, what would one think of a *Gondoliere*, for Inſtance, or a common Water-man, who ſhould contradict him, and ſay, *if any ſuch Thing had happened, I, who am a Native of* Venice, *and Forty-five Years of Age, muſt have heard it!* The World is too well

well acquainted with the Secrecy obſerved by all the Miniſters and Officers of the Inquiſition, not to be aſtoniſhed at the Impudence of a Lackey, ſaying, *if Count* Vincenzo della Torre *had been tortured in the Inquiſition, I ſhould have heard it.* The Name of Count *Vincenzo della Torre* has not, probably, been mentioned, unleſs it was in private Converſation among Friends, from the Time he was taken up by the Inquiſition to this Day. Such is the Awe all Men ſtand in of that arbitrary and mercileſs Tribunal.

2*dly*, Mr. *Pariſetti* farther ſays, *that no ſuch Thing poſſibly could happen, there being no Puniſhment inflicted by the Inquiſition at* Macerata, *in which Place there is no Inquiſitor, but only a Vicar:* Which is as much as to ſay, at *Macerata* there is only a Vicar of the Inquiſition, and Vicars are not empowered to inflict any Puniſhment, much leſs to torture.——Anſwer: This the Valet ſays not of himſelf, but ſpeaks as he has been prompted, or, in his own Language, *imboccato.* For who can believe, that a Lackey would pretend to know, or would take upon him to determine of himſelf, what Power is veſted in a Vicar of the Inquiſition? He has been bid to ſay ſo, and by thoſe who knew as little of the Matter as he does, nothing being more certain than that even *mere* Vicars are empowered to inflict Puniſhments, nay and to torture. For the Truth of this I appeal to all the Writers, who have treated, with moſt Accuracy and Knowledge, of the Laws and Rules of the Inquiſition.——Father *Piazza*, the *Unmasker's* Oracle in what relates to the Inquiſition, was a Vicar, a *mere* Vicar, and conſequently could not be ignorant of the Extent of the Power lodged in him as ſuch. Now let us hear what he ſays to the Point in Queſtion. *The General Inquiſitor*, ſays he, *appoints as many Delegates, Vicegerents, or Vicars, as there are Cities of his Province, upon whom he beſtows, by his Letters Patent, the Power of receiving Denunciations againſt all ſorts of Perſons, ſending to Priſon, ſummoning, examining Witneſſes, excommunicating, putting to the Rack,* &c. (*Piazza's* Account of the Inquiſition, p. 19, 20.) What *Piazza* ſays is confirmed, as I have juſt obſerved, by all, who have writ the moſt knowingly of the Inquiſition, and they all, jointly with him, give the Lie to the Valet, or rather to his Prompters, ſaying *no ſuch Thing, as the Torturing of Count* Vincenzo della Torre, *poſſibly could happen at* Macerata, *there being only a Vicar there.* Upon the whole, it is falſe that Mr. *Cæſar Pariſetti* knows *very well* the Family *della Torre*; it is falſe that if Count

Vincenzo

Vincenzo had been tortured in the Inquiſition, he would have heard it; and it is likewiſe falſe, *falſiſſimo arcifalſiſſimo*, that no ſuch Thing poſſibly could happen. The ſaid *Pariſetti* therefore is convicted of bearing falſe Witneſs in three Inſtances; and *an Evidence convicted of bearing falſe Witneſs in one Inſtance, is*, according to the received Maxim, *credible in none*. But Mr. *Pariſetti*'s *Character*, ſays the *Unmasker*, *is unexceptionable*. It may be ſo, for aught I know, in the Capacity of a Valet; which no-ways concerns me, as I have no Thoughts of taking him into my Service: But that it is not unexceptionable in the Quality of an Evidence has been proved beyond Contradiction; and I doubt not, but after what has been ſaid, it would be objected to at Mr. *Fielding*'s Office. The Words *unexceptionable Character*, *unqueſtionable Veracity*, and ſuch like, are Words of courſe in the Mouth of the *Unmasker*; no Prieſt, nor Layman, no Gentleman nor Lackey, no Stage-dancer nor Dramſeller, *&c.* having borne Witneſs againſt me, whom he has not complimented with an *unexceptionable Character*, &c. Thus does he reward all indifferently, who have helped him to any new Scandal; that alone being fully ſufficient, not only to *cover*, but to ſanctify, in the Eyes of our *Godly Divine*, *the Multitude of Sins*. But what Wonder that the Wretch, who could baſely proſtitute the moſt reſpectable Character upon Earth to the worſt of Purpoſes, ſhould proſtitute his Pen too, and become the Panegyriſt of the worſt of Men, of Inquiſitors, Jeſuits, and *lying Valets*. But had he ſpared his Panegyric on the preſent Occaſion, and inſtead thereof ſlipt half a Crown into Mr. *Pariſetti*'s Hand (the Market-price of a falſe Evidence in his Country) the Valet would, perhaps, have thought himſelf better rewarded for his Trouble.

Pariſetti is not an entire Stranger to me. I have had the Honour of being once in his Company; and it was on the following Occaſion. Having one Day ſtept into Mr. *Davis*'s Shop, the Corner of *Sackville-ſtreet*, *Piccadilly*, that Bookſeller told me, that a Gentleman lodged in his Houſe, whoſe Servant, a Native of *Macerata*, ſaid that there was no Inquiſition at that Place. I thereupon deſired to ſpeak with the Man, and begged Mr. *Davis* to call him, who called him accordingly. All this Mr. *Davis* knows to be true. Our Converſation laſted but a very few Minutes; for I found at once, that the Lackey, by ſaying that there was no Inquiſition at *Macerata*, meant no more, than that there was no diſtinct Building there called

the

the Inquiſition; which is true, there being ſuch diſtinct Buildings (diſtinct from the *Dominican* Convent) only in the Cities, where there is an Inquiſition General, and even in very few of them. He appeared to me *then* extremely ignorant of every Thing belonging to the Inquiſition. But he has ſince learnt his Leſſon; and *now* even pretends to know what Power is, and what is not annexed to the Office of a Vicar. But, unfortunately, they, who have taught him, are quite as ignorant as himſelf, as has been ſhewn above.

Let us now hear how this Interview, if I may ſo call it, is repreſented, or rather miſrepreſented by our *good Doctor*, that *great Lover of Truth*. It may *not be improper*, ſays he, *to refreſh Mr.* B——r's *Memory, by putting him in mind of the Perſon, who in the Shop of Mr.* Davis, *about four or five Years ago, was* CONFRONTED *with him, and, in* THE PRESENCE OF MR. *Davis, maintained to* B——r, *that the Place belonging to the Inquiſition at* Macerata, *was no more an Inquiſition, than the Watch-houſe over the Way (pointing to St.* James's *Watch-houſe) was Newgate* (Complete Detect. p. 79) ——The Valet, it is true, *was confronted with me*, but at my Deſire and Requeſt; and that material Circumſtance the *candid Unmasker* has ſuppreſſed, that the World might think I had been dragged, in a Manner, to that Conference. But whether in ſuppreſſing it he is not guilty of a groſs, not to ſay of a *knaviſh* Miſrepreſentation of the Caſe, I leave the World to judge.——The Valet *maintained* nothing to me in *the Preſence of Mr.* Davis, but only ſaid in the Senſe above, that there was no Inquiſition at *Macerata*; and I did not contradict him. ——To the beſt of my Memory, he ſaid no ſuch Thing as that the *Place, belonging to the Inquiſition at* Macerata, *was no more an Inquiſition than St.* James's *Watch-houſe was Newgate*. For had he ſaid ſo, I ſhould have deſired him to explain himſelf, as I do not yet underſtand, what Place he could mean, that *belonged to the Inquiſition at* Macerata, *and was no more an Inquiſition, than St.* James's *Watch-houſe was Newgate*. But the Valet's own Words ſufficiently ſhow, that he ſpoke not of the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, but only of the Building (A).

(A) If the Lackey maintained to me, that the Place belonging to the Inquiſition at *Macerata* was not an Inquiſition, I muſt have maintained to him that it was an Inquiſition; And thus the Point in Diſpute was not whether there was an Inquiſition at *Macerata*, but whether a certain Place, belonging to the Inquiſition at *Macerata*, was an Inquiſition or not.

Thus

Thus have I proved, from theſe very Certificates, what they have been imported to diſprove, *viz.* that there is a *Holy Inquiſition* at *Macerata*; that the Perſon, who is at the Head of the *Holy Inquiſition* there (call him *Inquiſitor* or *Vicar*, as you pleaſe) has his Counſellors, or proper Perſons to adviſe with in the Execution of his Office; and conſequently, that I *might* have belonged to the ſaid *Holy Inquiſition* in that Capacity. But how ſhall I make it appear, that I actually did belong to it in that, or in any other Capacity whatever? As the Inquiſitor'General at *Ancona*, and the Head Notary to the Holy *Roman* and Univerſal Inquiſition at *Rome* have *certified*, that I *never did exerciſe the Office of Inquiſitor or Qualificator*, it cannot be expected that I ſhould procure *Certificates* from the ſame or from any other Places in *Italy*, certifying, that I *did exerciſe* either of theſe Offices, were it ever ſo true. There are, without all Doubt, many ſtill living in *Macerata*, who remember me in the Office of *Qualificator* or *Counſellor* there. But woe to the Man, who ſhould ſend over a Certificate *certifying* it, and giving the Miniſters of the Holy Inquiſition the Lie, if he did not immediately follow it, and bid, for ever, adieu to his Friends, to his Country, to all that is dear to him. To correſpond with an Apoſtate from the holy Catholic Church (and I am, witneſs the *Canonico*, a *worthleſs Apoſtate*), unleſs it be to retrieve him, is a Crime cognizable by the Inquiſition: And who would dare, where that Tribunal exerts its tyranical Power without Reſtraint or Controul, not only to correſpond with, but openly to eſpouſe the Cauſe of ſuch an Apoſtate? It being therefore impoſſible for me to prove by *Certificates* from *Italy*, or by *poſitive Evidence*, my having exerciſed the Office of Counſellor, or indeed any other Truth whatever, which it might anſwer their wicked Ends to deny, I muſt content myſelf for the preſent (B) with Proofs of

(B) I ſay *for the preſent*. For who knows but ſome one or other, acquainted with me while at *Macerata*, may hereafter follow my Example, and taking Refuge in this Proteſtant Kingdom, bear Witneſs to the Truth. This is not impoſſible: But it is more than I can expect; though what I as little expected has actually happened in the Courſe of the preſent Diſpute. For I never imagined, that one, whom the Jeſuits had truſted with many of their Secrets, ſhould quit their Religion, ſhocked at their Wickedneſs; ſhould lay their helliſh Deſigns open to the World, and not only unravel the Plot they had formed againſt me, but name the very Perſons whom they employed as their Tools, to carry it into Execution; *viz.* a Popiſh Jeſuited Layman as their *Prime Tool*, and a Proteſtant Clergyman as the *Tool of their Tool*. Now, as I have been furniſhed, contrary to all Expectation, with *poſitive*

of a different Nature; and the following will, I doubt not, be found, by Men of Judgment and Candor, of Weight enough to overbalance any given Number of *Certificates*, *Atteſtations*, *Original Papers*, *&c. &c. &c.* from the ſame Quarter, ſhould the *Seals of Office*, annexed to them, be thrown together with them into the Scale.

And in the Firſt place (not to queſtion the Authenticity of the truly ORIGINAL *Papers* before us, though fraught, as we have ſeen, with palpable Nonſenſe, with the groſſeſt Abſurdities, and plain Contradictions), why did not theſe *Certificates* follow me, cloſe upon my Heels, into *England?* If I never belonged to the Inquiſition, why did the Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, who ſwarm in this Kingdom, ſuffer me, for Thirty Years together, to relate in all Companies the unheard-of Barbarities of that Tribunal, and ſtrongly prejudice by that means Numbers of People againſt ſo mercileſs a Court, as well as the mercileſs Church that ſupports it, without applying to the Inquiſition for *authentic Certificates* to ſilence and confound me (C)? Should a ſcandalous Story for many Years be told of a Man in all Companies, to the entire Loſs of his Reputation and Credit, without its being ever once contradicted by him, or by any of his moſt zealous Friends, would not the whole World conlude, from his and their Silence, the Story to be true? And would not he and his Friends be laughed at by all Mankind, if, after ſuffering the Story to paſs, for many Years, uncontradicted, they ſhould all at once take

Evidence, deemed even by them *unqueſtionable*, to confound the Jeſuits, who knows but I may be hereafter ſupplied with the like Evidence to confound the Miniſters of the *Holy Inquiſition?* —— Our Proteſtant Divine, as little acquainted with the Law as he is with the Goſpel, lays it down as a firſt Principle, that *Reaſonings are of no Weight againſt poſitive Evidence in the oppoſite Scale:* A Maxim entirely his own, and only fit to be adopted by your *Macdaniel's*, your *D——s's*, your *B———ld's*, and ſuch like *ſtrictly honeſt, and totally diſintereſted Gentlemen*, as make it their Buſineſs to deal in *falſe Evidence*. But the reſt of Mankind well know, that *Reaſonings* are ſo far from *being of no Weight againſt poſitive Evidence*, that, on the contrary, *poſitive Evidence* can be of *no Weight*, if it will not ſtand the Teſt of *Reaſon* and *Reaſonings*. Should any one, by way of Retaliation, take it into his Head to calumniate the great Calumniator, and give out that he was originally a Pick-pocket, and picked the Pockets of ſeveral of his Father's Cuſtomers, while he was yet a Boy in his Father's Coffee-room; he himſelf would in that Caſe (and the Caſe is not impoſſible) be obliged to recur to *Reaſonings*; and he could by *Reaſonings* only clear himſelf from that Imputation. For who would ſwear to the Negative?

(C) The Jeſuit *Miſſionary in Diſguiſe* has prejudiced more People againſt Popery by his *Inquiſition Tales*, than our zealous *Proteſtant Divine* ever has done, or is capable of doing, were he inclined to it, with all his antick Geſticulations, and aukward Barking (they who have heard him, underſtand me) from the Pulpit.

it

it into their Heads to diſprove it, and produce, for that Purpoſe, Heaps of *Certificates*, *Atteſtations*, *Original Papers*, *&c.* which they had it in their Power to produce as ſoon as the Story was told? Surely every Man of Senſe would bid them, in that Caſe, reſerve their Papers for a more *neceſſary* Uſe, as fit for no other (D).

II. Lord *Aylmer* had ſeveral Popiſh Relations, and one, among the reſt, as zealous a Catholic, not to ſay as *Jeſuited a Bigot*, as Sir *H. B.* himſelf. With him in particular I had frequent Diſputes about the Inquiſition; and as he had been made to believe by his Popiſh Prieſts what our Proteſtant Prieſt would make the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* believe, *viz.* that the Cruelties, which are ſaid to be practiſed by that *holy* Tribunal, are all mere Fictions and Calumnies, in order to undeceive him, I related, as an Eye-witneſs, ſeveral Inſtances of their Barbarity, and among the reſt, the ſhocking Murder of Count *Vincenzo della Torre*. This the Family knows to be true. And can any Man poſſibly believe, that none of thoſe good Catholics, not even that very zealous Catholic, ſhould have ever enquired of their Prieſts and Jeſuits whether I had really belonged to the Inquiſition? Or that, if they had found upon ſuch an Enquiry that I never had belonged to it, they would have concealed it from his Lordſhip, inſtead of vindicating to him the Holy Tribunal, and taking Occaſion from thence to ſatisfy him, that the Perſon, in whom he placed an entire Confidence, and even truſted with the Education of his Children, was an *Impoſtor*, and a *worthleſs Apoſtate*, who had fled from *Italy* for *black Attempts*? As no Man can poſſibly ſuppoſe, that they would not have contradicted my *Italian Stories*, had they found them to be falſe, we may well con-

(D) This I urged in my *Reply*, p. 5; and what our *Lover of Truth* had ſaid to it in one Place of his laſt Libel, he has unſaid in another, giving himſelf, according to his Cuſtom, the Lie. For, at p. 59 of that curious Piece, he tells us, that I confined *my Italian Story to the narrow Circle of my unſuſpecting Acquaintances till the Year* 1757, *when I was forced to publiſh it*; and at Pages 62 and 70 he ſays, that I *have built the Ground-work of my Fame and Fortune in* England *upon that Story*; which evidently contradicts what he had aſſerted at p. 59. For how could I build the Ground-work of my Fame and Fortune in *England* upon a Story only known to the narrow Circle of my Acquaintances? Are they, or can they be called *England?* Add to this, that in my Propoſals for printing the *Hiſtory of the Popes*, publiſhed in 1747, and diſperſed all over *England*, I ſtiled myſelf *Counſellor of the Inquiſition*; ſo that it was *then* at leaſt known to Sir *H. B.* to his Jeſuits, and to the whole Tribe of Popiſh Emiſſaries here, that I pretended to have been a Counſellor of the Inquiſition. And why did Sir *H.* and his ghoſtly Directors delay Ten Years longer to fetch Certificates from *Italy*, certifying that *I never did exerciſe the Office of Counſellor?*

clude from their not contradicting them, that they found them to be true (E).

III. As I was intirely unknown to all in this Kingdom when I firſt came over, Lord *Aylmer*, with whom I lived Nine whole Years, and the beſt Part of Twenty, did not admit me to his Confidence, nor even into his Family, till he had cauſed the moſt diligent Enquiries to be made in *Italy*, where I was known, concerning my Character as well as the Motives of my Flight, and had learnt, by that means, that the Account I gave of myſelf was no *Invention of my own fertile Brain*. That ſuch Enquiries were made by ſome of Lord *Aylmer*'s particular Friends, at his Lordſhip's Requeſt (F), about a Twelvemonth after I left *Italy*; that the Account, which all, who knew me there, gave them of me, was agreeable, in every Particular, to that which I had given of myſelf, is well known in the Family, and can be atteſted by ſeveral Perſons of undoubted Veracity, ſome of them Men of the firſt Rank in this Kingdom, who had their Intelligence from Lord *Aylmer* himſelf. Indeed no one can ſuppoſe, that a Man of the late Lord *Aylmer*'s uncommon good Senſe, of his known Diſcretion and Prudence, would have taken me into his Family, would have honoured me with his Intimacy, and even committed to my Care the Education of his Children, without being well aſſured that I was no Impoſtor, and that in *Italy* they had nothing to lay to my Charge beſides my Apoſtacy. Now, if I had fled from *Italy* for *black Attempts*, can any Man poſſibly think, that Lord *Aylmer*'s Friends would have heard nothing at all of them with all their Enquiries? That if I was an Impoſtor, and had never belonged to the Inquiſition, they would not have diſcovered the Impoſture, and acquainted his Lordſhip with it? Or that,

(E) From what is ſaid here, it is manifeſt, that I did not confine my *Italian Story to the narrow Circle of my unſuſpecting Acquaintances till I was forced to publiſh it*, as this Man has aſſerted, ſpeaking, according to his Cuſtom, at random; but that it was very early known to thoſe, who could have diſproved it, and certainly would, if they had found that *it had not the leaſt Foundation in Truth*.

(F) The Perſons, whom his Lordſhip employed to make thoſe Enquiries, were Sir *Gerard Aylmer*, Baronet, then upon his Travels in *Italy*, ſeveral Officers of the Navy, and a Merchant at *Leghorn* (his Name, if I miſtake not, was *Chamberlane*) with whom his Lordſhip correſponded: And it was to him, upon his aſking why I had left them, that Father *Luttrel*, Rector of the College, ſaid, *he did not know, unleſs it was becauſe I was tired of lying alone*. The good Father, it ſeems, knew nothing of any *black Attempts*, elſe he would not have forgot them on that Occaſion, and had recourſe to ſo ſtale a Topic. I ſay nothing but what is known in the Family to be true.

if my *Italian* Acquaintances had given me then the Character, which they have been pleaſed to beſtow on me ſince, his Lordſhip would nevertheleſs have taken me into his Family, and placed that Confidence in me, which he is known to have done to the Hour of his Death? Theſe Abſurdities are too groſs to be ſwallowed by any, who have but the leaſt Share of common Senſe, and will uſe it. And yet, groſs as they are, all muſt ſwallow them, who believe that I fled for *black Attempts*, and never was Counſellor of the Inquiſition. Now if it was true at the Time theſe Inquiries were made, that is, Thirty-three Years ago, that I was guilty of no *black Attempts*, that I had exerciſed the Office of Counſellor of the Inquiſition, it is ſtill true, and ever will be, in ſpite of all the Certificates that can be imported to certify the contrary.

Were the Charge I have mentioned above at the End of Note B, p. 140, brought againſt our Advocate for the Inquiſition, and the thing ſaid to have been notorious at the Time, how would he clear himſelf from ſo ſhameful a Reproach? The Improbability of a Fact is no Proof, according to him, of its being falſe: And, beſides, it is far from improbable, that one, who in a State of Life that requires the moſt exemplary and edifying Behaviour, has trampled upon all Laws of Morality as well as Religion, ſhould have picked Pockets while he was yet a Boy in a Public Houſe. It is not once, or *per ſaltum*, but by Steps or Degrees, that Men arrive at the higheſt Pitch of Iniquity, agreeably to the *Latin* Proverb, *Nemo repente fit peſſimus*. As in the preſent Caſe he could have no direct poſitive Evidence (for who would make Oath that J — D—— had never picked Pockets?) I ſee not how he could any otherwiſe aſcertain his Innocence, than by applying to thoſe, who frequented his Father's Coffee-houſe while he was a Boy there, and getting them to certify that they never heard he had picked any Man's Pocket. Such Certificates would clear him, in the Opinion of every Man of common Senſe and common Honeſty, from the above Imputation, it being morally impoſſible that he ſhould have been guilty of ſo baſe an Action; that it ſhould have been notorious at the Time, and that they ſhould never have heard of it. Now as all, who were acquainted with me in *Italy*, teſtified, a Twelvemonth after I left that Country, that the Account I gave of myſelf was no Fiction; and that they had never heard of any black Attempts I had committed there, which they could not but have heard, and would not have concealed, had I been

been guilty of any, their Teſtimony muſt, with every Man of Senſe or Honeſty, be as deciſive in my Caſe, as the like Teſtimony would be in the *Unmasker's*.

IV. When I publiſhed the Firſt Volume of my Hiſtory in 1748, a *Roman* Catholic Gentleman aſſured the late Mr. *Pelham*, whoſe Neighbour he was in the Country, and was himſelf, no Doubt, aſſured by the Jeſuit his Brother and Chaplain, that I had robbed the Inquiſition; and to that Robbery they imputed my Flight out of *Italy*; which was evidently ſuppoſing me to have belonged to that Tribunal. For how could I have robbed it, or would it ever have come into their Thoughts to charge me with robbing it, if I had never belonged to it? And here, by the way, I cannot help taking Notice of the boaſted *Candor* and *Veracity* of thoſe good Fathers. They firſt charge me with robbing the Inquiſition, which manifeſtly implies my having belonged to it, and then produce Heaps of Certificates to prove that I did not belong to it.

V. I obſerved in my Anſwer to this Man's Firſt Libel (p. 63), and above (p. 130), that a learned and worthy Divine of the Church of *England* could hear of no *black Attempts* ſo late as 1750, nor of any thing elſe to the Prejudice of my Character, though he applied to one, an *Iriſh* Prieſt, who knew me perfectly well, while I lived at *Macerata*. But having juſt happened to find a Letter, relative to the Subject in Hand, which that Gentleman wrote, in 1757, in Anſwer to one from me, and I had miſlaid, I ſhall here relate the Converſation he had at *Venice* with the Prieſt, my Acquaintance, as it is related by him in that Letter.—"The Prieſt, ſays he, of "whom I made Enquiries concerning you at *Venice*, was an *Iriſh-* "*man*, and had been ſettled at *Loretto* for ſome Years as Confeſſor "of the *Engliſh* Nation, while you were at *Macerata*. He told "me very readily that he knew you, and remembered you well; "that he had viſited you at *Macerata*, and had received Viſits from "you at *Loretto*. Upon this I deſired him to give me an Account "of your leaving *Macerata*, and the Occaſion of it. After heſi- "tating ſome Time, he told me abruptly, that he knew nothing "at all of the Matter. I endeavoured to bring him back to the "ſame Subject, but could not get him to ſay a Word more about "it. This affected Ignorance and Silence (for ſuch it appeared to "me) *I interpreted as an Argument of the Truth of your Story.*" Theſe are the Words, and ſuch was the Judgment of that worthy Divine.

Divine. And it would be doing a Man of his Character, his Senſe, and known Abilities, great Injury, to put the Judgment of a *J. D—s* in Competition with his. —As it was notorious that I had taken up Count *Della Torre*, my particular Friend, by Order of the Inquiſition; that he died in the Priſons of that Tribunal, and that I fled from *Macerata* ſoon afterwards, it was natural for the Prieſt, and indeed for every-body elſe, to ſuppoſe me ſhocked at ſuch an Affair, to have quitted my Employment, and got, as ſoon as I could, out of the Reach of ſo helliſh a Court. The Prieſt, we may be ſure, would own nothing of this to a Proteſtant. And thus only can we account for his affecting Ignorance, and declining to enter at all upon ſo critical a Topic.

The pretended Ignorance and invincible Silence of the Prieſt ſupply me with a Proof of my Flight out of *Italy* not being owing to any black Attempt, which I ſhould call a *Demonſtration*, had not the ill Uſe this Bungler in Logic has made of that Term put me out of Conceit with it. For if I was guilty of any ſuch Attempt, and fled, on that Account, from *Macerata* and *Italy*, can it poſſibly be ſuppoſed, that a Perſon, who was ſo well acquainted with me, and lived at *Loretto*, but Thirteen Miles diſtant from *Macerata*, ſhould never have heard of an Attempt, that was, according to the Three eminent *Jeſuits*, the public Talk of that City, and even at *Rome*; or if he had heard of it, as he muſt neceſſarily have done, and known me to be guilty, he would have diſſembled, ſhuffled, equivocated, to conceal my Guilt, when he could not but know in 1750 that I had not only renounced the holy Catholic Faith, but was writing againſt it, and he had Reaſon to believe that, by owning the Truth, he would diſcredit both me and my Work with the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, who looked upon it *then* as an effectual Blow given to Popery. We have many Inſtances of Popiſh Prieſts and of Papiſts charging thoſe, who had left them, with Crimes of which they were innocent, as many, perhaps, as there are Proſelytes from Popery to Proteſtantiſm. But I defy our *Jeſuited* Divine, and all his Jeſuits with him, to alledge a ſingle Inſtance of a Popiſh Prieſt or a Papiſt diſſembling or cloaking the Crimes, of which an Apoſtate from their holy Religion was guilty.

VI. The Jeſuit *Kingsley*, the chief Manager of the Diſpute between his Brethren and me, in reading to his Penitent Mr. *Arnold* the Title-Page of my Hiſtory, where I am ſtiled *Profeſſor of Rhetoric*

toric at Rome, *and Counſellor of the Inquiſition at* Macerata, did not pretend to ſay that I never exerciſed theſe Offices, but only undervalued them as no particular Marks of Diſtinction. This Mr. *Arnold* is ready to atteſt. And it is to be obſerved, that Father *Kingsley* ſtudied in the *Roman* College at *Rome* ſoon after, if not before, I left *Italy*, and conſequently could not but know whether I had been Profeſſor of Rhetoric there, and Counſellor of the Inquiſition at *Macerata*. Now if I had never exerciſed either of theſe Offices, would he not have ſtript me of thoſe Titles, and taken Occaſion from thence to repreſent me to his Penitent, whom he wanted to prejudice againſt me, as a lying Impoſtor? Was not his leaving me in the quiet Poſſeſſion of them, and only pretending that they were no Marks of any extraordinary Merit, tacitly owning, that I had a Right to them, ſuch as they were?

Theſe Reaſons I urged (all but this laſt) in my Anſwer to this Man's very firſt Libel in 1757, to prove that I belonged to the Inquiſition. And what has he ſaid in Reply to them? Why, not a ſingle Word; and they remain unanſwered to this Day, nay, unſpoken to, though he has publiſhed ſince that time Three thick Libels, boaſting in each of them of his having *fully*, *unanſwerably*, *demonſtratively*, &c. *confuted every Fact*, *Reaſon*, *Argument*, &c. that I have preſumed to offer in my Defence. But this is the baſe Man's Way: He knaviſhly ſuppreſſes the Reaſons and Arguments that I alledge to ſupport my Aſſertions, and then lyingly calls them *unſupported Aſſertions*. And in what could he have betrayed a more profligate Diſregard to all Conſcience and Honeſty, as well as to Truth, which alone he ſolemnly declares to have had in his View, in undertaking the Cauſe of the Inquiſitors, Papiſts, and Jeſuits? A Man of any Candor or Honeſty, if he aimed only at the Diſcovery of Truth, would, in any Diſpute whatſoever, either confute the Arguments of his Adverſary, or yield to their Force, if he could not confute them. But to miſrepreſent, or entirely ſuppreſs, what you cannot anſwer, and that in a Diſpute where a Man's Reputation, that is, his All, is at Stake, is not the Part of a *Lover of Truth*, but that of a *Knave*, and the *worſt of Knaves*.

But though our *Lover of Truth* has carefully declined meddling with the above Arguments and Reaſons, ſenſible that he could return no ſatisfactory Anſwer to them, he has ventured to take ſome Notice of the Letter, which I ſaid I received from the Inquiſitor *Monte-*

Montecucculi about Six Months after my Arrival in *England*. That I received ſuch a Letter, that I ſhewed it to the late Lord *Aylmer*, has been proved by the Teſtimony of Perſons of undoubted Veracity, who have heard his Lordſhip ſpeak of it as ſeen by him (*Reply to a ſcurrilous Libel*, p. 7.). In Reply to this, Mr. *B*——*r*, ſays the *Unmasker*, *may well be ſuppoſed capable of producing a Letter from* Italy *to an unſuſpecting Friend, unacquainted with the Language in which it was written*, &c. (*Full Confutation*, p. 12.).—— Anſwer. I received that Letter, and ſhewed it to Lord *Aylmer* Six Months after my Arrival in *England*; and conſequently when his Lordſhip was not yet an *unſuſpecting Friend*. For it was after that Time he cauſed the Enquiries, I have mentioned above, to be made in *Italy*, concerning my Character and the Motives of my Flight.—— And who told this Man, that Lord *Aylmer* was *unacquainted with the Language in which that Letter was written?* Why, Nobody; and he knew nothing at all of the Matter. For all, who knew the late Lord *Aylmer*, can atteſt, that he was as well acquainted with the *Italian* Language as his own; and I will add, that he wrote it much better than the pretended Canonico of *Macerata*. But it ſerved our *falſe Informer*'s Purpoſe to aſſert, that his Lordſhip was a Stranger to that Language; and he aſſerted it accordingly, without knowing, or caring to know, whether it was true or falſe. Indeed we need not wonder at his thus aſſerting what he did not know to be true, when we have ſeen him ſo often aſſerting what he knew to be falſe. And does he not deſerve a Name *which* (to uſe the Words of Mr. *Locke* to the Reverend *Unmasker* who undertook to *unmask* him) *a Man cannot expoſe himſelf to without a* PROFLIGATE MIND. I have given ſo many Inſtances of the Profligacy of this unhappy Man's Mind in that Reſpect, that were he not ſteeled in Impudence, as moſt *Gentlemen* are who have had the firſt Rudiments of their Education in a *Public Houſe*, he would be aſhamed to ſhew his Head.

Tho' it would have been Mr. B——r's obvious Intereſt, continues the Informer, *to preſerve that Letter, as much as an Officer preſerves his Commiſſion, or a Traveller his Letter of Credit, he owns he cannot produce it*. (Complete Detect. p, 71.)——Anſwer. Some, perhaps, will think (and they will not think amiſs) my owning that I cannot produce the Letter in queſtion to be a Proof of its Authenticity. For had it been forged, what ſhould hinder me from get-

ting the Author of that Forgery, or ſomebody elſe, to forge ſuch another? But waving that, I never imagined that even the Jeſuits, that even the Miniſters of the Inquiſition themſelves, would ever get to ſuch a Height of Impudence as to deny my having belonged to that Tribunal; eſpecially after the Account I had given of myſelf, including my having belonged to it, had been confirmed by all who knew me in *Italy*, and was by no Papiſt, Prieſt, or Jeſuit, queſtioned or diſputed here. Much leſs did I imagine, that they could find a *Proteſtant Divine* to undertake their Cauſe, were they to ſearch the Four Quarters of the World for ſuch a Divine; and the whole to me ſtill ſeems a Dream. No Wonder therefore that I ſhould not have preſerved, *Centum Clavibus*, under an Hundred Locks and Keys, a Letter, that only ſerved to prove what no Man denied, and what I could not ſuppoſe any Man ever would deny.

But leaving this Man to make his moſt of the Loſs of the Inquiſitor's Letter, I appeal to the impartial Judgment of every Man of common Senſe, whether the ſeveral Proofs exhibited above, to ſhew that I belonged to the Inquiſition, are not, nay, whether each of them is not by itſelf, of Weight more than ſufficient to overbalance all the Certificates that have been, or may be hereafter, procured from the ſame Quarter, to certify that I never belonged to that Court. I ſay, *that may be procured from the ſame Quarter.* For by whom is it certified that I never was Counſellor of the Inquiſition; and conſequently that the ſhocking Inſtances of Injuſtice and Cruelty, with which I have charged the Miniſters of that Office, are all mere Inventions? Why, it is certified by the Miniſters of that Office themſelves And can any Man, who has ever read, or has ever heard of the Inquiſition, poſſibly perſuade himſelf, that they would plead guilty to the Charge were it ever ſo true; that they would ſcruple to deny it, and confirm the Denial with a Thouſand falſe Certificates, and a Thouſand falſe Oaths into the Bargain? It is to be obſerved, that the Controverſy between them and me is not, whether the Letters to *Sheldon* are forged or genuine; whether I am a *ſincere Proteſtant*, or a *Popiſh Miſſionary in Diſguiſe*; but whether they are guilty or innocent of the horrid Barbarities, whereof I have arraigned them as an Eye-witneſs. They ſay they are innocent. And are we to admit their Teſtimony in their own Cauſe as *deciſive of the whole Controverſy?* Are we to acquit them without any other Proof of their Innocence, in ſpite of the moſt convincing Proofs of their Guilt?----One muſt be very little acquainted with

with the Principles of Popery not to know, that even the beſt Men among Papiſts, Men of the moſt untainted Characters in every other Reſpect, ſcruple not to deny the moſt notorious Facts, and to atteſt the moſt notorious Falſhoods, when the Honour or the Intereſt of their Church requires them ſo to do (G). Of this their Proteſtant Advocate himſelf was ſenſible; and therefore declared in the very Firſt Page of his very Firſt Libel, that *he did not mean to place an implicit Confidence in* ANY THING *that cometh from ſuch a Quarter*, that is, from Papiſts. But forgetting that Declaration, he has placed, as we have ſeen, *an implicit Confidence in* EVERY THING *that cometh from ſuch a Quarter*; that cometh from every Popiſh Prieſt, Monk, Friar, and Jeſuit, from every low Popiſh Shopkeeper, nay from every Footman. But nothing has he thought ſo worthy of an *entire Confidence* as what cometh from the Inquiſitors, Chancellors, Secretaries, Notaries, *&c.* of the Inquiſition. What they affirm is *demonſtrated* to be true; what they deny is *demonſtrated* to be falſe. Thus at Page 62 of his laſt Libel, *the firſt Magiſtrate of the Inquiſition*, ſays he, *ſolemnly atteſts, that B—r never exerciſed the Office of Counſellor; therefore he is* DEMONSTRABLY *ſtript of that Office.* At Page 67, *Zabberoni's Certificate* DEMONSTRATES, *that B—r's Inquiſition Story is falſe, and, which is*

(G) Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in the celebrated, and by many ſo much admired M. *Boſſuet*, Biſhop of *Meaux*. That Prelate, in his paſtoral Letter to the *new Converts* of his Dioceſe, gravely tells them, that *not one of them has ſuffered Violence either in his Perſon or Goods: So far have you been*, ſays he, *from ſuffering Torments, that you have not ſo much as heard them mentioned; I hear other Biſhops affirm the ſame thing. But for you, my Brethren, I ſay nothing to you, but what you may ſpeak as well as I: You are returned peaceably to us, you know it.* (*Biſhop of* Meaux's *Paſtoral Letter*, *p.* 3, 4. London, 1686.) Now as it was notorious that the Proteſtants of *Meaux* did not *return* till the Dragoons, *Lewis* the XIVth's Miſſionaries, coming up to the very Gates of the City, were ready to enter it, and conſequently that they did not *return peaceably*, but were frightened, if not tortured, into a Compliance, Mr. *Bayle*, who then wrote *La Republique des Lettres*, took it for granted that the Biſhop would ſtrike that Paſſage out of the next Edition of his Letter: *Il eſt apparent*, ſaid he, *que M. de Meaux retranchera l'endroit ci-deſſus marqué*, &c. (*Nouvelle de la Republique de Lettres*, *Juin* 1686. p. 736.) But inſtead of that, M. *de Meaux* confirmed the ſaid Paſſage, in his Letter of *May* the 13th 1687, with *a ſolemn Proteſtation in the Preſence of God, who is to judge the Quick and the Dead, that he ſpoke nothing but the Truth.* (*Reply to the Defence of the Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, p. 181.) Now if a Man of that Prelate's Character, of his Learning, and even of his known Probity in all other Reſpects, ſcrupled not, for the Honour of his Church and other pious Ends, thus to prevaricate, and aſſert, in the Preſence of the God of Truth, Two ſuch notorious Untruths, as that the Proteſtants of his Dioceſe *never ſo much as heard Torments or Violence mentioned*, but *returned peaceably*, what Papiſt's Teſtimony, be his Character ever ſo untainted in other Reſpects, can we rely on, when the Honour or Intereſt of holy Mother Church is concerned! Not, ſurely, upon that of Jeſuits, Inquiſitors, Popiſh Stage-dancers, Footmen, and Dramſellers.

more (a great deal more) *that it could not poſſibly be true.* And at Page 70, *P. Aſcenziarii affirms, that B——r never thruſt his Noſe into the Inquiſition; therefore Fiction is* DEMONSTRABLY *fixed upon him, and the Falſhood of his bloody Inquiſition Tale* DEMONSTRABLY *proved.* Such are the *Demonſtrations* of the Man *who places not an implicit Confidence in any thing that cometh from ſuch a Quarter* (H). And by ſuch Sort of Demonſtrations, every *bloody Tale*, by whomſoever related, might be DEMONSTRABLY confuted, and the Inquiſition DEMONSTRABLY proved to be the moſt merciful Tribunal upon the Face of the Earth.——Let me tell you, Reverend Sir, the Time was when Certificates from *Rome* in Vindication of a Tribunal, that has ſhed ſo much Proteſtant Blood, and was inſtituted on Purpoſe to ſhed it, would have been burnt in this Proteſtant Kingdom by the Hands of the common Hangman; when your Popiſh Patron, and his Jeſuits, would have been made to pay dear for daring to import them; and you, a Proteſtant Divine, letting yourſelf out for an Advocate to the Miniſters of ſuch a Tribunal, pleading their Cauſe with all the Zeal of the moſt bigotted Papiſt, receiving and requiring others to renounce common Senſe and receive their Teſtimony in their own Favour, as a *demonſtrative Confutation* of the Barbarities laid to their Charge, and

(H) I ſhould be glad to know what Idea anſwers to the Word *Demonſtration* in this Man's illogical Cranium. He is (who would believe it!) a Doctor of Divinity, and has not yet learnt, as is plain, the Meaning of that Term.——The Degree of Doctor, he has, by the Way, taken ſince the preſent Controverſy commenced; and, what is remarkable, thinking it a Piece of Intelligence worth communicating to all his Majeſty's Liege Subjects, he had it inſerted in the public Papers, not in the uſual Terms, *The Reverend Mr. D—g—s has taken the Degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Univerſity*; but in theſe, *The Univerſity has conferred the Degree of Doctor of Divinity upon the Reverend Mr. J. D—g—s*, to make the ſimple and ignorant believe, that the Univerſity had honoured him with that Mark of Diſtinction, in Conſideration of his extraordinary Merit in *unmaſking the Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, and ſaving, by that Means, the Proteſtant Religion from imminent Ruin. This his *Nine Parts in Ten of the Nation* believe to this Day; and they look upon him accordingly as their Deliverer, as the *cackling Gooſe* that has ſaved the Capitol.——We have, in like Manner, been told in one of our monthly Pamphlets, either in the *Critical* or *Monthly Review*, that if there were in *England* but Ten ſuch Clergymen as *J. D—g—s*, in a very ſhort Time there would not be One ſingle Papiſt left unconverted in the whole Nation; which (if it was not meant ironically) could have been ſaid by none but *J. D—g—s* himſelf. He never converted One ſingle Papiſt in his Life, elſe we ſhould have heard more than enough of it in the preſent Diſpute. And who but a Man of his conſummate Aſſurance would nevertheleſs have been ſo bold as to boaſt, that Ten Proteſtant Clergymen of his Abilities, Learning, and Zeal, would, in a very ſhort Time, convert every Papiſt in his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions! By ſuch low Artifices and knaviſh Impoſitions, has this Man paſſed himſelf upon the undiſtinguiſhing Multitude for the Champion of Proteſtantiſm, while he was fighting the Battles of Popery.

thus

thus wiping, ſo far as in you lies, their Inquiſition clean; the Time, I ſay, was, when you, a Proteſtant Divine, acting a Part ſo unbecoming your Character, would have had your Gown ſtript over your Ears, and thus diveſted of the reſpectable Badge, that makes you a Gentleman, been degraded, with Ignominy, into the low abject Condition, from which it has raiſed you.

Two Certificates (the only Two worthy of Notice out of the Five now before me) ſtill remain unanſwered, the One procured by the Miniſters of the Inquiſition from *Signor Conſtantini* of *Fermo*, certifying that no Lady of his Family ever married Count *Vincenzo*, or any other Count *della Torre* of *Macerata*; the other from *Signor Cotoloni*, Notary of the Community of *Macerata*, certifying, that after the moſt exact Searches, he has not found a Count *Vincenzo della Torre* enrolled in any of the Catalogues of the Citizens of that City (I). As every Man,

(I) As to the other Three Certificates, the Firſt is a Letter from one *Carlo Coſta* of *Macerata* to his Correſpondent, who had applied to him for a Certificate concerning Count *della Torre*; and in that Letter he tells his Friend what the Notary (*Cotoloni*) had told him, which is neither more nor leſs than what the ſaid Notary tells us in his Certificate, *viz.* that *after the moſt exact Searches*, &c. All *Coſta* ſays of his own Knowledge is, that Count *Vincenzo* was not deſcended from the Family that reſides at preſent at *Macerata*, meaning the Family of *Gian Luigi della Torre*, which indeed is true, as I have obſerved above. ——The other Certificate is that of *Antonius Henricus Martelli*, Notary Public at *Fermo*, certifying that Signor *Conſtantini* made his Affidavit before him, which, perhaps, may be true.——The Third Certificate comes from the *moſt Reverend* Alexander Borgia, *Archbiſhop and Prince of* Fermo, is ſigned by his Vicar-General and Chancellor, and ſealed with the Archiepiſcopal Seal. And what does his Grace certify with ſo much Solemnity? Something ſurely, one would imagine, that muſt *be deciſive of the whole Controverſy*, that muſt *make the envenomed Pen drop from the Hand of the Jeſuit Hiſtorian*, and *ſeal up the Lips of narrow-minded Credulity, ſtill open in his Support*. But *parturiunt Montes*, &c. His Grace certifies nothing, that he could ſuppoſe I would think it worth my while to diſpute or deny. He only certifies, that *Antonius Henricus Martelli* is the Perſon he pretends to be, a Notary Public at *Fermo*; which I ſhould no more have queſtioned, had the Archbiſhop ſaved himſelf the Trouble of certifying it in ſo ſolemn a manner, than I queſtion *Cotoloni*'s being a Notary at *Macerata*, though it has not been certified by the Biſhop of that City, by his Chancellor and Vicar, nor indeed by any-body elſe. But the Miniſters of the Inquiſition wanted to grace the Liſt of their Certifiers with the Name of the Archbiſhop; and what a Pity that they could get his Grace to certify nothing of more Conſequence than that *Martelli* is a Notary.—If its being certified that *Martelli* is a Notary be a *neceſſary Form*, as their Advocate ſays it is, (*Compl. Detect.* p. 83.) *to warrant the Authenticity of his Atteſtation*, a *neceſſary Form* is wanting to warrant the Authenticity of *Cotoloni*'s Atteſtation, it being certified by nobody that he is the Perſon he pretends to be, a Public Notary.——Obſerve here the Knavery of this Man. Speaking of the Archbiſhop's Evidence, he ſays, *that the Evidence of* Conſtantini *might be tranſmitted to* England *with all the neceſſary Forms to warrant its Authenticity, beſides the Atteſtation of* Martelli, *Care has been taken to corroborate his Atteſtation by the Evidence of the Archbiſhop of* Fermo. (p. 82, 83.) Now who would not conclude from

Man, who has any Senſe, muſt be ſenſible that it is impoſſible for me to prove, at leaſt *demonſtratively*, that is, by *poſitive Evidence*, as our abſurd illogical Divine underſtands it, the Marriage or even the Exiſtence of Count *della Torre*, I ſhall leave ſuch *Demonſtrations* to ſuch a *Demonſtrator*, and content myſelf with the following Obſervations, or, if you pleaſe, *Reaſonings*, in anſwer to theſe Two *demonſtrative Certificates*.

And in the Firſt place, the Account I gave of myſelf, and the Motives of my Flight, at my firſt coming into this Kingdom, Thirty-four Years ago, the very ſame Account that I publiſhed in 1757, was found to be true a Twelvemonth after I left *Italy*, as I have ſhewn above, p. 142. It was therefore then true that ſuch a Man as Count *della Torre* had exiſted, that he had married a Lady of the *Conſtantini* Family of *Fermo*, and that he was impriſoned in the Inquiſition. For it is not to be doubted but the ſhocking Caſe of that unhappy Man was the chief Topic of the Enquiries that Lord *Aylmer* cauſed to be made in *Italy*, before his Lordſhip took me into his Family, and honoured me with his Confidence; an Honour, which I ſhould not now be able to boaſt of, if Count *della Torre never had exiſted out of my Narrative*.

II. I have often related the barbarous Treatment and Murder of that Gentleman, with all the Circumſtances that attended it in my printed Narrative, in the Hearing of Papiſts, of as zealous Papiſts as Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* himſelf, in order to undeceive them, poſſeſſed, as Strangers to what paſſes within thoſe horrid Walls, with a falſe Notion of the Mildneſs of the *Roman* Inquiſition (See above, p. 141.) And did none of thoſe good Catholics ever enquire of their Prieſts, did none of their Prieſts ever enquire of their Friends in *Italy*, and Superiors at *Rome*, with whom they keep a conſtant Correſpondence, whether ſo ſhocking an Inſtance of Cruelty and Injuſtice, charged upon their holy Inquiſition, had any Foundation in Truth? Or did they enquire, and find, that the whole was a Fiction, but keeping that Intelligence to themſelves, ſuffered me to go on for Thirty Years together prejudicing People againſt the Church, that not only autho-

from theſe Words, that the Archbiſhop had atteſted, as well as Cap. *Conſtantini*, that no Lady of that Family had ever married a Count *della Torre* of *Macerata*? This is the obvious Meaning of thoſe Words; and it is, no Doubt, what our *Man of Candour* deſigned to impoſe upon his ignorant Readers; and he has therefore tranſlated all the other Certificates into our Language, but left the Archbiſhop's in the original *Latin*, an unknown Tongue to his *Nine Parts in Ten of the Nation*.

rizes,

rizes, but ſanctifies ſuch Barbarities, when they had it every Day in their Power to confound me and clear their Church? Which is the more improbable of the Two I will not take upon me to determine, but will venture to ſay, that Men of Senſe will think the one and the other infinitely more ſo, than that a Notary and a Captain of the Papal Militia, under the Inquiſition, ſhould have been prevailed upon by that Tribunal, the moſt tyrannical and the moſt regardleſs of Truth and Juſtice upon Earth, to certify a Falſhood. In ſhort, if no ſuch Perſon as Count *Vincenzo della Torre* ever had exiſted, a Tale ſo open to Detection, and ſo prejudicial to the Reputation of the holy Catholic Church, would have been detected as ſoon as it was known to Papiſts, that is, almoſt as ſoon as it was told. Had it been publicly reported, that the renowned *J. D--g--s*, for Inſtance, was originally a Pickpocket, had the Perſons been named whoſe Pockets he was ſaid to have picked, and the Story had never been contradicted, for Half Thirty Years, by him or his moſt zealous Friends, tho' told in their Hearing, who would regard any Evidence that he might afterwards procure to clear himſelf from that Imputation? The Application is obvious.

The Advocate for the Inquiſition ſeems to have been aware of the Force of this Reaſoning, and therefore tells us, at Page 59 of his *Complete Detection*, that I concealed my *Italian Story* for ſo many Years from Papiſts, and *was ſo cautious as not to hazard it beyond the narrow Circle of my unſuſpecting Acquaintances.* But I have already ſhewn, that my *Italian Story* was near as early known to Papiſts as to Proteſtants (See above, p. 141). Beſides, what he ſays in the Place I have quoted, he contradicts in ſeveral other Places, giving himſelf, according to his Cuſtom, the Lie. Thus at Page 62 he ſays, that I *have built the Ground-work of my Fame and Fortune in England upon my* Italian *Story*; at Page 67, that I *had no other Eſtate to live upon*; and at Page 74, that *on the Credit of that Tale I have been enabled, for near* 30 *Years, not only to eat and drink, but to fare ſumptuouſly, and to fill my Purſe*; *the* Beaumont *of the Rich, and the Favourite of the Fair*; with a great deal of ſuch-like impertinent Ribaldry, only calculated to ſwell the Bulk and enhance the Price of his Libel. But how will he reconcile all this with my carefully concealing that Tale from Papiſts? Could I *eat and drink*, &c. for 30 Years together upon the Credit of ſuch a Tale, and no Papiſt, no Popiſh Prieſt, no Jeſuit, ever hear of it? Were they

confined

confined all that Time to the Mountains of *Wales*, or to the Highlands of *Scotland?* Surely, for Abſurdity, Nonſenſe, and Self-contradictions, *J. D—g—s* never had his Fellow; no, not even in his own infamous Tribe, that of *Slanderers*, *falſe Informers*, and *Talebearers*.

III. I have proved above, beyond all Poſſibility of Reply, that there is an Inquiſition, that there are Counſellors of the Inquiſition at *Macerata*, that I exerciſed that Office there, and, conſequently, that the Inquiſitor General, that the Head Notary to the *Holy Roman and Univerſal Inquiſition*, that a Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Macerata*, and Three *eminent Jeſuits*, have all certified a notorious Untruth, in certifying the contrary. And is a *Cotoloni*, Notary to the Community at *Macerata*, more worthy of Credit than a *Calabrini*, Firſt Notary to the Holy *Roman* and Univerſal Inquiſition? Are we to place more *Confidence* in what cometh from a Captain of the Papal Militia than in any thing that cometh from an Inquiſitor General, from a Canon of a Cathedral Church, from Three eminent Jeſuits?

But would a Gentleman of Family and Fortune, ſays the Advocate for the Holy Office, no leſs a Man than *the moſt illuſtrious and noble Perſon Signor Chriſtiano Capitano* Conſtantini, *Patrician* (that is, Gentleman) *of the Papal State, of the noble and only Patrician Family of* Conſtantini *at* Fermo, *Five and Forty Years of Age, conſent to be expoſed to all the World for a lying Witneſs?*—I could wiſh we had not, in this very Diſpute, an Inſtance at home of a Gentleman of, at leaſt, as good a Family, of a much more opulent Fortune, and higher Rank, expoſing himſelf to all the World for a falſe Witneſs. But ſuch an Inſtance we have in our Proteſtant Divine's Popiſh Patron, certifying numberleſs Falſhoods, proved to be ſo by unanſwerable Arguments, as well as by *poſitive Evidence*, poſitive *Proteſtant* Evidence, once deemed *undoubted* even by him and all of his Junto. (See above, p. 87, Note F.) And can any Man of Senſe, ſeeing a Gentleman of Rank in this Kingdom certifying ſo many notorious Falſehoods, unawed by the Inquiſition, be at all ſurpriſed, that a Captain of the Pope's Train-bands, awed by that Tribunal, the moſt tyrannical and moſt to be dreaded Tribunal upon Earth, ſhould have certified, at their Requeſt, that is, at their Command, any Falſhood whatever, judged by them neceſſary to vindicate their Honour, the Honour of their Office, and that of their Church! That he has done

ſo, I have ſhewn above, I hope, to the entire Satisfaction of, at leaſt, the *Tenth Part* of the Nation. As for the *Nine remaining Parts*, I leave them to their Proteſtant *Patentato*; and let him, with his Jeſuits and Inquiſitors, glory in them. The Inſtance alledged above, of one of the moſt reſpectable Prelates of his Time, certifying, in the moſt awful Manner, as true, what all *France* knew to be falſe, ſhews but too plainly, that Papiſts even of Rank, and of moſt untainted Characters in all other Reſpects, ſtick not, when the Honour or Intereſt of their Church is concerned, to certify any Falſhood whatever, known by Thouſands to be ſo, and thus *expoſe themſelves to the whole World for lying Witneſſes*. However, I am very confident that in *Italy* no Body knows any thing at all of the Diſpute between the Miniſters of the Inquiſition and me, concerning Count *della Torre*; no Body beſides thoſe, whoſe Evidence they wanted to diſprove ſo ſhocking an Inſtance of their Cruelty. Their *Certifiers* therefore do not *expoſe themſelves* THERE *for lying Witneſſes:* and what care they what the *ultramontane Heretics*, or, as they are pleaſed to call us, *Beſtie battezzate*, that is, chriſtened Beaſts, may think of them, ſo long as they have earned the Favour and Protection of ſo powerful a Tribunal at the trifling Expence of a falſe Evidence?

As to Cap. *Conſtantini*'s Affidavit, I ſhould be glad to know, why that *moſt illuſtrious and noble Perſon* (Titles given in *Italy* to every private Gentleman) choſe to make it before a Notary, who he could not but know was not qualified to tender an Oath, rather than before a Magiſtrate, who alone is qualified to adminiſter one. An Oath, unleſs it be taken before a lawful Magiſtrate, is no Oath, to ſpeak in the Language of the Caſuiſts, either *in foro conſcientiæ*, or *in foro fori*, that is, either in Conſcience or in Law. There is certainly ſome Trick or Myſtery in this Affair; elſe Sig. *Conſtantini* would have gone before a Magiſtrate, would have ſworn in his Preſence to the Truth of his Certificate, and would have conveyed it to *England* ſigned by the Magiſtrate, *Sworn before me*, &c. with a Certificate from the Archbiſhop, ſince his Grace was to be brought in, certifying that the Perſon, before whom the Truth of the ſaid Certificate was ſworn to, is a Magiſtrate. His not having done ſo, but in a manner ſmuggled an Oath before a Notary, looks, it muſt be owned, very ſuſpicious. But waving that, I cannot help being quite aſtoniſhed at the Ignorance or Knavery of their wretched Tool, attempting to impoſe an *Affidavit* upon the good People of *England*, as *wanting*

none of the neceſſary Forms, when it wants the very *Form*, that is indiſpenſably neceſſary to its being an *Affidavit*.

It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, continues the Advocate of the Jeſuits and the Inquiſition, *that Men of Rank and Fortune, Perſons unacquainted with each other*, &c. *would enter into a Combination, and hazard their worldly Credit by giving their Names, their Oaths, and their Seals, to ſupport Falſhood, in order to expoſe a wretched Exjeſuit, a profligate Exjeſuit* (K), *from whom the Intereſts of Popery never could ſuffer*. (Compl. Detect. p. 115.) —— The Reaſons I have alledged to diſprove what theſe *Men of Rank and Fortune* have certified, muſt convince every Man of Senſe and Candour, that they have *given their Names*, &c. *to ſupport Falſhood, and thereby hazarded their worldly Credit*. Beſides, I have ſhewn that Men of much higher Rank have done ſo; nay, and what is more ſtrange, a Proteſtant Clergyman, a *Doctor of Divinity*, has, in this very Controverſy, given himſelf over and over again the Lie, and thus not only hazarded, but evidently forfeited, his *worldly Credit*, if he had any to forfeit; and that to ſerve the Papiſts, the Inquiſitors, and the Jeſuits; which would be the Height of Villainy even in a Proteſtant Layman. ——The *Men of Rank and Fortune* may, for ought I know, be *unacquainted with each other*. But they are all acquainted with, and moſt of them, if not all, under the immediate Direction of the Jeſuits; and by thoſe good Fathers their Certificates have been accordingly procured. —— If *the Intereſts or Cauſe of Popery never could ſuffer from the wretched Exjeſuit*, why have they taken ſo much Pains to diſcredit him? Why have they fetched for that Purpoſe Cart-loads of *Certificates*, *Atteſtations*, *Original Papers*, &c. &c. from all Parts, where they have Connexions? And why have Two of their ableſt Divines in this Kingdom, one of them no leſs a Man than their Biſhop of *London*, jointly undertaken an Anſwer to his Work? Had they found that Popery could not ſuffer by it, they would not, we may well ſuppoſe, have put themſelves to that, or to

(K) Here, and in Twenty Places more, he calls me an *Exjeſuit*, that is, one who has been, but is no more a Jeſuit; and in as many he will have me to be ſtill a Jeſuit. I muſt be, it ſeems, what beſt ſerves his Purpoſe: when it ſerves his Purpoſe, a *zealous Papiſt*, a *Jeſuit*, a *Cummins*, or a *Heath*, ſent from *Rome* to blow up the Church of *England*; and when it ſerves his Purpoſe, an *Exjeſuit*, an *Apoſtate* from the Order, *neither Papiſt*, *nor Proteſtant*, *nor even a Chriſtian*, *but a determined Infidel*, &c. But theſe, and a thouſand ſuch-like trifling Inconſiſtences, his courteous Readers will, no doubt, overlook, knowing they proceed from the good Man's ardent Love of Truth, and burning Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion.

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any the leaſt Trouble about it. Our Truth-ſpeaking Divine indeed aſſures us, that the Papiſts *wiſh for nothing ſo much as to ſee that Work continued*; which he will find it as difficult a Task to reconcile with their attempting a Confutation of it, as to reconcile my being a *moſt zealous Papiſt*, and at the ſame Time *neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant*. But that it was to diſcredit the *wretched Exjeſuit*'s Hiſtory that the Jeſuits undertook to diſcredit him, and conſequently that they thought Popery could ſuffer even from him, was, in private Confidence, owned by as eminent a Jeſuit as any in this Kingdom to Two of his Penitents, as they are both ready to declare upon Oath, if required (See above, p. 80, Note A). And it is to be obſerved, that One of theſe *Poſitive Evidences* is the Perſon, whom our *Religious Divine* could not prevail upon, with the whole Tribe of Jeſuits at his Heels, to atteſt what he did not know to be true, and yet feloniouſly introduced him (what Villainy will ſuch a Wretch ſtick at!) as an *undoubted Evidence* atteſting it (See above, p. 88). He cannot therefore queſtion his Veracity. Surely what has happened to me has happened to no Man before: I am perſecuted, inſulted, and abuſed by Papiſts for writing againſt Popery, and no better treated, but perhaps worſe, and in a more unbecoming Manner, by ſome Proteſtants, ſome Proteſtant *Divines*, pretending that my Work is calculated to promote Popery (L); that very Work, which the Popiſh Divines have attempted to confute, as attacking the fundamental Articles of their Religion.

Every Man, adds the Tool of the Holy Office, *may learn upon the Spot, that no ſuch Perſon as Count* Vincenzo della Torre *has ever exiſted*.— What every Man may learn upon the Spot *now*, that they are upon their Guard, I know not; but it is very certain, and has been ſhewn above, that the Account I gave of myſelf, including the Exiſtence and Impriſonment of Count *della Torre* in the Inquiſition, was found, *upon the Spot*, to be true Thirty Years ago, when they were not *yet* upon their Guard. I do not at all doubt but ſince the Publication of my Narrative a private Order has been iſſued by the Inquiſition, enjoining the Inhabitants of *Macerata* to forbear all Mention of the unhappy Man, whom they ſo barbarouſly murdered;

(L) A Reverend Brother of the Junto has publiſhed a Pamphlet to prove that Paradox. But the Character, which they, who are acquainted with the Man, and have undergone the Drudgery of running over his Performance, have given me, both of him and his Performance, has ſatisfied me, that it would be lamentable Waſte of my Time to peruſe that, or indeed any other Production of the ſame *diſturbed Brain*: and I have not ſo much as dipt into it.

ſuch an Order as was formerly iſſued by the ſame Tribunal, commanding the Inhabitants of *Siena* to obſerve a ſtrict Silence with reſpect to the Statue of Pope *Joan:* That the She Pope had her Statue among the other Popes in that ſtately Cathedral, was known to the whole World; and yet none durſt own that it had ever exiſted there: inſomuch that when Father *Antonius Pagi* applied, as he paſſed through *Siena*, to the Religious of his own Order, wanting to learn of them, *upon the Spot*, ſeveral Particulars relating to ſo famous a Monument, they all pretended, to a Man, never to have heard of it, though it had been removed but a few Years before. In like manner the Canons of the Cathedral, upon *Pagi*'s addreſſing them for the ſame Purpoſe as they came out of the Choir after Veſpers, all walked off without ſo much as deigning to return him an Anſwer. This is what Father *Pagi* himſelf relates in his *Critical Obſervations upon the Annals of Baronius*, at the Year 853, N. 17. Such private Orders are not uncommon in *Italy*, nor, I ſuppoſe, in other Countries where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed: They are notified by the Inquiſitors to all Confeſſors, and by them to their Penitents. In the preſent Caſe it was well worth their while, if it ever was in any, to iſſue ſuch an Order, the Credit of their Holy Office, arraigned of the moſt horrid Barbarities, being here at ſtake.

The good-natured, the humane, the tender-hearted Man cannot perſuade himſelf that any human Creature could be capable of the Cruelties, which the *Popiſh Miſſionary* has charged upon the Miniſters of the holy Inquiſition, and asks, *are the Inquiſitors human Creatures?*——I anſwer, they are *human Creatures*, but ſuch human Creatures as a *Phalaris*, as a *Dionyſius*, as a *Nero*, &c. and ſuch alone are fit to be Inquiſitors. If this Man but knew himſelf, he would not have asked ſo impertinent a Queſtion. For ſo far as we can judge from his inhuman Treatment of one, who never gave him the leaſt Provocation; from the ſavage Fury and bloody Spirit of Perſecution, which he betrays in every Page of his infamous Libels; from the Pleaſure and Satisfaction, with which he relates any ill-natured Story, that he thinks will give Pain, we have but too much Reaſon to believe him to be as great a Stranger to all Senſe of Humanity as a *Zabberoni*, a *Montecuculi*, or a *Dominic*, and that he wants only Power to equal, if not to ſurpaſs them, in Cruelty. But, Heaven be thanked, though he has fetched Certificates from *Rome*, he has not yet fetched any Power from thence; and till *that*

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happy Moment comes, he muſt content himſelf with venting the Fury of his enraged Soul, in the manner that is common with him, to the Refuſe and Dregs of the Nation.

And now to conclude on this Head: I have lived in Places, where there is an Inquiſition, where ſeveral Perſons have been taken up by that Tribunal, who were never more heard of; and that I ſhould, nevertheleſs, have *laid the Scene of my Inquiſition Adventures* at a Place, where there is no Inquiſition, ſhould have choſen, for the *Hero of my Romance*, a Perſon that never exiſted, and by naming both the Place and the Perſon, put it in every body's Power to detect the Forgery, is what no Man will or can believe, who has but common Senſe, or ſuppoſes me to have any.——What is urged by the Advocate for the Inquiſition, at Page 75 of his laſt Libel, is too abſurd to deſerve an Anſwer, *viz. that when a Fiction is related with Circumſtances, which furniſh the Means of Detection, it frequently, for this very Reaſon, is admitted as true.* For though I might have flattered myſelf that Proteſtants, however furniſhed with the Means of Detection, would believe a Story expoſing to the World the Iniquity of the Inquiſition, without making Uſe of thoſe Means, ſurely I could not be ſuch an Idiot as to think, that the Papiſts, the Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, who ſwarm in this Kingdom, would all do ſo too, and ſuffer the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, whom they are ſent to convert, to be prejudiced againſt their holy Religion, by a Fiction, which they had it in their Power to detect, by ſo groſs a Fiction, as that of a Man, who never exiſted, being racked to Death in the Inquiſition, at a Place where there is no Inquiſition. No Man, in his right Senſes, would relate a Fiction with Circumſtances, that furniſhed thoſe with the Means of Detection, who he certainly knew would make Uſe of ſuch Means and detect him.

I ſhall cloſe this Part of the Controverſy with the Words of that truly Proteſtant and worthy Divine the Reverend Mr. *Corpe*. *We have too many Inſtances*, ſays he, *at home of good Catholics ſticking at no* FALSE CERTIFICATES, *no* FALSE ATTESTATIONS, *no* FALSE OATHS, *when the Honour and Intereſt of holy Mother Church was at ſtake, to pay any Regard to* CERTIFICATES *or* OATHS *imported from* Italy, *from the Pope's Dominions, or the Inquiſition. Mr.* D—g—s *may entertain as good an Opinion as he pleaſes of the Holy Tribunal; but as for myſelf, I am fully ſatisfied that the Miniſters of that helliſh Court would rather take, and require thoſe, who dare*

dare not diſobey them, to take a thouſand falſe Oaths, than own the ſhocking Inſtance, which Mr. Bower *has given of their Cruelty and Injuſtice, to be true.* (*Poſtſcript to ſome very remarkable Facts*, &c. *p.* 75). Every Reader, who is in the leaſt verſed in our Hiſtory, will, I doubt not, readily ſubſcribe to the Opinion of that worthy Divine, and leave Mr. *D——g——s* blindly to receive all Certificates, that come from that Quarter, as ſo many *demonſtrative Proofs*: And of ſuch *Proofs*, *demonſtrating* whatever he pleaſes, he may have Waggon Loads brought yearly to his Door, Water and Land Carriage paid.

I ſhall now proceed to anſwer a Charge of a different Nature, and a very heavy one, brought againſt me by the ſame *Informer*. The Charge is, that I correſponded with the Jeſuit *Carteret*, tho' I made Affidavit that I never wrote to, or received from the ſaid *Carteret* any Letter or Letters whatſoever; and the Informer proves it, as he thinks, *in the moſt convincing Manner*, from a Letter writ by *Carteret* to his ſpiritual Daughter *Hannah Hoyles*, the *eminently-good* Popiſh Dram-ſeller. For in that Letter ſtands the following Paſſage, *When you ſee* Bowers, *with my Service to him, tell him I wonder he never anſwered my Letter.* (*Complete Detect. p.* 106.)

Anſwer: Strange! that *Hannah Hoyles* ſhould not have produced that Letter as ſoon as I made the above Affidavit; that for the Space of Three Years ſhe ſhould have taken no Notice of it to the Tool of the Party, in the frequent Viſits he made her in queſt of new Scandal; that ſhe ſhould have concealed it from the Reverend and inquiſitive Dr. *B rch*, when he was introduced to her by Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, and honoured her with his learned Company at her Tea-table (M). She could not have forgot that ſhe had received, and had ſuch a Letter

(M) Who, in ſeeing Two Proteſtant Clergymen frequent the Houſe of a low Popiſh Shop-keeper, drink Tea, and hold long Converſations with her, would not have expected to hear very ſoon of her Converſion from Popery to Proteſtantiſm? Would it ever have entered into any Man's Thoughts, that the only Buſineſs of the Two *Doctors* was to court her for Scandal, to aſperſe one, who had provoked the whole Popiſh Party, not only by renouncing their Religion, but by writing againſt it! —It is my Misfortune to have a grand Alliance of *Doctors* againſt me, a *Populus Doctorum*. The Chief among theſe are, the Right Rev. Dr. *Ch—nl—r*, titular Biſhop of *London*; Dr. *B—tl—r*, Head Chaplain to a great Popiſh Family; Dr. *Bl—the*, Firſt Chaplain to a foreign Embaſſador; Dr. *D—gl—s*, Dr. *Sh—b—re*, Dr. *B—rch*, Dr. *H—wkſw—th*, Dr. *Sm—ll—tt*, and a numberleſs Fry of inferior Graduates. They are indeed a powerful Alliance. But I flatter myſelf that Juſtice and Truth will be more powerful than they. Two of the Tribe have already received the Reward, which their Zeal, for the Propagation of what they call Truth, richly deſerved. Let the reſt look to themſelves.

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in her Cuſtody; ſhe, who remembered the Word *Sophiſter* for the Space of Thirty Years, tho' ſhe had never heard it before, as we may well ſuppoſe, nor, probably, ſince, till ſhe drew up her famous *Narraty*. How then came ſhe to with-hold ſo long ſo important a Paper from ſo many Hunters after Scandal? It requires but very little Penetration to anſwer that Queſtion.——But allowing that Letter to have been written by Father *Carteret* before his Death, and not after it, what will it prove? Why it will prove that he wrote once to me. But does it follow from thence, that I received his Letter? Will the *Informer* himſelf ſay, regardleſs of Truth as he is, and with all his Stock of Aſſurance, that no Letter written to him, or by him, has ever miſcarried? If I had received *Carteret*'s Letter, I ſhould have thought it no Crime to anſwer it, but Want of Civility to return no Anſwer to it, as he had not *then* given me any Occaſion to treat him in ſo contemptuous a Manner. But let us hear the *Doctor Informer* proving in *the moſt convincing Manner* from this very Letter, that I correſponded with *Carteret* and wrote to him *Twelve or more Letters.*

Informer. *That* Carteret *did write to* B——r *is certain, and that the latter did not treat ſuch a Correſpondent with ſo much Contempt as never to write to him, is extremely improbable.*

Anſwer. That *B——r* never anſwered *Carteret*'s Letter is certain: And whether it be, nevertheleſs, extremely improbable that he never wrote to that Jeſuit, and not rather extremely probable, let common Senſe determine.

Informer. Carteret, *in another Letter to the ſame* Hannah Hoyles, *deſires his kind Service to Mr.* Bowers (N). And did any Man ever deſire his Service, Compliments, or Reſpects, to a Perſon that never had writ to him?

Anſw. *Riſum teneatis Amici:* in *Engliſh, Friends, forbear laughing* (at the Doctor) *if you can.*

I moſt heartily wiſh he were only an Object of Contempt and Deriſion for his Ignorance, which, after all, is no Crime even in a

(N) *Carteret* did not ſo much as know how my Name is ſpelt; for he miſ-ſpells it in both his Letters. And how came the *Doctor*, with all his Acuteneſs, to overlook ſo *convincing a Proof* of my having correſponded with that Father, and writ to him *Twelve or more Letters.*

Doctor

Doctor of Divinity. But the ſhocking Inſtance he gives us in this very Place (*viz.* at p. 107) of his utter Diſregard for what is moſt ſacred in Religion, muſt make all Mankind look upon him not only as an Object of Contempt, but of Deteſtation, and Abhorrence. No Man can dip into his infamous Libels, without diſcovering, in the outragious and furious Invectives, that he will meet with almoſt at every Page, the Traces of the moſt inveterate Malice, and every Symptom of a Heart void of all Feeling, of all Compaſſion and Pity. And yet ſo loſt is the unhappy Man to all Senſe of Shame as well as Religion, as to declare, in the Face of the whole World, and even to take God to witneſs (as if he had ſaid in his Heart, *there is no God)*, that his Heart has felt no Emotion but of Pity, *God is my Witneſs*, theſe are his Words, *my Heart feels no Emotion but of Pity.* No Emotion but of Pity! And could you, Reverend Sir, without ſhuddering, call God to witneſs, that in vomiting out ſo much Venom againſt me, in branding me with all the ignominious Names and odious Apellations, that the keeneſt Malice can ſuggeſt to a Soul full of Fury, your Heart felt no other Emotion but of Pity! What Lie, what Calumny will he ſcruple to witneſs, who ſcruples not to call upon the God of Truth to witneſs ſo notorious a Falſhood! And whoſe Reputation, whoſe Life is ſafe, while we have ſuch Wretches amongſt us? But it is too ſhocking a Subject to dwell on, and I ſhall therefore leave thoſe, to whom he has inſcribed his laſt Libel (O) to judge, whether the Man, who has thus impiouſly dared to inſult his Maker in ſo public a Manner, is fit to be a *Preacher of the Goſpel.*

The next Charge, the only one worthy of Notice, is, that *I have aſſumed the Title of Profeſſor of Rhetoric in* Rome, *when it can be demonſtrated that I never exerciſed that Office there.*——That I *exerciſed that Office there* has been proved above at Page 145, 146; and therefore, referring the Reader to that Proof, I ſhall take ſome little Notice here of the *Demonſtrations*, that our *Demonſtrator* has produced to *demonſtrate* the contrary, and thus put an End to this Summary, which ſome will, perhaps, think already too long, not re-

(O) He has inſcribed it to *The moſt Reverend the Archbiſhops, The Right Reverend the Biſhops, The Learned Univerſities, and The Reverend the Clergy of this Kingdom.* Theſe reſpectable Names has an infamous Libeller dared to prefix to an infamous Libel, to which he dared not prefix his own, knowing it to be contrary to the Law of God, and puniſhable by the Laws of his Country. Was ſuch an Affront ever before offered to the whole Clergy of a Nation?

flecting, that it is a Reply to no fewer than Three Eighteen-penny Libels, and a Two Shillings one. The Demonſtrations are as follows. First Demonſtration, the *irreſiſtable, irrefragable, finally deciſive Teſtimony of Three eminent Jeſuits, declaring that Mr.* B——r *never was Profeſſor of Rhetoric in* Rome. *But that the Truth is, he ſupplied, for about Three Weeks, as Maſter of Rhetoric at* Rome, *while he was a Student of Divinity, and that in the Time of the Vacances* (*Six Letters*, &c. *p.* 85). Thus the Fathers *Alticozzi, Lunardi*, and *Conyers*, all Three *eminent* Members of the holy Society: And will *B——r* have the *matchleſs, unparallelled, unprecedented, never before heard of Boldneſs, Impudence, Effrontry, Aſſurance*, &c. to queſtion what Three ſuch eminent Jeſuits have atteſted?—— Anſwer: That theſe very Three Jeſuits, eminent as they are, have atteſted what they knew to be falſe, and ſuch groſs Abſurdities, Improbabilites, Impoſſibilities, as no Man, but a *D——l——s*, can poſſibly ſwallow, has been proved, I might ſay, *demonſtrated* above from p. 44 to 48. And an Evidence, convicted of bearing falſe Witneſs in One Inſtance, is credible in none.

Second Demonſtration, the Teſtimony of Father *Ridolfi, Provincial of the* Roman *Province, One of the principal Members of the Society, and a Man of Candor, that does him Honour* (P). And what

(P) How muſt it ſhock every true Proteſtant to hear a Divine of the Church of *England*, extolling to the Skies every Jeſuit, whom he has Occaſion to mention, as a Man of *an unexceptionable Character*, of *unqueſtionable Veracity*, of *Candor that does him Honour!* and that, at the very time they are, all to a Man, ignominiouſly driven out of a Popiſh bigotted Kingdom for their helliſh Attempts upon the Life of their Sovereign, and all Nations but this (where they have got a Proteſtant Divine to plead their Cauſe), being alarmed at their enormous Wickedneſs, they are likely to meet ere it be long with the Fate of the *Knights Templars*. Had our Divine ſpoken thus favourably of that wicked Fraternity in the Catholic Kingdom of *Portugal*, he would have ſtood a fair Chance to have ſailed with his *Men of Candor, that does them Honour*, to *Civita Vecchia*, if nothing worſe had befallen him: And ſhould he not be expelled this, and every other Proteſtant Kingdom, with the ſame Ignominy, as they have been driven out of that Popiſh.——This Man may boaſt of his being *now* acquainted with ſome private Regulations of the Holy Society, with their having, for Inſtance, *Conſultors in all their Colleges, with whom the Rector adviſes in Affairs of Importance*. But I will inform him of one, which I will take upon me to ſay the *Engliſh* Provincial, his intimate Friend, carefully concealed from him, in all the clandeſtine Interviews he had with him at the Houſe of their late *common Patron*, Sir *H. B.* The Regulation I ſpeak of i, that *no Sons of Publicans be ever admitted into the Order, even in the Capacity of Lay Brothers*, or Servants; and that, not ſo much on account of the Meanneſs of their Birth, as becauſe they are ſuppoſed to have been brought up, from their Infancy, Strangers to all Notions of Honour, good Manners, and Decency: So that our Reverend Divine, happen to him what will (and nobody knows what may happen to a Man of his Principles, and of the infamous Profeſſion, which he has lately taken up, and taſted the Sweets of in his Purſe),

what ſays this *Man of Candor!* Why, he contradicts his Three *eminent* Brethren, and ſays, that *B——r*, PERHAPS, *taught Rhetoric at* Rome, not indeed for the Space of Three Weeks, but *for the ſhort Space of a few Days*; and that, not in the Vacances, when the Schools were all ſhut, and there were no Scholars to teach, but before the Vacances, when the Schools were ſtill open, but *the Maſter was abſent*. His Words are, *He never was appointed to teach Rhetoric in the* Roman *College, unleſs*, PERHAPS, *for the ſhort Space of a few Days, in the Abſence of the Maſter.* (*Complete Detect. p.* 87, 88.)——It would be an Affront to common Senſe to ſet gravely about invalidating ſuch Teſtimonies, when they ſufficiently invalidate each other, unleſs a *few Weeks* and a *few Days, Three or Four Weeks* and *Three or Four Days*, be one and the ſame Thing. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that Father *Ridolfi*, now Provincial of the *Roman* Province, was my Fellow Novice, and Fellow Student in Pholoſophy and Divinity, and conſequently could not but know as well as his Brethren, that I taught Rhetoric at *Rome*, for the Space at leaſt of *Three Weeks*, as they have atteſted. And yet, groſly prevaricating, he pretends to know nothing of my having taught at *Rome* even for the ſhort Space of a few Days, ſaying *he never was appointed*, &c. *unleſs*, PERHAPS, *for the ſhort Space*, &c. As I take it for granted, that *D——g——s* has ſucceeded his deceaſed Popiſh Patron in the honourable Employment of *Tool in Chief* to the *Society of Jeſus* in the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, I wiſh he would enquire, the firſt Time he writes to the Provincial, or to any of the Three *eminent* Jeſuits, whether I did not write an *Epithalamium* upon Occaſion of a certain Marriage; whether I did not rehearſe it in the Great Hall of the *Roman* College, in the Preſence of ſeveral Cardinals, Prelates, and almoſt all the *Roman* Nobility, and Members of the Univerſity; and whether it was upon my being accidentally appointed to ſupply the Place of the Maſter *for the ſhort Space of a few Days*, that I wrote and rehearſed it. As I ſaid that Poem by Heart, I ſtill remember

Purſe), muſt not expect to be received into that venerable Body.——The Jeſuits are a wiſe, though a wicked Society; and as to the Wiſdom of that Regulation in particular, I appeal to the Behaviour of *J. D—g—s* in the preſent Diſpute. I might add, that the Jeſuits, like moſt other Men, love the Treachery, but deſpiſe the Traitor: And in no other Light can they look upon the ſaid *D—g—s*, eſpouſing their Cauſe againſt one, who has renounced their Religion to embrace his, that at leaſt, which he outwardly profeſſes and lives by. ——What is ſaid of Sir *Henry Bedingfeld* in the foregoing Sheets was printed ſome Months before his Death, as ſeveral Gentlemen know, who have peruſed them, and my Printer can atteſt.

great

great Part of it, and have repeated ſeveral Paſſages out of it to my Friends, long before my Profeſſorſhip began to be queſtioned.

B——r, ſays here the Advocate for the Jeſuits, *will, no doubt, cover himſelf behind his laſt Entrenchment, that no Jeſuit, not* EVEN THE PROVINCIAL OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE *is to be believed againſt him*, (p. 88.)

Anſwer. There is not, I hope, in all *England* a Proteſtant, at leaſt a Proteſtant Divine, beſide *J. D--g---s*, ſo little acquainted with the Principles of Jeſuitiſm, or ſo far prejudiced in favour of that wicked, calumniating, lying Fraternity, as to think, that any Jeſuit whatever, that *even the Provincial of the Roman Province*, ſhould be believed againſt one, who has quitted their Order, renounced their Religion, and expoſed to the World their execrable Doctrines as well as their abominable Practices. Their Advocate lays great Streſs upon the Teſtimony of Father *Ridolfi*, as being the Provincial, or the Head of the Province. But he is no more to be believed on that Account, than a Thief or a Robber is to be truſted, becauſe he is the Head of a Gang of Thieves and Robbers.

To thoſe, who are accuſtomed to ballance Probabilities with cool Impartiality, continues their Advocate, *there can be little Occaſion to ask, whether we ſhould believe the* UNSUPPORTED *Aſſertion of an Exjeſuit, &c. or of One of the chief Members of the Society* (p. 89).

Anſwer. The Jeſuits are known, by Papiſts as well as by Proteſtants, to be the moſt vindictive Set of Men upon Earth, as well as the moſt abandonedly wicked in all other Reſpects, to ſtick at no Lies nor Calumnies to blacken thoſe, who have left them, leſt they ſhould be blackened by them, and even to think the moſt bare faced Lies and groundleſs Calumnies highly meritorious, when invented and propagated with that *pious* View. Thus does that *Generation of Vipers*, that unforgiving Brood, perſecute, to the Grave and beyond it (Witneſs the good Dr. *Aſpinwall*) all, who have quitted their Church and their Order in Countries, where they think it not ſafe to employ Aſſaſſins and Cut-throats. And can there be any Occaſion to ask, *whether we ſhould believe One of the principal Members of that infernal Society*, and conſequently a Member more

wicked than moſt of the reſt, or the Aſſertions, were they even *unſupported*, of an *Exjeſuit*, that is, of one who, though raiſed to the higheſt Rank in the Order (Q), though plentifully ſupplied by it with all the Conveniences as well as Neceſſaries of Life, has nevertheleſs left it to earn his Bread with the Sweat of his Brow, and has withſtood all the Offers, the very great Offers, they made him to entice the ſtrayed Sheep back to the Fold? (See above, p. 80, 81).

The Jeſuits, inſtead of endeavouring to ſuppreſs B——r's Hiſtory, could not but wiſh to ſee it continued; as their Cauſe muſt be benefited by ſo unskilful an Antagoniſt, if he be not their ſecret Friend, p. 89.

Anſwer. If the Jeſuits wiſhed to ſee my Work continued, *J. D——g——s* would be the laſt Proteſtant in this Kingdom, that would attempt to diſappoint them of their Wiſhes, if he has not renounced the Principles, with which he was, as is well known, early imbued; and his attacking that Work (jointly with the Two Popiſh Doctors), to the beſt of his Abilities, that is, with *Billingsgate* Invectives againſt its Author, is no Demonſtration of his having yet *purged out the old Leaven* (R). But let us return to this Man's Demonſtrations.

Third

(Q) I was a Jeſuit profeſſed of Four Vows, a Station, to which not many are admitted, on account of the ſtrict Enquiries, that are made into their Conduct for the Space of Sixteen Years, and the ſevere Examinations they muſt undergo, both in public and private, with reſpect to their Abilities and Learning. The Jeſuits are computed to be between 18 and 20,000; but the Number of the Profeſſed of Four Vows ſcarce amounts to 5000, and they alone are truſted with the Secrets of the Order. That I *made ſolemn Profeſſion of Four Vows*, has been owned by Father *Ridolfi*, elſe I ſhould not have been able to prove it, not having brought with me from *Italy any One Witneſs to confirm, nor any One Paper to authenticate, the Stories I have told.* I was not ſo careleſs of my own Safety, as to bring any Papers along with me, that could betray me, much leſs any Witneſſes; which has furniſhed their very acute Advocate with a capital *Demonſtration*, that he often obtrudes upon us againſt the Truth of the *Tales* I have told to the Prejudice of his *holy Inquiſition*, and his *ſpotleſs Society of Jeſus*. An *irreſiſtible Demonſtration* to be ſure, and let him triumph in it.

(R) Obſerve here the Folly and Knavery of this Man. He has writ Four thick Libels to convince the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, that I am a *Jeſuit in Diſguiſe*, ſent over by the Pope and my Jeſuit Superiors with a Diſpenſation to rail and to write againſt Popery, that, thus diſguiſed, I *may ſtrike a more effectual Blow*; has endeavoured to alarm the whole Nation againſt me, diſplaying his Throat, and crying out, *The Danger is alarming, Ten ſuch artful Jeſuits, &c. would do more Harm, &c. than an Hundred declared Emiſſaries of* Rome (Full Confut. p. 91); has, with the foulеſt Language, abuſed and inſulted all, as *Fools* or *Knaves*, who did not yield an immediate Aſſent to the irreſiſtible Force

of

Third Demonstration: *B——r cannot say, that he was chosen Professor of Rhetoric, while he was a Student; but he was a Student, (according to the Registers of the* Roman *College) in* 1720, *and therefore could not be Professor in that Year.*

Answer: In all the Jesuits Colleges the Scholastic Year begins on *All Souls* Day, the 2d of *November*, and ends at *Michaelmas*. Thus though I could not be Professor of Rhetoric while I was a Student, I might nevertheless have been, in the same Year, as it was the last of my Divinity Studies, a Student and Professor of Rhetoric; a Student till *Michaelmas*, when the Schools break up, and Professor from the 2d of *November*, when the Studies are resumed, to the End of the Year. The Truth is; I performed what they call the *Great Act of Divinity* about the Middle of *July*, and thus ended my Studies. Being now disengaged, and *F. Flaminii*, Professor of Rhetoric, going to take the Country Air for the Recovery of his Health, I was appointed to supply his Place, as I had taught Rhetoric Three Years in the University of *Fermo*, the first after that of *Rome* and *Bologna* in the Papal Dominions. In that Station I continued till *Michaelmas*, wrote in the mean time

of his *Demonstrations*, *demonstrating the Truth of the Charge*, *viz.* of my being a *Jesuit in Disguise*; has claimed the Commendations and Thanks of the Inhabitants of *Great Britain in general*, for the happy Discovery of the *disguised Jesuit*, &c. And, who would believe it? after so much Noise and Alarm, after the most furious Invectives, Exclamations, Declamations, Vociferations, &c. against me as a Jesuit convict, he himself makes it Matter of Doubt, whether I be or be not a Jesuit, and a Friend to the Jesuits, saying, IF *he be not their secret Friend.* Did the *Fool* and the *Knave*, in a more eminent Degree, ever before meet in one and the same Person?——I cannot help observing here one gross Absurdity more of this extraordinary Man, that will equally shew him more worthy of the Titles I have given him than the Title of *Doctor*. I was no Jesuit, according to him, when I came into *England*. *B——r*, says he, *had not come into* England *after throwing off the Order, but after the Order had thrown off him, on account of Irregularities in his Conduct* (Six Letters, p. 31). *B——r* therefore was no more a Jesuit, when he came into this Kingdom, than the *Vicar of High Ercal, Salop*. And yet the whole Drift of that Man's Four Libels is, to make it *demonstrably* appear, that *B——r*, though no Jesuit, is, nevertheless, a *Jesuit in Disguise*, and, what is no less astonishing, a Jesuit, whom the Pope and his Jesuit Superiors chose and sent over, as soon as they had expelled him the Order, to *strike some effectual Blow here in favour of Popery*. Who would not have thought that the Malice of the unhappy Man's Heart had got into his Head, and deprived him of the Use of his Senses, if he had not taken God to witness, that his Heart *is free from all Malice*, and *feels no Emotion but of Pity*: And to that Emotion alone we must ascribe his positively asserting in one Place, that I was expelled the Order, and his no less positively affirming in another, or rather in many other, that I never was expelled, but was *only disobedient to my Superiors in the Order* (See above, p. 104). *Quando illum invenies parem!*

the

the Poem I have mentioned, and pronounced it a few Days before the breaking up of the Schools. In *November* the ſame Year 1720 (if the Regiſter is to be relied on) I was appointed Profeſſor of Rhetoric in the room of *F. Flaminii* ſent into *Saxony*, took Poſſeſſion of that Employment with a *Latin* Oration, and it was not till after the Death of *Clement* XI. which happened on the 19th of *March* 1721, that I was removed from *Rome* to *Arezzo*. As I took not one ſingle Scrap of Paper with me from *Italy*, I will not pretend to ſay, that I was, or that I was not miſtaken with reſpect to the preciſe Day, or even the Year of my Admiſſion into the Order, an Affair of Fifty Years ago and upwards: And to that Miſtake, if it be a Miſtake, the reſt are all owing. I could not now tell in what Year I was ordained; and if I ſhould miſtake the Year, would it follow from thence, that I never was ordained? Of all Men living *J. D--g---s* ſhould be the moſt indulgent with reſpect to Miſtakes, that are owing to a *bad Memory*, *J. D.* who has given himſelf ſo often the Lie, ſaying and unſaying one and the ſame Thing in one and the ſame Libel, nay, and ſometimes, as I have ſhewn, in one and the ſame Page.—If *F. Flaminii* had never been ſent into *Saxony*, it would never have come into my Head to ſend him thither, nor could it anſwer any End, ſince I might as well have given him ſome other Employment to make room for me in the Profeſſor's Chair. But they were determined to let nothing I have ſaid paſs uncontradicted. However I am obliged to them for owning that ſuch a Man as *F. Flaminii* exiſted; for had they denied his Exiſtence, I ſhould not have been able to prove it ſo well, as I have done that of Count *Della Torre*.—As for my teaching Metaphyſics at *Perugia*, if any Man can poſſibly credit the Account, which the Three *eminent Jeſuits* have given from p. 44 to 48. of my Removal from *Macerata* to that City, great is his Faith in the Jeſuits and their Regiſters.

Having thus anſwered, I doubt not, to the entire Satisfaction of every candid and ſenſible Reader, the main Articles of the complicated Charge, brought againſt me by the Jeſuits, the Inquiſitors, and their abject Proteſtant Tool, I ſhall cloſe the whole with a few Obſervations upon ſome Paſſages of that defamatory Scribbler's laſt Libel.—At Page 41. *B—r*, ſays he, *knows that he dare not ſhew his Face at ſeveral Houſes, where once he was honoured with Admittance, and I believe he has not ventured of late to viſit the* GENTLEMAN *and*

LADY

LADY *mentioned in this Paragraph.* Of this *Gentleman* he had ſpoken in his Firſt Libel, (*Six Letters*, p. 41.) *as one univerſally known and admired*; and he mentions him again in his *Full Confutation*, p. 87, calling him the LADY's *Husband, whoſe Principles and Religion are well known.* Now that Foreigners, or they, who live at a Diſtance from *London*, may not think that I dare not ſhew my Face at the Houſe of any *real Gentleman*, or *real Lady*, where I was once honoured with Admittance, I beg Leave to inform them who this Gentleman and Lady are. The *Gentleman* then is Mr. *Garrick*, an Actor, who now *acts* upon the Stage. The *Lady* is his Wife Mrs. *Garrick*, alias *Violetti*, who within theſe few Years *danced* upon the Stage. To do them Juſtice, they are both eminent in their Way. The *Gentleman* (though no *Roſcius*) is as *well known and admired* for his *Acting*, as the *Lady* was for her *Dancing*, and the *Lady* was as *well known and admired* for her *Dancing* as the *Gentleman* is for his *Acting*; and they are, in that Senſe, *par Nobile*. That I dare not ſhew my Face in that Houſe is true; nor dare I ſhew it in any other Houſe, the Miſtreſs whereof is a Papiſt (*whoſe Religion and Principles are well known*), and conſequently bound, if in the leaſt acquainted with me, to contribute her Quota to the common Stock of Scandal, and not only to betray, but miſrepreſent, if required, private Converſation. Should not the *Lady* have diſmiſſed the Prieſt, that came for her Quota, with the famous Words of Queen *Dido, Non ignara mali*, &c.

At Page 111 our upright and impartial Judge ſums up the Evidence. But takes care, in ſumming it up, to ſuppreſs what I have offered to invalidate, and what has effectually invalidated that Evidence, in the Opinion of all Men of Judgment and Candor. Thus he here obtrudes again upon the Public the Teſtimonies of his *Sheldons*, his *Hornes*, his *Carterets*, his *Gays*, his *Bedingfelds*, as *the fulleſt Evidence that poſſibly can be produced*; but wiſely, tho' wickedly, conceals what has been urged againſt thoſe Teſtimonies, and what evidently ſhews them to be no more worthy of Credit, than thoſe of a common Knight of the Poſt. That Mr. *Sheldon*'s Evidence is no other, than that of the Jeſuit *Sheldon* his Brother, is certain; for he aſſerts nothing but what he learnt from his Brother (ſee above, p. 57.); and no leſs certain it is, that Father *Sheldon*, Father *Carteret*, and their Footman *John Gay*, have contradicted one another, as has been proved, I might ſay, *demonſtrated*, in Spite of all the Chicane of their pitiful Drudge

ſtriving

ſtriving to reconcile them, (ſee above, p. 60, 61, 62, 63.) As for Sir *H. Bedingfeld*, he has advanced nothing upon his own Knowledge, but only upon the Authority of anonymous Witneſſes; ſo that we know not what Credit they deſerve, nor whether they deſerve any, nay whether they exiſt, or have ever exiſted; and the Popiſh Surgeon *Horne*, atteſting that I *was reconciled to Popery* (*Full Confut.* p. 81.) is belied by one, againſt whoſe Authority *J. D--g---s* will not except, that of *J. D--g---s* himſelf, declaring that *B----r never was reconciled to the Church of Rome*, (Six Letters, p. 34.) And theſe are the Men whoſe Teſtimonies the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* are to receive as *the fulleſt Evidence that can poſſibly be produced*, on pain of being ſtigmatized for *Fools*, or *Knaves*, when none but a *Fool* or a *Knave*, or a Mixture of both, would require any Man, who has but One Grain of Senſe, to pay more Regard to their Evidence, than to that of the moſt notorious hackney falſe Witneſs, that ever appeared with his Head in a cleft Board.——Should a Judge at any time inſtruct a Jury in the Manner the Public is here inſtructed, that is, ſhould he only take Notice of the Evidence produced againſt the Party accuſed, and entirely ſuppreſs what had been alledged on his Side to invalidate that Evidence, the Memory of ſuch a Judge (to uſe the Words of an impartial By-Stander in ſome of our public Papers on the preſent Occaſion) would be conſigned over to Infamy by all the Lovers of Juſtice and Mankind. Such a Judge is *J. D--g---s*, as I have juſt ſhewn, and beſides, the vileſt of Hypocrites, thus baſely concealing what he thought would bring the Truth to Light, and at the ſame time endeavouring, with a Thouſand canting, ſanctified, hypocritical Preachments, to impoſe himſelf upon the Public for a Man of Religion and Virtue, for a Lover of Juſtice and Truth, for one, *who has nothing in his View but the Diſcovery of Truth.* Of ſuch an iniquitous Judge, and thorough-paced Hypocrite, Infamy muſt be, and ever will be, the Portion, and the Wages of his Iniquity.

Our godly Divine, having, in the Character of a Judge, ſummed up the Evidence in the Manner we have ſeen, is ſuddenly ſeized with a moſt violent Fit of Zeal for the Preſervation and Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, in imminent Danger from *the daily Attempts of the profligate Exjeſuit* upon the Point of ſtriking, now, or never, his *effectual Blow.* In that Fit the pious Man expreſſes his Concern in a moſt furious long-winded *Declamation*, which we may call his *Farewell Sermon*; and I ſhall give Part of it here, in his own Words,

that from thence the World may judge of the Spirit of the Man, and at the ſame time be convinced, that in calling upon God to witneſs, that *his Heart feels no Emotion but of Pity*, he has called upon God to witneſs a Falſhood, and conſequently, that there is no Villainy, from which, if it anſwered his wicked Ends, or the wicked Ends of thoſe who employ him, his Principles, religious or moral, would reſtrain him. And now let us hear him in his true Character, that of a canting, hypocritical Charlatan, or rather Incendiary. " If every Deſerter from *Rome* is to be received " with open Arms, and without examining his Pretenſions to Credibi- " lity; if the aſſuming the venerable, but much abuſed, Name of Con- " vert, is to entitle him to be protected, and his own *unſupported* " *Account* of himſelf, however improbable, is to be believed, in " Oppoſition to *the fulleſt Evidence that can poſſibly be produced*; " if, I ſay, this ſhould ever be the Caſe, *&c. &c. &c.* we ſhould be " expoſed to the daily Attempts of the *profligate Exjeſuit* (S) and the " abandoned Monk, we ſhould have our Altars diſgraced by the " Intruſion of other *Fourniers* (T), and the Safety of Society en- " dangered by admitting into our Boſom a Swarm of Vipers (U), " who will put on all Shapes, and aſſume all Characters, if their

(S) *Daily Attempts!* Should he not have ſpecified ſome one or other at leaſt of the *profligate Exjeſuit's yearly Attempts?* I ſee not what he can mean by theſe *daily Attempts*, but the daily Endeavours of the *profligate Exjeſuit* to expoſe the Abominations of Popery, and thus ſtop, ſo far as in him lies, the alarming Progreſs of that wicked Religion in this Kingdom. Such Endeavours are, no Doubt, wicked Attempts with a Man of the Principles which it is well known our declaiming Charlatan early imbibed, and which he has but too plainly ſhewn lie, to this Day, lurking in his Soul.

(T) Can our Altars be more diſgraced by a *Fournier* than they are by a *D—g—s?* Can any Man poſſibly peruſe the foregoing Sheets, and not be convinced, that if the one was unworthy to be admitted to ſerve, the other is worthy to be excluded from ſerving at our Altars?

(U) It is but too true that Proteſtants go over *yearly* in *Swarms* from the Church of *England* to that of *Rome*; and it is no leſs true, that ſcarce one Papiſt, *in Ten Years*, comes over from the Church of *Rome* to that of *England*. As for Jeſuits, I am the Second profeſſed Jeſuit, a Native of *Great Britain*, that has left the Order, ſince its Foundation, to embrace the Proteſtant Religion; and the Treatment, which I have met with in my Lifetime, and the other, good Dr. *Aſpinwall*, after his Death, will ſcarce encourage others to follow our Example, unleſs determined, upon the ſtrongeſt Conviction, to ſacrifice their Peace to Truth, as well as their Characters. The Church of *England* therefore need not be alarmed at the *Swarm of Vipers* here ſpoken of; for it is but an imaginary Swarm. Would not our zealous Divine have ſpent his Heaven-devoted Hours much better, in ſtriving to perſuade ſome of the many Papiſts, with whom he is ſo intimately acquainted, and who, I ſuppoſe, would not prove *Vipers*, nor would *endanger the Safety of Society*, to leave their idolatrous Church, than in raking into every Kennel for Dirt to beſpatter one, who has left it?

" aſſuming ſuch Characters, without farther Proof, be a ſufficient " Reaſon for our admitting the Pretenſion." (Full Detect. p. 117, 118.)

And now what does this Declamation prove? I wiſh I could ſay, nothing at all. But it proves, and too plainly, the Knavery of the Declaimer, in applying to the Paſſions, and working upon the Imaginations of the Simple and the Undiſcerning, when he cannot convince the Underſtandings of the Senſible and the Diſcerning. What have Declamations, Exclamations, Invectives, Harangues, to do with Enquiries after Truth? Inſtead of directing, they ſerve only to confound and miſlead the Judgment of the Ignorant and the Undiſtinguiſhing, that is, of Nine Parts in Ten of Mankind, who believe, that they have moſt Reaſon on their Side, though they are not able to find it out, who make the moſt Noiſe. And it is by this Method of Conviction, that is, by outrageous, abuſive, and noiſy Declamations, Vociferations, *&c.* which ſuffer not the ſtill Voice of Reaſon to be heard, that our *Lover of Truth* has convinced, as he boaſts, Nine Parts in Ten of the good People of *England*, that I was expelled the Order of Jeſuits by the Pope and my Jeſuit Superiors, on account of Irregularities in my Conduct (Six Letters, p. 34), and was not expelled, but was only diſobedient to my Superiors in the Order (Ibid. p. 57): That being thus expelled and not expelled, being in the Order and out of the Order (W), I was choſen by the Pope and my Jeſuit Superiors, notwithſtanding the *Irregularities in my Conduct*, to *ſtrike an effectual Blow in England*, and by them ſent over for that Purpoſe, with a Diſpenſation in my Pocket, to wear the Mask of Proteſtantiſm, and write againſt Popery (Full Confut. p. 59): That being turned out of the Order, I lent the Jeſuits a Sum of Money, bribed them, by that Means, to re-admit me among them, and was accordingly re-admitted as a Jeſuit Four Years after I lent them that Money (Six Letters, p. 74), though I was a Jeſuit when I lent it (Ibid. p. 66): That I never was reconciled to the Church of *Rome* (Six Letters, p. 34), and that I was reconciled to that Church, or to Popery (Full Confut. p. 81): That I am a zealous Catholic (Six Letters, p. 32), and neither Papiſt, nor Proteſtant, nor even a Chriſtian (Ibid. p. 35), *&c. &c. &c.* If Nine Parts in Ten of this Nation have ſwallowed ſuch groſs Abſur-

(W) It is, probably, becauſe I was and was not, according to him, expelled the Order, that, ever conſiſtent with himſelf, he calls me ſometimes a *Jeſuit*, and ſometimes an *Exjeſuit*.

dities,

dities, ſuch palpable Contradictions, as our truth-ſpeaking Divine aſſures us they have, it is a plain Proof, that with Nine Parts in Ten of this Nation Noiſe is more convincing than Reaſon, and conſequently, that no Man, but a Knave, who wants to impoſe Falſhood upon the Multitude inſtead of Truth, would make Uſe of ſuch Means of Conviction. And ſuch a Knave is the Man, who has ſo filled his envenomed Libels with Arguments of that kind, for want of better, that without them thoſe Four thick Libels would ſink down to a Six-penny one. In ſhort, Declamations, Exclamations, Vociferations, Invectives, Harangues, *&c.* prove nothing, but only ſerve to imprint upon weak Minds an incurable Prejudice againſt one, however undeſerved; and therefore are not fit to be uſed by candid Enquirers after Truth; but only by Knaves, who make it their Buſineſs to diſguiſe the Truth; and to diſguiſe the Truth in a Diſpute, where a Man's Reputation, dearer to him than Life itſelf, lies at ſtake, is the Height of Villainy. And thus far of this Man's furious Declamations in general.

I ſhall now take ſome little Notice of the Declamation before us. *If every Deſerter from* Rome *is to be received with open Arms, without examining his Pretenſions to Credibility*, &c.——I thought that a Man might profeſs, in this Country, what Religion he pleaſed; that even a Papiſt, nay, and a Jeſuit might conform, if he pleaſed, to the Church eſtabliſhed by Law, without being called to an Account by any Man for it. We know, that Proteſtants embrace yearly by Thouſands the Popiſh Religion, and no Man queſtions them about it; and why ſhould not Papiſts, exchanging the Popiſh for the Proteſtant Religion, be indulged the ſame Liberty? Why ſhould not even a Jeſuit, embracing the Proteſtant Religion, and asking nothing of any body for it, but earning his Bread with the Sweat of his Brow, be allowed to live as quiet and as undiſturbed, in this Proteſtant Kingdom, as if he had continued a Papiſt and a Jeſuit? Why ſhould an Inquiſition be ſet up againſt Papiſts, who turn Proteſtants, and none againſt Proteſtants, who become Papiſts? Who does not ſee in this Man the true Spirit of a *Popiſh Inquiſitor againſt heretical Pravity*, that is, againſt Papiſts, who renounce Popery, and not againſt Proteſtants, who renounce Proteſtantiſm? But waving that, what ſtronger Proofs can I poſſibly give than thoſe I have given already of my Sincerity? What ſtronger Proofs would this Man require, were he appointed

Inquiſitor, or Examiner of Converts from Popery, or, as he calls us, *Deſerters from Rome?* I had not yet recovered, after my Arrival in this Proteſtant Kingdom, the Uſe of my native Language, when I laid hold of the firſt Opportunity, that offered, to expoſe, as a Writer, the Errors of Popery (ſee above, p. 5.) I have attacked, and not unſucceſsfully, the whole Syſtem of the Popiſh Religion in my *Hiſtory of the Popes*, and unanſwerably fixed, in the Opinion of the beſt Judges both at Home and Abroad, the Charge of Idolatry upon that Church (X). I have lived 34 Years in *England*, and have been, during that Time, intimately converſant in ſeveral Proteſtant Families, remarkable for their Attachment to the Family on the Throne, and their Zeal for our happy Conſtitution in Church and State, namely, in the *Aylmer*, the *Norris*, the *Forteſcue*, the *Moſtyn*, the *Lyttelton* Families, not to mention many others, and to them I appeal whether I have not, on all Occaſions, expreſſed the utmoſt Deteſtation of the impious Doctrines and execrable Practices of that idolatrous Church; and whether they have not always looked upon me not only as a ſincere, but as a moſt zealous Proteſtant. And will this daring Man, with all his Stock of Jeſuitical Impudence, be ſo bold to ſay, that no Regard is to be had to the Teſtimonies of ſo many Perſons of Diſtinction, of known Honour and Probity, and that the contradictory Teſtimonies of Jeſuits, of Papiſts under the immediate Direction and Influence of the Jeſuits, of low Popiſh Shop-

(X) That Work I undertook with no other View but to juſtify to the preſent, as well as to future Generations, my leaving the Religion in which I was brought up; and therefore declined being any-ways concerned in a Work, that would have proved far more advantageous, without my running any the leaſt Riſk in point of Intereſt. This I obſerved in my very Firſt Pamphlet at Page 40, ſpecifying the Work that was offered, *viz.* the Whole of the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory*, now publiſhing, and naming the Perſon that offered it, *viz.* Mr. *Millar*, the Manager for that Hiſtory, and Mr. *D—g—s*'s particular Friend, who therefore could not but know what I ſaid to be true. And yet, contrary to his own Knowledge, he aſcribes, in all his Libels, my undertaking the *Hiſtory of the Popes* to a ſelfiſh View, to *the Hopes of a Proteſtant Subſcription*, as a Thing not to be queſtioned. And is not *J. D—g—s* a candid Enquirer after Truth?—Had I agreed to the very advantageous Terms that Mr. *Millar* offered me, I might, unreproved, have frequented all the Brothels in Town, might have made Love to all the Women I knew, and by engaging their Affections, and then forſaking them, let *them pine away*, and *live upon Cordials till they died*; (for with Murders of that Kind I have been charged by this Man, when I was on the wrong Side of my grand Climacteric, as has been ſhewn above, p. 89). The Jeſuits would never have concerned themſelves with me; nor would their *Tool*, and the *Trumpeter of their Lies*, have filled his Purſe at the Expence of my Reputation. He alone is the Gainer in this Diſpute, if it be Gain to earn what Money ſoever, and Infamy with it.

keepers,

keepers, Dram-ſellers, Footmen, *&c.* the very Scum of the Nation and of Popery itſelf, are to be received as *the fulleſt Evidence that can poſſibly be produced?* It is true that the Perſons, to whom I have appealed for my Character, are all my Friends, nay and have ſhewn me more Kindneſs on Occaſion of the preſent unjuſt Perſecution than they had ever done before. But that, inſtead of invalidating, corroborates their Teſtimony, as they would have certainly thought me unworthy of their Friendſhip the Moment they had diſcovered in me the leaſt Bias to Popery. Further, I have rejected, with Scorn, the very great Offers, which the Jeſuits have made me to allure me back to the Church and Order I had left, as the Jeſuit *Kingſley* declared to his Penitent Mr. *Arnold*, who is ready to atteſt it upon Oath before any Magiſtrate, or in any Court of *Great Britain* (ſee above, p. 80, 81.) Beſides, I have undergone, for being a Proteſtant, and chiefly from the Prieſthood (I mean ſome of the Proteſtant Prieſthood combined with the Popiſh againſt me), the moſt cruel Perſecution, that any Proteſtant ever underwent in a Proteſtant Country. I ſay, *for being a Proteſtant*; for had I continued a Papiſt and a Jeſuit, I ſhould have lived quite as happy and unmoleſted as the reſt of the Fraternity do in this Metropolis, and in the other Parts of the Kingdom. The Jeſuits, no doubt, flattered themſelves, that it would ſhake my Conſtancy to find myſelf thus unworthily treated by thoſe, whoſe Cauſe I had undertaken, and even to be told by One of them (by that worthy Divine *J. D--g---s*) that *the Church of* England *is no Aſylum for an Out-caſt of the Church of* Rome; which was bidding me return to that Church. My Perſecutors did not think that I would ſtand ſuch a Trial, but that I ſhould either ſink under it, or leaving the Church, that thus ſpurned me from her Communion, return to that, which, like a kind Mother, held her Arms ſtill ſtretched out to receive me, with Joy, into her Boſom. But I was no more moved by the ill Treatment of the one, than I was by the kind Invitations and Offers of the other. I continued to hold faſt the pure Faith I had embraced, in Spite of the joint and unrelenting Endeavours of the Jeſuits, of their Proteſtant Tool, and his Junto, to force me back to the Superſtitions of Popery. I will ſay no more on this Head, but appeal to the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* in general, whether there be a Proteſtant this Day in the whole Kingdom, that has given more unqueſtionable Proofs, than I have done, of his unfeigned Attachment to the Proteſtant Religion, and

his

his Averſion to Popery. And yet I am here repreſented, by our candid and godly Divine, as one, who has given no other Proof of his Proteſtantiſm than his *aſſuming the much abuſed Name of Convert*, and has been, for that Reaſon alone, admitted, in the confuſed *Swarm* of other numberleſs *Vipers*, into the *Boſom* of the Church of *England*.——And this is the Man, who has ſo often and ſo ſolemnly declared, that he *has nothing in his View but the Diſcovery of Truth*, and would, I doubt not, call upon God to witneſs it, or indeed any thing elſe, were it any Advantage to the Cauſe he has undertaken, as he has impiouſly called upon God to witneſs that he *bears me no Ill-will*, that his *Heart feels no Emotion but of Pity*, when no Man can peruſe the abſurd incendiary Declamation before us, without diſcovering in the Declaimer a Soul full of Fury and Malice.

To the many Inſtances that I have alledged of this Man's Knavery, I ſhall add One of his Ignorance; an Inſtance, that will ſhew the Temper of the Man incapable of yielding, whether he blunders or calumniates, to the cleareſt Conviction. It is as follows. In the Preface to my Hiſtory of the Popes I ſaid, that while I was at *Rome* I abjured in my Mind the Pope's *Supremacy*, though it was *held as an Article of Faith by the Body, to which I belonged*, and I had been taught by *Bellarmine*, that it was a Point, *upon which the whole of Chriſtianity depended*. From theſe Words it is manifeſt, that I did not mean any Article that was believed by all Catholics, or that a Man muſt believe to be a Catholic, but only an Opinion maintained by the Body, whereof I was a Member. However Dr. *Ch---l--r*, titular Biſhop of *London*, and his Aſſiſtant Dr. *B--tl-r*, took from thence Occaſion to charge me with being actually a Proteſtant in my Heart while I made my laſt Vows among the Jeſuits, and defended the Pope's *Supremacy* as well as the other Tenets of the Catholic Faith, which was evidently ſuppoſing the Pope's *Supremacy* to be One of the Tenets of that Faith. This Charge *D--g--s* adopted. I anſwered, that I abjured, in my Mind, while I lived at *Rome*, the *Papal Supremacy*, that is, the ſupreme, abſolute, unlimited, uncontroulable Power over the whole World, which ſeveral Popes have claimed, and none have yet given up or renounced: But as that *Supremacy* was no Article of the Catholic Communion, though maintained in its utmoſt Latitude, by the Body to which I belonged, my abjuring it in my Mind did not make me a Proteſtant in my Heart. I added, that I might have even

abjured the ſpiritual *Supremacy* or *Superiority* claimed by the Popes over the Church, without abjuring any Tenet of the Popiſh Religion; and I there explained, what Power they claimed, *viz.* a Power, unlimited by the Canons or Councils, not only over each particular Church, but over the Church Univerſal; and at the ſame time I obſerved, that neither was that Power, *Supremacy*, or *Superiority*, an Article of the Catholic Communion, ſince it is denied by the *Janſeniſt* Clergy in *France*, with whom *Rome*, nevertheleſs, communicates. Of the Popiſh Doctors I heard no more. But our Proteſtant Doctor, who had made himſelf a Party, undertook the Cauſe of his Two Fellow-Labourers, and full of Fury and Rage, which he calls *Proteſtant Zeal*, opened thus: *This dauntleſs Man has the Boldneſs to aſſert, that a Man may deny the Pope's Supremacy, and nevertheleſs be a good Catholic — that his Supremacy is no Article of Catholic Communion — that the* Janſeniſts *of* France *deny it — and that this Tenet may be denied by a Papiſt, as the Pope's being Antichriſt may by a Proteſtant* — All this I have aſſerted, and ſtill do aſſert; and how does this Man confute theſe my Aſſertions? Why, with the following Argument, which I ſhall give in his own Words, that the Reader may have it in its full Strength. He then argues thus: *Is not this a Prodigy of Front or Brain? Does he preſume we have loſt our Underſtanding, or has he himſelf never had any in theſe Matters, and ſo cannot diſtinguiſh between the Pope's* SUPREMACY *and his* INFALLIBILITY. *It is the latter, which is no Article of Catholic Communion, which the* JANSENISTS *bring into Queſtion — and which a Papiſt, even as ſuch, may deny:* Therefore the Supremacy is an Article of Catholic Communion, and is not denied by the *Janſeniſts* of *France*. Q. E. D. — It is by thus arguing, that is, by railing without Argument (for what is there in all this ſcurrilous Declamation that looks like an Argument?) that this Man has got, as he ſays, Nine Parts in Ten of the Nation to ſwallow, without ſtraining, the groſſeſt Abſurdities, nay and plain Contradictions, as I juſt have obſerved, and he may, for ought I know, have perſuaded them by the ſame Sort of Argument, that the *Janſeniſts* in *France*, of whoſe Belief they know nothing at all, believe in the Supremacy of the Pope.

Had he, continues our Declaimer, *ever looked into a Proteſtant Book, called* BARROW *on the Supremacy of the Pope, he would have known that this Doctrine, far from being no Article of Catholic Com-*

Communion, is the very Corner Stone of the Religion, the Article moſt fundamental of all others in Popery (Y), *and on which, according to* BELLARMINE, *the very Sum and Subſtance of Chriſtianity depends.* As I had read *Barrow*'s learned Treatiſe, and thought that I underſtood what I had read, upon this Man's appealing to that Writer, I immediately turned to the Treatiſe he quoted, and there found what I certainly knew before-hand I ſhould find, *viz.* that *Barrow* confirmed the very Aſſertions, which he was brought to confute. For from Page 39 in the Quarto, and from Page 20 to 25 in the Folio Edition of his admirable Performance, he tells us, that *the Papal* SUPREMACY *over Princes in Temporals is commonly exploded:* That *the Adherents to the* Roman *Church are not agreed concerning the Extent of the Papal Authority even in Spirituals: That though the Popes themſelves do claim an* ABSOLUTE SUPREMACY *over the Church; although the Stream of Divines, who do flouriſh in Favour with them, doth run that Way; although according to their Principles (if they have any Principles clearly and certainly fixed) that might ſeem to be the Doctrine of their Church; yet is there among them a numerous Party, which doth not* ALLOW HIM SUCH A SUPREMACY, *putting great Reſtraints to his Authority. And as the other Party doth charge this with Hereſy, ſo doth this return back the ſame Imputation on that* (Page 26 in the Quarto Edition).

(Y) Our candid Enquirer after Truth takes here the Liberty to falſify *Barrow*, who ſays no ſuch Thing from the Beginning of his Book to the End, as that the *Supremacy of the Pope is the very Cornerſtone of Religion, and the Article moſt fundamental of all others in Popery*; nay he aſſerts the quite contrary in many Places, as ſhall ſoon be made to appear. What *Barrow* ſays, in the Place to which this Man ſeems to allude, is, *That the Head of their Church is a Subject, about which they ſhould thoroughly conſent, and which they ſhould, by this Time, have cleared from all Diſputes, that we might be aſſured wherein his Authority conſiſts, and how far it does extend; ſeeing the Reſolution of that Point ſo nearly touches the Heart of Religion, the Faith and Practice of all Chriſtians, the Good of the Church, and Peace of the World* (*Barrow*, Page 2). From theſe Words it is manifeſt, that what *Barrow* means (and he could not have expreſſed his Meaning more clearly) is, that though it be a Matter of the utmoſt Importance to know for certain how far the Authority of the Pope does extend, yet that Point has not yet been determined. And was that ſaying, that the *Supremacy, or the ſupreme Power of the Pope, is an Article of the Popiſh Faith, and the moſt fundamental of all others in Popery?* Nay, was it not evidently aſſerting the contrary? ſince no Point, that has not been determined, can be an Article of Faith. That the Falſifier of *Barrow* alluded to the Place in that Author, which I have quoted above, is not to be doubted; for it was there he found his Citation out of *Bellarmine, Agitur de ſumma rei Chriſtianæ*, which he has tranſlated with the very Words of *Barrow*; and he went no farther: So that he has read between Twenty and Thirty Lines in that Writer, and theſe he has falſified, as I have ſhewn.

And

And at Page 35. *I know there are within the* Roman *Communion great Store of Divines, who contract the Papal Sovereignty within much narrower Compaſs*, viz. than that, to which the Pope himſelf and the *cordial Partizans of his See* extend it, *who maintain the Pope, no leſs than other Biſhops, to be* SUBJECT TO THE CANONS, *who allow him to be no more in the Eccleſiaſtic Republic than the Duke of* Venice *is in his Senate*, &c. The learned Writer adds, that *ſuch Notions have* MANIFESTLY PREVAILED IN A GOOD PART OF THE ROMAN COMMUNION, *are maintained by moſt Divines in the* French *Church, and may be ſuppoſed every where common, where there is Liberty of Judgment; nay, that they have been defined for Catholic Truths in Great Synods*, &c. Could the Proteſtant Writer, *called Barrow*, have poſſibly declared in Terms more expreſs and intelligible, that there are, *within the* Roman *Communion, many Divines*, who deny the Pope's Supremacy; that it is denied by *moſt Divines in the* French *Church*, and conſequently, that it is no Article of Catholic Communion, much leſs *the very Corner Stone of Religion* (Z). And now who would not think, that our *candid Enquirer after Truth*, finding what he had aſſerted thus plainly confuted, and what I had aſſerted no leſs plainly confirmed by the very Authority, to which he appealed, would not have yielded at laſt, and candidly owned, that he was miſtaken, and had been miſled by his Two Popiſh Guides? Any Man but *J. D—g—s* would have certainly done ſo. But *J. D—g—s* is a Man of a different Complexion from moſt other Men, one incapable of being convinced by the moſt irreſiſtible Proofs, for Want of Underſtanding, or incapable of owning that he is convinced for Want of Candour and Honeſty. He has a ſpecial Talent at Abuſe and Scurrility, at abuſive and ſcurrilous *Declamations*; and to that Method of Arguing he recurs to diſguiſe the Truth, when too plainly proved to be denied or diſputed. Thus in his laſt infamous Libel he takes not the leaſt Notice of the above Quotations out of a *Proteſtant Book called Barrow*, which, with every Man of common Senſe and common Honeſty muſt be deciſive of the Point in Diſpute, as it is the very Book, to which he appealed. But dropping that Book with its Author, and exerting his Rhetorical, or rather his *Billingſgate*, Talent,

(Z) Add to this, that the Pope's *abſolute Sovereignty, unlimited Power*, or *Supremacy*, is, even according to *Bella mine*, whom this Man quotes, only *Quaſi de Fide* (Concil. ii 17.) *almoſt an Article of Faith*, and conſequently no Article of Faith, nor of Catholic Communion.

he flatters himſelf that by Dint of Noiſe and Abuſe he may ſtill blind and keep ſteady, in Spite of Demonſtration itſelf, the Simple and Ignorant, that is, his *Nine Parts in Ten of the Nation.* The choice Piece of Rhetoric, which he employs for that Purpoſe on the preſent Occaſion I ſhall inſert here, that it may remain a laſting Monument of this Man's Arrogance, of his Perverſeneſs and invincible Obſtinacy in maintaining his *Blunders*, as well as his *Calumnies*, how ſolidly ſoever confuted. It is as follows. " Nothing ever equalled this " Man's Boldneſs, in attempting to evade the Charge of having " practiſed the horrid Maxim of Mental Abjuration (A); but his in- " ſolent Attempt, Page 15, 16, of his *Reply*, to evade the Charge, " which I brought of his confounding the Supremacy and Infallibi- " lity of the Pope with one another. My Charge, Page 52, 54, of " the *Full Conf.* was founded on this: That he affirmed a Man " may deny the Pope's Supremacy and nevertheleſs be a good Catho- " lic: He owns he affirmed this, but how does he prove it? Why, " very curiouſly indeed, by ſhewing that the *Roman* Catholics differ " in their Opinions about the Nature and Extent of this Supre- " macy (B). But who ever denied this? I did not, and it was im- " poſſible

(A) He had charged me, in his *Full Confutation*, p. 77, with *avowing the horrid Doctrine of Mental Abjuration*; *one*, ſays he, ſpeaking of me in the Place I have quoted, *who* AVOWS *the horrid Doctrine of Mental Abjuration.* In my *Reply*, p. 41, I deſired him to point out the Place, where I AVOW ſuch a Doctrine. In anſwer to that he changes the preſent into the paſt Time, ſaying, in his laſt Libel, p. 33, that while I was a Jeſuit, and Public Profeſſor, I ſubſcribed, upon Oath, Pope *Pius*'s Creed, teaching the Supremacy, though I did not believe it; which is ſaying no more than that I was a Jeſuit, and practiſed, while I was in the Order, the Doctrines of the Order, Doctrines, which I have long ſince renounced, and moſt ſincerely deteſt and abhor. But you, good Sir, charged me in your *Full Confutation* with *avowing* that Doctrine *now*, *one*, *who avows*, you ſaid, and not, *who avowed*, *the horrid Doctrine*; and you can therefore no otherwiſe clear yourſelf from the Imputation of lying and ſlandering, but by pointing out the Place (which I defy you to do) where I avow, or have avowed, ſuch a Doctrine, ſince I was a Proteſtant.——The Jeſuits are not the only People in the World, that ſubſcribe Articles, which they do not believe; and this Man, had he but one Grain of Diſcretion or Judgment, would not have touched upon ſo tender a Point.——The very firſt Words of this Harangue contain, or ſuppoſe a Falſhood, *viz.* that I *have attempted to evade the Charge of having practiſed the horrid Maxim of Mental Abjuration* before I left the Order that authorizes ſuch Maxims. For I never was charged with having practiſed that Maxim, while I was a Jeſuit, as is ſuppoſed here, and conſequently could not attempt to evade ſuch a Charge; nor indeed ſhould I, had it been ever brought againſt me, being fully convinced, that the Man, who ſubſcribes Articles in a Senſe different from that, which the Words naturally import, proſtitutes his Conſcience, and is guilty of Perjury, in ſpite of all the Diſtinctions, that even Jeſuitical Sophiſtry can ſuggeſt to evade it.

(B) A *curious Proof* indeed! But where is it to be met with? He has done well not to quote the Place: For ſo groſs an Abſurdity can be no-where poſſibly found out of the

" poſſible I ſhould; becauſe ſome of the *Italians* extend it not only
" over the Church, which is the only Matter in queſtion between
" us, but over the State; others, as the *Roman* Courtiers, extend it
" to an Infallibility; and this I allowed, *Full Conf.* p. 53, a Man
" may deny and yet be a good Catholic; whereas all I affirmed was,
" that the Pope's *Supremacy*, his *Primauté*, as *Courayer* calls it in
" his Works, or the Doctrine of his being Head of the Church,
" could not be denied, nor ever was denied, not even by the *Jan-*
" *ſeniſts*, by a good Catholic: And this even the wretched Man
" himſelf, in the very Place where he pretends to confute me, ac-
" knowledges, ſaying——*that the Pope is the Head or Firſt Biſhop*
" *of the Church is an Article of Catholic Communion*, *Reply*, p. 17.
" And is not this the very Propoſition he denied in his Firſt Pam-
" phlet, p. 73, when he ſaid, a Man may deny the Pope's Supre-
" macy, and nevertheleſs be a good Catholic? *For what is the*
" *Pope's Supremacy but his being the Head or Firſt Biſhop of the*
" *Church* (C). All this is perfectly aſtoniſhing: From this Note the
" Reader

the abſurd Cranium of *J. D—g—s*. The Pope's *Supremacy*, and *his unlimited Power* or *abſolute Sovereignty*, are ſynonymous Terms; and to ſay, that *the* Roman *Catholics differ in their Opinion about the Nature and Extent of the Supremacy*, is as much as to ſay, that they differ about the Nature, and Extent, or about the Limits of an unlimited Power; which is ſtark Nonſenſe. My Argument was this: The *Roman* Catholics differ about the Extent of the Papal Power (not of his Supremacy) ſome maintaining and ſome denying his *unlimited Power* or *Supremacy*; therefore his *unlimited Power* or *Supremacy* is no Article of Catholic Communion. But what Wonder that the *Falſifier of Barrow* ſhould falſify any thing that I have ſaid, or may ſay? He has done nothing but *falſify* from the Beginning of his Firſt Libel to the End of his Fourth.

(C) *What is the Pope's Supremacy but his being the Head, or Firſt Biſhop of the Church?*——I anſwer: *The Pope's Supremacy, and his being the Head or Firſt Biſhop of the Church* are Two very different Things: That the Pope, as the Succeſſor of St. *Peter* in the *Roman* See, is by divine Right, or by the Inſtitution of Chriſt, *the Head or Firſt Biſhop of the Church*, is an Article of Catholic Communion. But *there are within the* Roman *Communion*, and conſequently among thoſe, who own the Pope to be the Head, or Firſt Biſhop of the Church, *great Store of Divines, a numerous* PARTY, *that do not allow his Supremacy*; therefore the Pope's Supremacy, and his being the Head or Firſt Biſhop of the Church, are Two very different Things, the One an Article of Catholic Communion, and not the other. This we may call, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, a *Demonſtration*, if we ſtand to the Deciſion of *Barrow*; and our *Declaimer* only can anſwer it by ſuch another *Billingsgate Declamation*, as that now before us. ——*He is ſo entirely unacquainted*, (to uſe the Words of the learned Mr. *Corpe*, ſpeaking of this Man in his *Poſtſcript to ſome Remarkable Facts*, p. 72.) *with Matters of that Nature*, viz. of Divinity, *as not to know the Difference between the Supremacy and the Primacy*, that is, between the Pope's being *ſupreme abſolute Monarch of the Church*, and his being the *Head*, that is, the *Prime* and Firſt Biſhop of the Church, or, as it is commonly expreſſed, his being *Primus inter Pares*, the Firſt among his Peers, or his Equals: And to his ignorantly confounding the *Supremacy* with the *Primacy* is owing his charging me

" Reader will be able to form a juſt Judgment of the miſerable Shifts, " to which the *hardened Jeſuit* is reduced, and of the trifling Chi- " cane, which he employs in his Defence, ſaying and unſaying, " aſſerting and denying, without any other View, but to get rid of a " preſent Difficulty, unterrified by the Contradictions, in which he " involves himſelf."

All this would be perfectly aſtoniſhing, if any thing could be aſtoniſhing in the *Falſifier* of *Barrow*. But which of us Two the latter Part of this *Harangue*, or the Peroration, fits beſt, I ſhall leave the World to judge. It is a hard Caſe that I ſhould be obliged to waſte my Time thus in confuting the Nonſenſe of an impertinent petulant Babler, who knows not what he is about, and is above being taught and better inſtructed; though few, if any, of his Profeſſion want more to be taught and inſtructed than he does, at leaſt in the Faculty whereof he is Doctor. But ſhould I let the Abſurdities, which he ever advances, how groſs ſo ever and palpable, with the moſt happy Aſſurance, paſs unnoticed, great Part of Mankind (*judging*, as Mr. *Locke* has obſerved, of *Conteſts about Truth, as they do of popular Elections, that the Side carries it where the greateſt Noiſe is*) would rather conclude that he cannot, than that he deſerves not to be anſwered.

As in the Courſe of the preſent Diſpute, I have frequently charged this Man, not only with publiſhing to the World the contradictory Lies and Calumnies of the Papiſts and Jeſuits, for unqueſtionable Truths, but improving them with many of his own, and even con-

with contradicting myſelf in aſſerting in my Firſt Pamphlet, p. 73, that *a Man may deny the Supremacy, and yet be a good Catholic*, and ſaying in my *Reply*, p. 17, *that the Pope is the Head or Firſt Biſhop of the Church is an Article of Catholic Communion.*——The Diſpute concerning the *Supremacy* is, where does the *ſupreme Power* reſide? And with reſpect to that Point, they *within the* Roman *Communion*, that is, they, who believe all the Articles of Catholic Communion, and among the reſt that *the Pope is the Head or Firſt Biſhop of the Church*, are not agreed, *the cordial Partizans of the* Roman *See* veſting the *Supreme Power*, or the *Supremacy*, in the Pope, and a *numerous Party* acknowledging it not in the Pope, but in a General Council, repreſenting the Church Univerſal. *And as the other Party doth charge this with Hereſy, ſo doth this return back the ſame Imputation on that.* And has our *learned Doctor of Divinity* never before heard of that Controverſy among thoſe *within the* Roman *Communion?* Has he never heard of Catholic Biſhops appealing from the Sentence of the Pope to a future General Council?——Every Reader muſt have obſerved, that our *Declaimer* has here carefully avoided all mention of *a Proteſtant Book called Barrow*. To conclude, there is not, from the Beginning of this Harangue to the End, One Word either of Truth or of Senſe, but that *Courayer*, who wrote in *French*, calls the Primacy *Primauté*, as our *learned Divine* has learnedly obſerved.

tradicting

tradicting himſelf, when he thought it would do more effectual Hurt; I ſhall cloſe this *Summary* with a few Paſſages out of his Libels confirming that Charge; that even they, who care not to undergo the Drudgery of Reaſoning, may ſee in *J. D--g---s*, if they only can read, the *Liar* and *Slanderer*, and be convinced, by *ocular Demonſtration*, that his ſo much boaſted *Love of Truth*, and *Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion*, are mere Cant and the baſeſt Hypocriſy. For that Purpoſe the few following Paſſages out of the many, that I might produce, and have pointed out in the foregoing Sheets, will be more than ſufficient, unleſs he can reconcile, by the Magic of Jeſuitical Sophiſtry, the plaineſt Contradictions.

B——r *was thrown off by his Order*, or expelled his Order, *in* Italy, *on account of Irregularities in his Conduct* (D). (Six Letters, p. 31).

He had only been diſobedient to his Superiors as a Jeſuit, or in the Order. *He was known for many Years*, after his Arrival in *England, in the Character of a Jeſuit*. (Six Letters, p. 57. 39, 40) ——Could he have ſaid in plainer Terms, that I was, and that I was not expelled the Order?

He is a moſt zealous Catholic, moſt ſincerely attached to the Catholic Faith. (See above, p. 11).

He is neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant, but a determined Infidel, and had abjured in his Mind the Principles of Chriſtianity. (Six Letters, p. 29, 30. Bower and Tillemont compared, p. 73. Full Confutation, p. 56).

(D) It was ſome Sort of Merit in me to have quitted that wicked Antichriſtian Order. But leſt I ſhould be thought to have done One ſingle Thing in the whole Courſe of my Life, that was, in the leaſt, meritorious or praiſe-worthy, the Man, who calls God to witneſs that he bears me no Malice, no Ill-will, aſſured the good People of *England*, at his firſt ſetting out in his new Character, that *I did not quit the Order on account of any Scruples of Conſcience*, but was expelled *on account of Irregularities in my Conduct*. This he could not poſſibly know to be true; and upon the leaſt Enquiry he would have found it to be falſe. It is therefore a Lie and a Calumny entirely his own, invented to rob me of the Praiſe, that my leaving ſuch an Order might be thought to deſerve; and he afterwards as confidently aſſerted, that I was not expelled the Order, when it ſerved the Purpoſe of his Malice, as he had aſſerted before that I was. And this is the Man, who *advances nothing but upon the moſt unqueſtionable Authorities*.

He

He had induſtriouſly avoided elling us that he was a Jeſuit. (Six Letters, p. 56).

He paſſed ſometimes for what he really was, a Jeſuit; was known for many Years in the Character of a Jeſuit. (Six Letters, p. 28, 39).

To *convince the Jeſuits, that he was ſincere in his Deſire to be re-admitted into the Order, he lent them a Sum of Money; and he was re-admitted, in a formal Manner, Four Years after he lent it.* (Six Letters, p. 32. 74).

He was a Jeſuit when he lent the Jeſuits his Money. (Six Letters, p. 66).

He never was reconciled to the Church of Rome, *nor was that ever laid to his Charge.* (Six Letters, p. 34).

He was charged with having been reconciled to Popery, *and* Horne, *the Surgeon, was produced as a Witneſs to prove it.* (Full Confutation, p. 81).

Thus I was, according to our good, our ſanctified, our Truth-ſpeaking Divine, expelled and not expelled the Order; am a moſt zealous Papiſt, and a determined Infidel; induſtriouſly concealed my having been a Jeſuit, and was known for many Years in the Character of a Jeſuit; bribed the Jeſuits with a Sum of Money to re-admit me into the Order, though I was never turned out of the Order; being thus turned out and not turned out, I was re-admitted, in a formal Manner, Four Years after I paid that Money, and was a Jeſuit, was in the Order when I paid it; was reconciled, and was never reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, or to Popery, *&c. &c. &c.*

And now, Reverend Sir, you muſt either reconcile theſe, and the many other Contradictions, whereof you ſtand convicted in the foregoing Sheets (a Task that will baffle all the Sophiſtry of the Society, as well as your Rhetoric), or plead guilty, and own yourſelf, in the Face of the whole World, for a *notorious Liar*, for an *infamous Slanderer*, for a *falſe Informer*, and a *Tale-bearer among the People*, that is, for a *complete Knave*, worthy to have the venerable Habit, which you have ſo much diſgraced, ſtript over your Ears, and thus

to be left, a public Object of Infamy and Contempt, to earn your Bread by your new Occupation, an Occupation as incompatible with that of a *Preacher of the Goſpel*, as are Lying and Slandering with Religion and Virtue.

POSTSCRIPT.

Had this Man, forgetting what he was, behaved like what he is, I ſhould have treated him with all the Reſpect, that is due to his preſent Character, a Character that no Man reverences more than I do. But as, forgetting what he is, he has all along behaved like what he was, has attacked me with the moſt indecent and illiberal Language, that ever came from the Pen or the Mouth of a Clergyman, and with all the Malice, Rancor, and Fury of a Popiſh Fire-and-Faggot Prieſt, the Reader, I hope, will excuſe me, if upon ſuch groſs Provocation, I have ſometimes departed from that Moderation of Stile and Expreſſion, which I ſhould have religiouſly obſerved even with ſo deſpicable an Adverſary as *J. D---g---s*, had he but kept within the Bounds of common Decency. However provoked I never have meddled with his Life and Converſation (E), but confined myſelf wholly

(E) On the contrary, our very religious Divine has made it his Buſineſs to rake into every Kennel for ſcandalous Anecdotes concerning my Life and Converſation; and has not even been aſhamed to claim the Thanks of the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* for informing them, upon no better Authority than that of a Footman of the Jeſuits, that Thirty Years ago I *put my Hand into a Woman's Neck*, and for ſuch-like Pieces of Intelligence, as a well-bred Layman would think it unmannerly to mention before a modeſt Clergyman. Were all the dirty Stories true, that he, degrading the Divine into the Scavenger, has raked together *with indefatigable Induſtry*, as he boaſts, it would no more follow from thence, that I was ſent by his Holineſs at *Rome* to pervert this Proteſtant Nation to Popery, than that I was commiſſioned by the Grand Mufti, or his Holineſs at *Conſtantinople*, to pervert them to *Mahometaniſm*. The Inhabitants of *Great Britain* care not, nor does it concern them to know, whether I am a *Saint* or a *Sinner*. The only Object worthy of their Attention is, whether I am a Proteſtant, or a dangerous Emiſſary of *Rome*, wearing the Maſk of a Proteſtant Hiſtorian; and this Man's attacking my Character in any other Reſpect, or in Matters quite unconnected with that Object, can only be owing to a villainous Diſpoſition of Mind, and an Itch of Defaming.—— From moral Honeſty I have never departed; and I would to God that throughout my whole Life I had alſo lived according to the ſtrict Purity and Sanctity of the Goſpel. But if every Man who has not done ſo, is to be deemed an *abandoned Profligate*, what will become of *J. D—g—s*, or even of his *eminently good Hannah Hoyles?* Should a Man ſet up for a *Saint*, to prove that he is a *Sinner*, would be ſufficient

wholly to the unhappy Man's Character, as the *Tool of the Jeſuits* and the *Trumpeter of their Scandal*, as a *Liar* and *Slanderer*, &c. That infamous Character, or rather that Complication of infamous Characters I have indelibly fixed upon him, being warranted therein by the natural Principle of Self-defence; and it will cleave to him ſo long as my Hiſtory ſhall be read, and give freſh Offence ſome Hundred Years hence, when they, who have all along countenanced and continue to countenance him in his Wickedneſs, exiſt no more, but are as much forgotten as if they had never exiſted.

ficient to prove that he is an Impoſtor and Hypocrite. But the Character of a *Saint* I have never aſſumed; and am therefore unjuſtly and wickedly ſtiled by the Man, who bears me no Ill-will, *a baſe Hypocrite, that deſerves to be branded with all the Infamy that is due to the vileſt Hypocriſy*. I have never pretended to any other Praiſe than that of an *honeſt Man*; and I defy all the Malice of *Rome* and of Hell, and of *J. D—g—s* their common Ally, to ſhew that by any Action of my paſt Life (whatever my Follies and Frailties have been) I ever deſerved to forfeit that Praiſe. The Maſk of Sanctity I leave to ſuch ſanctified Hypocrites as *J. D—g—s*, that is, to *Back-biters*, *Railers*, *falſe Informers*, and *Tale-bearers*, who want to diſguiſe their wicked Deſigns, that they may more effectually *deſtroy*, *with their Mouths*, their innocent Neighbours.

I had overlooked One of our candid Divine's groſs Miſrepreſentations, the only Thing, I think, worthy of Notice, that I have overlooked in his Four thick Libels. I had ſaid in my Firſt Pamphlet, p. 79, on occaſion of the Attempt that was made by the Papiſts at *Greenwich* to carry me off by Water, that I was under no Apprehenſion of Danger from the Jeſuits, but from the Friars, among whom there are, and ever have been, ſome mad Enthuſiaſts, and from the Secular Clergy and Popiſh Biſhops here, whom the High Court of the Inquiſition frequently employs as the Inſtruments of its Revenge. Now who does not ſee, that what I meant was, that the Jeſuits are not mad Enthuſiaſts, but Men of too much worldly Wiſdom and Policy, Men, who underſtand too well the Intereſt of their Order to make any perſonal Attempt upon me, which I had Reaſon to apprehend from the mad Enthuſiaſts among the Monks and Friars, *&c.* who are frequently employed by the Inquiſition in Exploits of that Nature? And was this ſaying, that the Jeſuits are a leſs dangerous Order than the Monks and the Friars; that they are leſs able to form and carry on Plots and Conſpiracies, and conſequently leſs dangerous to the Proteſtant Intereſt, and leſs to be feared and guarded againſt by a Proteſtant Nation, than the mad Enthuſiaſts among the Monks, the Friars, and the Secular Clergy? Nay, was it not ſaying the quite contrary? Who but a Man of *J. D—g—s*'s hardened Impudence could have falſified and miſrepreſented my Meaning ſo clearly expreſſed? But what Wonder, that the Man, who has been ſo bold as to falſify *Barrow*, whoſe Book is in every body's Hands, and to make him ſay what he never ſaid, and even contradict himſelf, ſhould have done ſo by me? It is only by falſifying and miſrepreſenting, by lying and ſlandering, by exclaiming, declaiming, haranguing, *&c.* for want of Argument, that ſo deſperate a Cauſe can be maintained: And the Jeſuits have, happily, met with a Man, ready to go all Lengths with them, and to ſtick at nothing, no more than they.

F I N I S.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM